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THE
ANNALS and *HISTORY*
OF
Cornelius Tacitus;
His Account of the
ANTIENT GERMAN'S
AND THE
LIFE of AGRICOLA.

Made English by several Hands.

WITH THE
POLITICAL REFLECTIONS
AND
HISTORICAL NOTES
OF

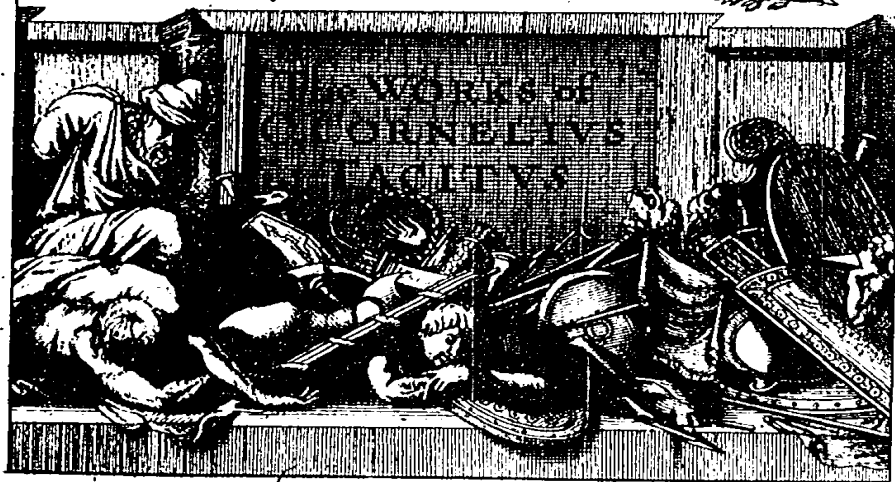
Monfieur AMELOT De La Houffay, and
the Learned Sir HENRY SAVILE.

In Three Volumes.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N :

Printed for Matthew Gillyflower at the Spread-Eagle
in Westminster-Hall, MDCXCVIII.



To the Right Honourable

WILLIAM

Lord *DIGBY*,

Baron of *GEASHIL*

In the Kingdom of *Ireland*:

This Volume of CORNELIUS
TACITUS, *is most humbly Dedi-*
cated, by,

MY LORD,

Your Lordship's

Most Devoted Servant,

M. GILLYFLOWER.

A
CHARACTER
OF
C. Cornelius Tacitus
AND HIS
WRITINGS.

By *Justus Lipsius.*

CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS, whom we commonly find mentioned with the *Prænomen* of *Publius*, descended not from that Noble *Cornelian* Family, so Celebrated in the *Roman* Senate and Story, but from another House of the same Name, though of less Note and Quality. The time of his

A 4

Birth,

A Character of

Birth, so far as I am able to Judge, must have been about the latter end of *Ti. Claudius* his Reign. Whether his Father and Grandfather bore publick Offices, or raised themselves to any of the Honourable Posts in the *Roman* State, is a Matter too dark and distant for me to be positive in; but, if I may be allowed to interpose my private Opinion, it seems to me more probably, that he (a) was the first Man of Quality in his Family. His first Rise was under *Vespasian*, who (as *Pliny* acquaints us) advanced him to the Procuratorship of *Gallia Belgica*, and made him Superintendant of that Province. Upon his return to *Rome*, he had the Office of Quæstor conferred upon him, (if I mistake not) by *Titus*: Thus much at least is out of Dispute, that he, in his own Books of History, acknowledges the Dignity to which *Vespasian* had first pro-

(a) Monsieur Bayle hath truly observed, that in this, *Lipsius* contradicts himself; for in his Note on those Words, *Dignitatem a Vespasiano*, &c. Hist. Lib. 1. he makes the Procuratorship of *Gallia Belgica* mentioned here shortly after to have been conferred by *Vespasian*, not upon *Tacitus* himself, but upon his Father. To which I add, That the Circumstance of his being near *Pliny's* Age makes it highly improbable, that *Vespasian* should employ him in such a Trust. For if *Pliny* were but 18 when his Uncle died, that is, in the 2d of *Titus*; and if *Tacitus* were no great matter older than he, at what Age must we suppose him made by *Vespasian* Procurator of *Gallia Belgica*. Now, if his Father had this Post, then it is plain, that *Tacitus* was not the first Man of Quality in his Family, that Office being, as himself styles it in the Life of *Agri-cola*, *Equestre Nobilitas*: But whatever *Lipsius* hath taken away from *Tacitus* his Birth, *Morery* hath made up, who by a mistake in the other extreme, represents him as a Branch of the Noble *Cornelian* Family.

Cornelius Tacitus, &c.

promoted him, to have received such Accessions from *Titus*: And what Advancement this could be except the Office of Quæstor, or that of Ædile, is not easie to determine, since we are well assured, he did not attain to the other of Prætor till the Fourteenth Consulate of *Domitian*, which (by the way) shews us the mistake of a certain Learned Person, who will needs make *Tacitus* to have been Prætor in the Ninth Consulate of *Domitian*, and the Second of *Verginius Rufus*. For *Tacitus* himself is express in the Eleventh of his Annals, that he, as one of the Quindecimviri, (whose Business it was to see the the Rites and Religious Ceremonies duly observed, and at the same time Prætor too, was particularly carefull in ordering the * *Ludi Saculares*, exhibited by *Domitian*. Now these were celebrated in the Eight Hundred and Forty First year after the Founding of *Rome*; which Computation falls Five years later than *Vertrunius* hath placed them. But of this Account Antiquity hath left us Evident Proof, there being still extant several Coins with this Inscription: IMP. CÆS. FLAV. DOMITIANUS. AUG. GERM. PONT. MAX. TR. POTEST. VIII. COS. XIV. LUD. SAEC. FECIT.

After this it was a great while before his Promotion to the Consulship, which happened under *Nerva*,

* A Solemnity regularly repeated but once in a hundred years, instituted by *Valer. Publicola*, celebrated by *Augustus* after long intermission, then by *Claudius* out of time, and now by *Domitian*, computing from those of *Augustus*, and the seventh from their first Institution. See *Alex. ab Alexand.* Lib. 5. C. 24. & Lib. 6. C. 19.

Nerva, in the year of *Rome* Eight Hundred and Fifty, he being chosen into the place of *F. Verginius Rufus* deceased; The same Person, who with such an inflexible firmness of Mind disdained the Offers of the Empire made him by the German Legions, and whose Funeral Oration was spoken by *Tacitus* himself. Some have pretended, that he was Banished under *Domitian*; but this surmise I am apt chiefly to charge upon the Temper of the common People, which being extremely given to amuse the World with some very remarkable Events attending the Lives of Great Men, thought *Tacitus* too considerable to pass without something of this kind. For good Authority to countenance this Opinion I meet with none. The utmost my Reading furnishes me with, is only an Account of his being absent from *Rome* for some years, and this was at the very time of his Father-in-Law *Julius Agricola's* Death, when *Pompeius Conlega* and *Cor. Priscus* were Consuls: But that absence seems to have been the effect not of Necessity but Choice; no Exile imposed, but a Retirement of a Person sick of Trouble and Business, and desirous to be quiet, and yet rid of a bad World. And as for that other Fancy of the same Authors, That *Domitian* was at last prevailed upon to recall him from a Ten years Exile, it is Fiction all over: Nor can I think how this particular term of Ten years came to be fixed upon, except their Heads were full of the *Trojan* War, and so applied the continuance of that to the matter then before them: For every Man awake and in his Senses, must know, that

that after those *Ludi Sæculares*, (at which time *Tacitus* was undoubtedly Prætor and actually in *Rome*) *Domitian* lived but Seven years, for in the Eighth he was Murdered by the Conspirators. And this is the Account of *Tacitus* with regard to his Publick Character.

As for his private Capacity; we find, that in the Year of *Rome* Eight Hundred and Thirty, he Married the Daughter of *Agricola*, then Consul with *Vespasian*, with whom he lived many years in great Affection and constant good Agreement. There is little doubt to be made of his leaving Issues, for from him I am very apt to believe, *M. Claudius Tacitus* sprung, who many Descents after was called Emperor; (for so the Coins name him, and not *P. Annius Tacitus*, as we commonly find him called.) And this Person, *Flavius Vopiscus* says, used to speak of our *Tacitus* as his Ancestor.

The former part of his Life was employed in publick Pleadings and the Practice of the Law; but when he grew into (b) years he betook himself to Writing his History. From some Passages in *Pliny's* Epistles we may plainly perceive, that *Tacitus* was esteemed one of the best Orators of those times, and that several Orations of his were published. He was Contemporary with *Quintilian*, both the *Pliny's*, *Julius Florus*, *Secundus*, *Maternus*, *M. Aper*, *Eprinus Marcellus*, and *Vipsanius Messalla*. The first Compositions of this kind were certainly his Books of History, beginning at *Nero's* Death, and continued down to the Reign of *Nerva*. After these, he wrote his Annals, reaching from the Death of *Augustus* to the end of *Nero*, of both which

which Undertakings, how much and what Parts are lost, I shall have occasion to observe hereafter. *Fulgentius* mentions some Books of Ingenious Sayings attributed to him, of which he produces this small Fragment, *Casi itaque morum eclogio in filiis relicto*. The exact time of his Death I pretend not to determine, though I think I am not mistaken in that of his Birth, for the computing of which, *Pliny* the younger hath given one hint sufficient in the Seventh Book of his *Epist.* 20. Epistles, where he says, That he was near upon the matter as old as *Tacitus*; and he declares, that he was in * his Eighteenth year when that Eruption of *Vesuvius* happened, in which his Uncle was lost. Now that Burning of the Mountain happened in the Second year of *Titus*, and therefore *Pliny*, according to this reckoning, was certainly born in the Year of Rome Eight Hundred and Sixteen; *Memmius Regulus* and *Verginius Rufus* then Consuls. But now *Pliny* hath told us in the same Epistle, that *Tacitus* was somewhat the Elder of the two, so that he must needs have been Born about the latter end of *Claudius*, or more probably the beginning of *Nero*, and he lived, as I conceive, till the time of *Adrian*. It is observable that he began not to compose his History till *Nerva* was dead: This is abundantly manifest from the Title he gives him in the beginning of the First Book. For *Divus Nerva*, *Nerva of Blessed Memory*, is an Appellation of Honour never applied to any Prince in his own Life time.

* See *Pliny's Epist.* XVI. and XX. Lib. VI.

A N
ACCOUNT
OF
C. Cornelius Tacitus,
FROM
F. de la Mothe de le-Vayer,
IN HIS
Judgment of the HISTORIANS,
Both Ancient and Modern.

THE Reason why all the Impressions of *Tacitus* now extant place his Annals before his History, is, I presume, because they begin higher, and are drawn down from the latter end of *Augustus*, to that of

of *Nero*, (though even of his Reign the two
 * last years are wanting) whereas
 the History sets out from the Death
 of that Monster of a Prince, and
 was continued to the Auspicious Government of
Nerva and *Trajan*. But notwithstanding this
 Order in the Book it self, there is no doubt,
 but in Time, the History had Precedence. This,
 as nearest to his own Knowledge, was his first
 Composition, and accordingly in the Eleventh
 of his Annals we find it quoted by himself, and
 the Reader referred to what he had formerly
 Written concerning *Domitian*, whose Actions he
 no where concerns himself to give any account
 of that we know, except in that part of his
 Writings only, which are published under the
 Title of his Histories. Of these we have now
 but Five Books remaining, though I believe *Lip-
 sius* does not guess much amiss (c), when he
 thinks that Ten at least have been lost. And
 indeed, any Man who considers, that from
Galba to *Nerva* and (d) *Trajan* contains the
 space of One and Twenty years at least, will
 find little difficulty to persuade himself, that by
 much

(c) In all probability there must have been many more; for the Times treated of in the Parts that are lost seem equally fruitful of matter, and indeed the term is much longer than what we find here mentioned: From the Death of *Nero* to that of *Domitian* being 28 years and 3 months. *Nero* died the 10th of June, *An. V. C.* 819. and *Domitian* was killed in *Septemb.* 847.

(d) His Design in this Piece was laid no farther than *Domitian's* Death, *Nerva* and *Trajan* being set aside as an Argument for a fresh Undertaking. See Note (b).

(e) *Thuc.*

much the greater part of this Work is wanting, when he reflects, that the Matters contained in the Five Books we now have were most, if not all, transacted within the compass of one single year. The Style of this Part is something more Copious and Florid than that of his Annals, which are written in a close dry way, as the Subject indeed required. Though the Truth is, the particular Talent of *Tacitus* throughout, is a Grave Majestick manner of Writing, a sort of Eloquence not very different from that strength and sublimity of Expression, which the Masters of Rhetorick have observed, as the constant Character of *Demosthenes*, and that wherein his Excellency consisted.

Among the many Criticks, who take upon them to find fault with *Tacitus*, those are without question most to be excused, who complain of his being dark and difficult to be understood. This proceeds very frequently from a way he hath of giving short Hints, and leaving his Narrations abrupt and imperfect. But some part no doubt of this Fault belongs not so properly to the Author as to the Errours of the Copies, and Corruptions of his Original Text, which make him much more intricate. This Reflection was in Justice but his due, since in other Passages which have escaped those Depreciations, we can easily give our selves a tolerable Account of his Meaning. But however, considering that *Tacitus*, proposed to himself *Thucydaides* for his Pattern, and that both

both (e) of them made it their Business to tread in the Steps of *Demosthenes*, we are not to wonder if this Historian retain somewhat of that harshness and severe manner so remarkable in those two Eminent Greek Writers. And what Antiquity applauded as an Excellence in Them, it would be hard measure to charge as a Fault upon One, who seems to have made it his great aim to Write after Them. And in Truth, as some Wines are chiefly recommended by a grateful roughness upon the Palate, and the darkness of Temples adds to the Reverence of the Prie, and heightens the Devotion of some who come to Worship there; so there are a sort of Readers, who think a rough dark Style an Advantage, because this awakens the Attention more powerfully, raises the Mind, and keeps it fixed, thus giving occasion for many Observations, which a Man would never take the time or pains to make upon an Author, whose Sense is easie and obvious.

As for those who have the Confidence to Blame *Tacitus* for not Writing good Latin, I look upon them as Men not well in their Senses, and therefore rather in a Condition for Pity, than a Serious Answer. And yet two great

(e) *Thucydides* flourished some 60 or 70 years before *Demosthenes*, the one about the 87th, the other about the 105th Olympiad. This difference of *Demosthenes* being the common pattern to both these Historians, is a mistake.

great Lawyers, it must be confess'd, have been of this Opinion. *Alciat*, who pretends that the Expression of *Paulus Jovius* was much to be preferr'd before the Thorny Phrase (so he terms it) of this ancient Historian; and *Ferretus*, who condemns *Tacitus* likewise for a Dictation, which he can by no means think good Roman. Than which Objection, nothing was ever more ridiculous; and the just Indignation raised by so unreasonable a Censure, provokes me to say, That in all appearance, the very meanest Cook or Groom belonging to *Tacitus*, spoke better Latin than either *Alciat* or *Ferretus*; who, allowing them the Commendations due to their great Skill in the Law, were yet by no means competent Judges of the Matter now before us. For *Tacitus* is not presently to be run down for an ill Writer, because he hath not all the Beauties of *Cæsar*, or *Cicero*. Eloquence is not confin'd to one particular manner; several sorts of it are commendable in their respective Ways; and the Latin Tongue, we know, flourish'd in all, though not in all equally, down to the Time of *Adrian*, which is since *Tacitus*: And he in his own Time had acquir'd such Reputation, that the Principal Orators contemporary with him, made no difficulty to give him Precedence in their own Art. Of these I reckon *Pliny* the Younger one of the most considerable; and he in several of his Epistles declares, that he bore a great Regard to *Tacitus*, as one of the most Eloquent Persons

sons in that Age. In the Twentieth of the First Book, he refers himself to his Judgment, for determining a Dispute depending between him and an Eminent Lawyer, whether copious and long Orations, or short and concise ones, were more proper for Pleadings at the Bar. In another place, describing the whole Solemnity of *Verginius Rufus* his Funeral, he observes, as the last and chief Instance of the Good

L. 2. Ep. 1. Fortune which befell him, that the making his Funeral Oration, fell into so Masterly a Hand as *Tacitus's*. In the account given his Friend *Arrian*, how the great Action entred against a Proconsul of *Africk* for cheating the Publick had succeeded,

L. 2. Ep. 10. he observes, that *Cornelius Tacitus* replied upon the Defendant's Counsel with wondrous Eloquence and Skill, and particularly with that Gravity and Weight so remarkable in all his Way of expressing himself. When *Pliny* was desirous to provide a Publick Ma-

L. 4. Ep. 13. ster for instructing the Youth of his own Country at *Como*, *Tacitus* was the Person thought fittest to be applied to, as One whom all the Wits of the Age affected to be known to, and most capable of chusing an Undertaker of so considerable a Charge. I forbear the particular Descriptions he gives him in two several Letters of the Death of his Uncle,

L. 6. Ep. 16. and the Eruption of *Vesuvius*, in the manner related by *Tacitus* in his History; the earnest Request of

of having his Name mention'd there, which passionate Address I think my self oblig'd to insert in his own Terms, (*L. 7. Ep. 33.*) * *I easily*

foresee, and dare depend upon the Truth of my Prediction, That your Histories will last for ever: And this Presumption, I must freely own, makes me very ambitious of having my Name read there: For if we are commonly very nice what Hand our Pictures are done by, sure it is much more rea-

sonable, when not the Lincaments of our Faces, but the Account of our Actions must recommend us to Posterity, that a truly good Artist should form the Piece: In a word, that it should be one, who writes and relates Things just as You do. But the Passage which most fully expresses both his own and the general Esteem all *Italy* had for *Tacitus*, is that wherein he declares him to have been the Pattern of Eloquence, which from his Youth he set himself to Copy after. And that

in the abundance of Eminent Orators then flourishing about *Rome*, not any one seem'd either so capable, or so worthy of being imitated as He.

† This the Reader will find in the Terms of *Pliny* himself in the Margin; and

ea clarissima ingenia, sed Tu mihi, (ita similitudo naturæ ferebat) maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus videbaris.

* Auguror, nec me fallit Augurium, Historias tuas immortales futuras, quo magis illis, ingenuè fatebor, inseri cupio. Nam si esse nobis curæ solet, ut facies nostra ab optimo quoque Artifice exprimat, nonne debemus optare, ut operibus nostris similis tui Scriptor Prædicatorque contingat?

† Equidem adolescentulus cum Tu jam formâ gloriâque floreret, te sequi tibi longo, sed proximus intervallo, & esse & haberi concupiscebam. Eterant multa clarissima ingenia, sed Tu mihi, (ita similitudo naturæ ferebat)

there I have the rather inserted it, because it may be of some use to inform us more exactly concerning the Age of these two Learned Men.

It is needless to alledge more Proofs of the mighty Reputation *Tacitus* was in, even in his own Time, and amidst so many Great and Celebrated Contemporaries: And for the following Ages, every body knows what Honour and Deference have been all along paid to his Labours; some Testimonies whereof I shall alledge, before I shall dismiss this Subject. In the mean while, is it not a prodigious thing, that he should at this time of day meet with such contumelious Treatment from Barbarians? (For *Alciat* and *Ferret* are no better, when compar'd with the Old Romans.) Men who have the Hardiness rashly to pronounce, that an Author of this Character was not a competent Master so much as of his own Mother-Tongue? In good Truth, such Assertions as these, require a Brow of Brass, and a heated Brain to advance them. For my own part, though I should observe a thousand things in *Tacitus*, which I could not tell how to approve; yet I would suspect the Weakness of my own Judgment, the Corruption of the Copy, or any other Defect, which might be no Imputation upon the Author himself, rather than venture to give all Antiquity the Lye, by cherishing any Imagination so singular and unworthy, as this I have now been confuting.

And

Another Fault laid to *Tacitus's* Charge, is Want of Truth; and one of the Principal who prefer this Accusation against him is *Vopiscus*. But I beg it may be observ'd upon what occasion this Allegation is brought: 'Tis only to excuse in this general Assertion, That the mixture of some Falshood with Truth, is what the best Historians that ever wrote have never been able to avoid. And now methinks *Tacitus* his Reputation is not very much concern'd; nor need he apprehend any mighty Danger from such a Complainant; especially since I have elsewhere shew'd, that several other Persons have pleas'd themselves with maintaining the same Proposition. And *Dion Chrysostomus* (I well remember) pretending in one of his Orations to prove, That we know nothing as it really is, does not only averr, that the taking of *Troy* by the *Gracians* is a mere Fable, and that the *Persians* gave a Relation of *Xerxes's* and *Darius's* Expeditions against *Greece*, very different from what the *Greeks* themselves do; but he carries his Point farther; and, as an Instance how little any History can be depended upon, he tells you, That of the most Eminent *Greek* Writers, some make the Sea-Fight of *Salamis* to have been before that of *Platea*, and others place it after.

Now it were, I think, a sufficient reply to all this Objection, if a Man should urge, That some Falshoods there, are very reconcileable with Human Infirmary; and such as (according to the

[b 3]

Distin-

Distinction of the Schools) though not true, are yet no Lyes, because they are utter'd in the Integrity of the Man's Heart. But then, as for the Impostures charged upon *Tacitus* by *Tertullian*, and the Reproach of one of the most Scandalous and Profligate Authors extant, cast upon him by *Budæus*; their true Meaning is, not to load him with such Accusations of Falshood, as simple Ignorance, or Inadvertency, might acquit or excuse him in, or the too easie Credit given to Mistakes generally receiv'd might be alledg'd in mitigation of: But their Intention was to expose his impious Misrepresentations of the Christians, the Scofts and insolent Railleries against our Holy Religion; attack'd by him in its very Foundations laid in the Old Testament; his ridiculing the Miracles of *Moses*, and reviling the *Jews* with Worshipping the Image of a Wild Ass. And these, I acknowledge, are Calumnies full of true Pagan Venom, and such as no Man can be too severe in condemning. But then I must take leave to urge withal, that if this Author must be thrown aside in resentment for what he hath said to traduce the True GOD and the Christian Worship, he must be banish'd in a great deal of Good Company: For the same Rule will oblige us to burn almost all the Heathen Authors, very few of whom are clear of endeavouring to blacken us by such kind of vile Aspersions.

The same Reply may serve to take off that Sentence pronounc'd against this Author by *Cassaubon*,

saubon; who in his Preface to *Polybius*, affirms the Reading of *Tacitus* to be the most dangerous Study that Princes can employ themselves in, by reason of the many ill Characters to be met with in his Works. There is indeed a very ill Custom to which *Cassaubon* is too much addicted; That, I mean, of never bestowing a Man's Pains upon any Author, without lowering the Reputation of all besides, to gain more Credit and Authority to that One; and however he might think fit to treat *Tacitus* upon this occasion, we know that at other times he hath not been sparing in Commendations of him. 'Tis true, his History now extant relates the Actions of the Worst and Wickedest Princes that perhaps ever were; and it is our great Misfortune, that those other Books of it, which contain'd the Reigns of Emperours as eminently Good, such as *Vespasian*, *Titus*, *Nerva*, and *Trajan* are lost. But at this rate, no History in the World, no not even that of the Bible it self, can escape Censure, if the exposing Ill Examples to publick View must be thought to deserve it: For all treat of Bad as well as Good Men, and require a Reader's Judgment and Care to distinguish between that part of the Account which ought to be imitated, and that which ought to be avoided. I cannot absolutely deny, but in the Times of *Tertullian*, there might be reason to apprehend some Danger from the bitter Invectives of Pagan Writers, because the World was not then cleansed from Errours, as now (blessed be God) by his Grace it is. But

I can by no means be brought to think, that any Mischief is capable of being done by them now; when every body sure is proof against such Calumnies, and not in a condition to receive ill Impressions from any thing, which the Infidelity they liv'd in then might put them upon writing against the Gospel and its Doctrines.

Indeed, without taking all this Pains, *Tacitus* might have been left to stand upon his own Legs; the general Esteem of his Works being more than enough to bear down all the Authorities we have been considering, though no Arguments from the Reason of the thing had been brought to confute them. But if it were necessary to balance one Authority against another, besides the universal Consent and Approbation of Learned Men, I am able to produce Two, of weight sufficient to cast the Scale clearly on the other side: The first is that of *Tacitus* the Emperour, who, in that highest Elevation this World is capable of, did, at Two hundred Years distance after this Historian's Death, glory in the same Name, and valued himself upon his Descent from so Great and Worthy an Ancestor. As Marks of the Honour he bore to his Memory, Statues of him were by his Order set up in the Libraries, and Ten Transcripts of his Books made constantly (f) every Year, that so they might be preserv'd, and handed

(f) How little effect this Order had, is plain from the great part of *Tacitus* his Works now lost: Nor indeed was there time for any great good to come of his intended Respects, for *Tacitus* reign'd but Six Months.

handed down from one Age to another, as we find they are now to ours. The second is, the Great Duke *Cosmo de Medicis*, whose Memory will always live in Honour, as long as Politics and Good Government (to speak in the Language of his own Country) continue to be cultivated and respected. This Prince singled *Tacitus* out from the rest of the Historians, as the Person most capable at once of forming his Judgment, and giving his Curiosity the most solid Satisfaction. But to the Suffrage of Princes and Emperours, we may indeed add the general Voice of Mankind; For what can be a greater Testimony in his Honour, than the Pains all Nations have taken to translate *Tacitus* into their own Language?

Besides his *Annals* and *History*, he hath left us a Treatise concerning the different Sorts of People who inhabited *Germany* in his Time, and their respective Manners and Customs; as also the Life of his Father-in-Law *Agricola*. Some there are who father upon him the little Tract concerning the Causes of the Corruption and Decay of Latin Eloquence; which others rather think to be *Quintilian's*: But *Lipsius* seems to go upon better grounds, when he thinks it cannot belong to either of them. As for the little Collection of *Facetie*, which *Fulgentius Planciades* quotes under *Tacitus* his Name, they are so manifestly supposititious, that scarce any body but that wretched Grammarian was ever impos'd upon by them. The genuine Compositions of *Tacitus*

citius, do very easily distinguish themselves both by their Matter and their Form: By the former of which, in agreement with *Scaliger*, I am to understand the Diction, or Manner of the Author; and by the latter, the Substance of Things treated of. He is particularly remarkable for inserting Speeches upon all occasions; sometimes only obliquely, and hinting the principal Arguments; sometimes directly, and in form; but always aptly and judiciously, suitable to the Occasion, the Place, and the Party concern'd. Though his Stile be extremely concise, and Brevity the thing he seems chiefly to affect, yet does he frequently interweave with his main Business many entertaining Digressions, such as that concerning the God *Serapis* in the Fourth Book of his History, and that other strange one concerning the Jewish Religion, and their Lawgiver *Moses*, which we had occasion to pass our Censure on before. He thought, it seems, very truly, that as no Traveller would grudge sometimes to go a little out of his Way, for the sight of a Place extremely well worth his Pains, or somewhat peculiar to the Country he is passing through; so these little Excursions, which please and refresh the Reader, are no Transgressions of the Laws of History, when seasonably indulged.

Even *Thucydides* and *Salust* are not more Sententious than he; which yet is so artfully managed, that there is no appearance of Ostentation; but every Maxim he lays down, flows naturally

naturally from the Subject he is treating of; and resembles that Lustre and Beauty of the Stars, which are said to be made out of the very Substance of that Firmament they adorn. Here you see nothing foreign, nothing affected, nothing forc'd or far-fetch'd, nothing superfluous; but every Thought so pertinent, so well fitted, that no Man can dispute the Right it hath to that Place, or think any other would better become it. And which is still more, here you do not learn barely the Events of Things, but the very Reasons and Progress of those Events; the secret Springs of each Action, and all the Motives and Contrivances by which it was carry'd on. And here a Man may say with great Reason, with regard to History, what the Poet does in the case of Husbandry:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

Virg. Georg. L. 2.

*Happy the Man, who studying Nature's Laws,
Through known Effects, can trace the secret Cause.*

Mr. Dryden.

And if the Notion some Philosophers have advanced concerning the Sea be true, That its Waters nearer the bottom are much fresher than those about the top; it is undoubtedly a Truth of much greater evidence, that a History which contents it self with an Account of Matter of Fact only, and presents only with the Outside and Surface

Self, as ~~it~~ were, of Things, cannot pretend to either the Pleasure or the Profit, which arises from a Discovery of the mysterious Causes, and the several Counsels and Debates upon which each Action mov'd. This reaches the very bottom of the Matter; and every Man can justify the vulgar Proverb here, That the deeper you go, the sweeter and more delicious you find the Entertainment.

But one particular Character there is, which raises the Merit and Reputation of *Tacitus* above other Writers; that I mean of ordering Matters so, that a Man may oftentimes receive as much Information from what he does not say, as from what he does. This instructive Silence is an Excellence which others have observ'd before me: And a very peculiar one it is, when (to speak in Terms of Arithmetick) his very Blanks are as considerable as his greatest Summs. So that here you are directed to form a Notion of Men every way; because whether he give Characters, or whether he give none, all is done with mature Consideration, exact Justice, and accurate Judgment. 'Tis thus that the Ancients extol the Skill of that Eminent Painter *Timanthes*, in whose Pieces there was a great deal more for the Thought to work upon, than lay open to the Eye of the Beholder. And this great Wisdom and Depth, is indeed very agreeable to that ripeness of Age and Judgment, in which he apply'd himself to Writing: For we are assur'd from him-

self,

self, that this Work was begun after *Nerva's*, and in *Trajan's* Reign, at which time he must have been pretty far (g) advanc'd in Years.

(g) See Note (b).

The Reader who is desirous of a more particular Character of *Tacitus* his Writings, may find it to good Advantage in the Second Volume of *Muretus* his XIII. XIV. and XV. Orations. The Passages were thought too large to be inserted here.

THE

A
Chronological TABLE
 OF THE
Annals and History
 OF
Cornelius Tacitus.

The First Book of the Annals contains
 the History of almost two Years,

Sextus Pompeius and
 Sextus Apuleius,
 C. Julius Drusus Caesar and
 C. Norbanus, } Consuls.

The Years
 from the
 Incarnation
 of our Lord.

The Years
 from the
 Building of
 Rome.

16.

767.

THE Emperor, Augustus, died at Nola, in
 Campania, the Nineteenth Day of Au-
 gust.

Claudius Tiberius Nero, the Son-in-law of
 Augustus, succeeded him, who began his
 Reign with the Murder of Agrippa Posthu-
 mus.

The Consuls Sex. Pompeius, and Sex. Apuleius
 are the first that took the Oaths of Fidelity
 to Tiberius.

Germanicus appeases a Sedition in the Army,
 by pretending to send away his Wife Agrip-
 pina, and his Son Caligula.

Julia, the Daughter of Augustus, formerly ban-
 nished

* A

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
17.	768.	nished by her Father for her Lewdness, died through want of the Necessaries of Life. Germanicus defeated Arminius, or Harman, the General of the Cherusci, and took his Wife Prisoner, the sixth Year after the Defeat of Quintilius Varus. A Temple built to Augustus in Spain. The Tax of the Hundredth Penny upon Commerce, imposed after the Civil Wars, is confirmed.

The Second Book contains the History of four Years.

Sisenna Statilius Taurus and
Lucius Scribonius Libo,
C. Caelius Rufus and
L. Pomponius Flaccus,
Tib. Jul. Cæs. Aug. 3^{io}, and
Germanicus Cæsar,
M. Junius Silanus and
C. Norbanus Flaccus, } Consuls.

18.	769.	The Beginning of the Parthian War. Germanicus brings his Fleet into the River Amisia or Ems, and passing over the Weser, defeats Arminius and the Germans. Germanicus's Army sailing through the Amisia into the Ocean, is skatter'd by a Storm, and the greatest part of it lost. The Accusation and Death of Libo Drusus. The Astrologers and Magicians are banished Italy. A Defence of Luxury. The Counterfeit Agrippa is taken.
19.	770.	Germanicus Triumphs for his Victories over the Cherusci, Chatti and other Nations of Germany, betwixt the Rhine and the Elb. The Tax of the Hundredth Penny is abated by Tiberius, and made the Two Hundredth. Twelve

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch.	An. U. C.	
		Twelve Cities of Asia perished by an Earth-quake. Tacfarinas the Numidian, begins a War in Africk. Germanicus goes into Asia. 20. 771. Germanicus visits Egypt as far as Syene and Elephantina. 21. 772. Maroboduus the King of the Marcomanni, lives at Ravenna in Italy eighteen Years. Germanicus is poisoned by Piso. Livia, the Wife of Drusus, Tiberius's Son, and Sister of Germanicus, is delivered of Twins. Arminius the General of the Cherusci, dies in the thirty seventh Year of his Age.

The Third Book contains the Actions of three Years.

M. Valerius Messala and
M. Aurelius Cotta,
Tiber. Jul. Cæs. Augustus 4^o, and
C. Jul. Drusus Cæsar 2^o,
C. Sulpicius Galba and
D. Haterius Agrippa, } Consuls.

	22.	773.	The Grief and Mourning for the Death of Germanicus. Nero, Germanicus's Son, is made High Priest, and Marries. Julia the Daughter of Drusus. Salust the Nephew of Salust the Historian dies. Tiberius retires into Campania. 23. 774. It is debated whether the Governours should carry their Wives with them into the Provinces. The Cities of Gaul labouring under the Burthen of excessive Debts rebelled, being headed by Sacrovirus and Florus. A Debate arose about restraining Luxury. 24. 775. Gaius Silanus accused.
--	-----	------	--

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. An. U. C. *A Comparison betwixt Anteius Capito, and La-
beo Antistius the Lawyer.*

The Fourth Book contains the Acti-
ons of near six Years.

C. Asinius and
C. Antistius,
Cornelius Cethegus and
Visellius Varro,
Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and
M. Asinius Agrippa,
Cn. Lentulus Gesticus and
C. Calvisius,
M. Licinius Crassus and
L. Calpurnius Piso,
Ap. Junius Silanus and
P. Silius Nerva, } Consuls.

25. 776. **J**unia the Wife of C. Cassius, dies the sixty
fourth Year after the Philippick War.
Ælius Sejanus, the Prefect of the Praetorian
Bands, debauches Livia the Wife of Drusus,
Tiberius's Son, and procures Drusus to be
poisoned by his Physician Eudemus, which
Wickedness was discovered eight Years after.
The Condition of the Roman State that Year is
described.
A Temple built to Tiberius in Asia.
26. 777. C. Silius being oppressed with false Accusati-
ons, prevents his Sentence of Condemnation
by a voluntary Death.
Cassius Severus after his Banishment, draws
upon himself a severer Punishment.
Tacfarinas the Numidian is conquered.
Q. Vibius Sereus being accused of Treason by
his own Son, is banished.
27. 778. Cremutius Cordus the Historian is accused for
praising Brutus and Cassius, and puts an
end to his own Life.

Se-

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. An. U. C.

Sejanus demands Livia in Marriage.
L. Domitius, Nero's Grandfather, dies.
L. Antonius dies.
Pontius Pilate is sent Governour into Judæa. 28. 779.
The Triumph of Poppeius Sabinus for the Con-
quest of the Thracians.
Domitius Afer the Orator.
Agrippina the Wife of Germanicus offends Ti-
berius.
Tiberius leaves Rome, whence he was absent
eleven Years to the Day of his Death.
Cocceius Nerva the Lawyer, accompanies Ti-
berius. 29. 780.
The Amphitheatre at Fidenæ fell, where fifty
thousand Persons perished.
Tiberius hides himself in the Isle of Capræ.
30. 781.
Titius Sabinus, Germanicus's Friend, is villa-
nously betray'd and put to Death.
Julia the Grand-daughter of Augustus, dies in
the Isle Trimerus, on the Coast of Apuleia,
whither she had been banished twenty Years
before for Adultery.
The Frisii defeat the Romans.
Agrippina, the Daughter of Germanicus, is
married to Cn. Domitius, the Father of Ne-
ro.

The Fifth Book contains the Actions of
three Years, most of which are lost.

C. Rubellius Geminus and
C. Rufius Geminus,
M. Vinicius Quartinus and
L. Cassius Longinus, } Consuls.
Tiber. Jul. C. of Augustus 50, and
L. Ælius Sejanus, 31. 782.

Livia the Wife of Augustus, and Mother of
Tiberius, dies fifteen Years after the Death
of Augustus: Her Grand-son Caligula prai-
ses her in a Funeral Oration. Ti-

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. An. U. C. Tiberius begins to exercise the greatest Cruelties towards the House of Germanicus. In these two Years Agrippina, Germanicus's Wife, and her Son Nero, are banished to the Islands. Drusus is kept a Prisoner in the most secret part of the Palace. ***** A great Chasm in the History, the Occurrences of almost three Years are wanting. Sejanus falls, and his Children are punished. The Counterfeit Drusus is taken.

The Sixth Book contains the History of about six Years.

Cn. Domitius and
M. Furius Camillus,
Ser. Sulpicius Galba and
L. Cornelius Sulla,
Paulus Fabius Persicus and
L. Vitellius,
C. Cestius Gallus and
M. Servilius Rufus,
Q. Plautius and
Sex. Papinius,
Cn. Acerronius and
C. Pontius,

} Consuls.

34. 785. Tiberius's abominable Lusts. Many Noble Men, Friends of Sejanus, are put to Death. M. Terentius justifies his Friendship with Sejanus. L. Piso the High Priest, eighty Years old, dies peaceably. 35. 786. Drusilla, the Daughter of Germanicus, is married to L. Calpurnius, Julia to M. Vinicius. Usury is taken into Consideration, and Usurers are prosecuted. Laws relating to Usury.

A Chronological TABLE.

C. Caligula marries Claudia the Daughter of M. Sillanius. Tiberius's Prefage of Ser. Galba. His Tryal of the Astrologer Thrasyllus. Drusus the Son of Germanicus, and Asinius Gallus are starved to death. Agrippina the Wife of Germanicus, is starved to Death. Cocceius Nerva ends his Life by a voluntary Death. A Phoenix is seen. 36. 787. The Poet Mamerius Scaurus is accused. 37. 788. The Parthian Affairs. Poppæus Sabinus dies. 38. 789. The Parthian Affairs. The terrible Death of Agrippa. 39. 790. The Death of Tiberius, in the 78th Year of his Age, on the Calends of April. C. Caligula succeeds him in the Empire. ***** Here is a Chasm of ten Years, in which the History of the whole Reign of Caligula, and the first six Years of Claudius are lost.

The Eleventh Book contains the Occurrences of two Years.

Tr. Claudius 4^o, and
L. Vitellius 3¹⁰,
A. Vitellius and
L. Vipsianus.

} Consuls.

Valerius Asiaticus is overborn with false Accusations. Italus, the Nephew of Arminius, the Leader of the Cherusci, by his Brother Flavius, is sent into Germany. 50. 801. Messalina, Wife to the Emperor Claudius, is put to Death.

The

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. An. U. C.

The Twelfth Book contains the History of six Years.

C. Pompeius and
Q. Verranius,
C. Antistius and
M. Sullius Rufus,
Ti. Claudius 5^o, and
Ser. Cornelius Orfitus,
P. Cornelius Sulla and
L. Salvius Orho,
D. Junius Silanus and
Q. Haterius,
M. Asinius Marcellus and
M. Acilius Ariola, } Consuls.

51. 802. **C**laudius Marries Agrippina, the Daughter of his Brother Germanicus, and Mother of Nero.
Seneca is recalled from Banishment, and made Preceptor to Nero.
C. Cassius, the Lawyer, Governor of Syria.
Lollia Paulina Banished.
52. 803. Domitius Nero Adopted by Claudius.
Agrippina, to shew her Power to the ally'd Nations, procures some Veterans, and a Colony, to be sent to the City of the Ubii, where she was Born, which from her took the Name of Colonia Agrippina, now Cologne.
This was done 40 Years after the Defeat of Varus.
Charactacus, King of Britain, is taken by the Romans, under their General P. Ostorius, in the 9th Year of the British War.
53. 804. Agrippina was Daughter, and Sister, and Wife, and Mother to the Emperor.
Nero is admitted to be of Age.
A Famine began under Claudius, of which there is mention made in the Acts of the Apostles, Chap. xi. Qua-

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. An. U. C.

Quadratus Governor of Syria.
The Astrologers Banished, and a Decree of the Senate against the Lewdness of Women.
Felix, Governor of Judea, (Brother of Pallas, a Freed-man,) who is mention'd in the xiv Chap. of the Acts of the Apostles.
Ventidius Cumanus Governor of Galilee.
Nero, at sixteen Years old, Marries Octavia, the Daughter of Claudius, and makes an Oration in behalf of the Trojans, and the Inhabitants of Bolonia.
The Emperor Claudius is Poysoned by his Wife.

55. 806.
56. 807.

The Thirteenth Book contains the Actions of four Years.

Nero Claudius, and
L. Antistius Vetus,
Q. Volusius, and
P. Cornelius Scipio,
Nero Claudius Augustus 2^o, and
L. Calpurnius Piso,
Nero Claudius Augustus 3^{io}, and
Valerius Messala, } Consuls.

- N**ero begins his Reign well.
He removes Pallas the Freed-man.
He procures his Brother, Britannicus, to be Poysoned.
57. 808.
58. 809.
59. 810.
- Nero's Lewdness.
Pomponia Græcina accused of Christianity, or of Judaism.
Nero's Amphitheatre.
Provision is made for the Security of Masters against the Attempts of their Slaves.
Artaxata, the capital City of Armenia, is taken by Domitius Corbulo.
The Cincian Law, against mercenary Pleading, or against those who plead Causes for Reward.

* B

Sabi-

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. An. U. C. Sabina Poppæa, Nero's Wife, who had every thing but Vertue.
Nero hath Thoughts of remitting all Taxes.
A Design of joyning the Rivers Moselle and the Arar.
The Catti beaten by the Hermunduri.

The Fourteenth Book contains the Actions of four Years.

C. Vipsanius, and
L. Fonteius Capito,
Nero Cladius Augustus 4^o, and
Cossus Corn. Lentulus,
C. Cæsenius Petus, and
C. Petronius Turpilianus,
P. Murius Celsus, and
L. Asinius Gallus, } Consuls.

61. 812. Nero's Incest with his Mother Agrippina.
Agrippina's Death.
Nero a Fidler and a Poet.
Domitius Afer, the Orator, dies.
62. 813. The Olympick Games instituted at Rome.
A Comet.
Domitius Corbulo, the Roman General, possesses himself of Armenia.
Laodicea, not far from Colossis, is ruined by an Earthquake.
63. 814. Seventy thousand Romans slain by the Britains.
London famous for its Merchants and Trade.
The Britains a while after are beaten by Suetonius Paulinus.
64. 815. Burrus, Captain of Nero's Pretorian Bands, and Seneca's great Friend, dies.
Seneca is aspersed with Calumnies.
Mufonius the Philosopher.
Persius the Poet dies Novemb. 14th.

Nero.

A Chronological TABLE.

Nero puts away Octavia, and takes Poppæa again.
The Death of Pallas the Freed-man.

The Fifteenth Book contains the History of somewhat more than three Years.

C. Memmius Regulus, and
Verginius Rufus,
C. Lecanius Bassus, and
M. Licinius Crassus,
P. Silius Nerva, and
Atticus Vestinus, } Consuls.

A War with Vologeses, the King of the Parthians, in which Domitius Corbulo is the Roman General. 65. 816.
Poppæa hath a Daughter.
Tiridates is constituted King of Armenia, being placed before Nero's Statue.
The Conflagration of Rome continues six Days. 66. 817.
The Christians are fastly charged with it.
Nero's new House.
A Conspiracy against Nero.
Lucan, the Poet, dies with courage.
The Consul Lateranus is put to Death.
Seneca receives his Death with great Constancy, April 30th.

* B 2

The

Anno Ch. An. U. C.

A Chronological Table.

The Sixteenth Book contains the Actions of one Year.

C. Suetonius Paulinus, and } Consuls.
L. Pontius Telesmus,

Poppæa big with Child, dies of a Kick which she receives from her Husband Nero in his Rage.

A great Plague rages at Rome.

Ostorius Scapula is destroyed by Calumny.

Nero puts to Death Bareas Soranus, and Thrafeas.

He sets the Diadem on the Head of Tiridates, King of Armenia.

***** The History of the remaining part of this Year, and of the two following Years, viz. 820, 821, is wanting.

The First Book of the History contains the Actions of a few Months.

Ser. Sulpicius Galba, and } Consuls.
T. Vinus,

Julius Vindex Governor of the Gauls, and Galba revolt.

The Senate declare Nero a publick Enemy, who at last kills himself.

The Emperor Galba is sent for from Spain.

Galba Adopts Piso.

Piso is Slain the fourth Day after his Adoption.

Galba resumes five hundred and fifty Tuns of Gold of what Nero had given away.

Otho Imperor.

Otho

68.

819.

71.

822.

A Chronological Table.

Otho kills Galba.

Aulus Vitellius is chosen in Germany.

Vitellius marches towards Italy.

The Second Book. The Occurrences are of the same Year, but new Consuls.

A Counterfeit Nero in Asia.

Vitellius enters Italy.

He defeats Otho in a Battle.

The Death of Otho.

Vespasian is encouraged to take upon him the Empire.

The Third Book contains the History of the same Year.

Lucilius and Cæcinna desert Vitellius.

Vitellius's Forces are defeated by Vespasian's.

Cremona destroyed.

Vitellius is taken and put to Death.

The Fourth Book. Part of the Occurrences are of the same Year; part in the Consulship of

Vespasian Aug. 2º, and } Consuls.
Ti. Flavius Vespasian,

The Senate for Vespasian.

Helvidius Priscus.

Comotions in Germany.

Anno Ch. An. U. C.

Ce-

A Chronological TABLE.

Anno Ch. 72.	An. U. C. 823.	Celer condemned. Vespasian cures a Blind and a Lame Man.
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The Fifth Book contains the History
of that same Year.

Titus Besieges Jerusalem.
*A very false Account of the Jews, and
their Rites.*
*The Prodigies preceeding the Destruction of Je-
rusalem.*
A War in Germany.

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THE ANNALS OF *Cornelius Tacitus.*

Book I. Vol. I.

By Mr. DRYDEN.

ROME was govern'd at the first by ^a Kings. ^b Liberty and the Consulship were introduc'd by *Lucius Brutus*: the ^c Dictatorship was granted, but

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When once the Regal Power begins to degenerate into Tyranny, the People aspire to Liberty; and when once a *Brutus* appears, that is, a Head who is capable to give it, they seldom fail to shake off the Yoke, not only of the King, who Tyrannizes, but also of the Regal Power, for fear there come another King, who might Tyrannize also. *Occultior non Melior.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a Kings] viz. *Romulus* its Founder, who, according to *Tacitus*, rul'd with Absolute Power; *Romulus ut libitum imperitaverat. Ann. 2.* *Numa*, who Establish'd a Form of Divine Worship, with High-Priests, Sooth-Sayers, and Priests, to perform the Ceremonies of the Sacrifices, *Numa religiosis & divino jure populum devinxit, Ibid.* *Tullus Hostilius*, who taught

2 The ANNALS of Book I.
but as necessity requir'd, and for some time: And the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

taught the Romans the Art of making War, and for this purpose Instituted Military Discipline. *Ancus Martius*, who adorn'd the City, and Peopled it with the Sabines, and the Latins, whom he had Conquer'd, and Built the City of *Ostia*, to be a Port for the Romans. *Tarquinius*, who built the *Cirque*, and distinguished the Senators and the Knights, by exterior marks of Honour, such as the *Ivory Chair*, call'd in Latin, *Cella Curulis*; the Gold Ring; the Purple Robe, call'd *Trabea*; the *Pretexta*, or the Robe edg'd with Scarlet. *Servius Tullius*, who, according to *Tacitus*, was the Chief Law-giver of the Romans, *Præcipuus Servius Tullius sanctor legum fuit*, *Ann. 3.* took into the City the *Quirinal*, the *Esquiline*, and the *Viminal Hills*, and caus'd his Laws to be engraven on Tables of Stone; and *Tarquinius*, Sirnam'd, the Proud, who having ascended the Throne by Incest, and by the Murder of *Servius Tullius*, whose two Daughters he had Married, and endeavouring to maintain himself in it by Violence and Terror, was, with his whole Family, expell'd *Rome*,

b Liberty.] *Tacitus* always opposes Liberty to Regal Power, *Res dissolubiles, principatum & libertatem*. In *Agricola*. *Haud facile libertas & dominium miscetur*, *Hist. 4.*, a Master and Liberty are incompatible. *Tarquinius Priscus*, says he, *Lib. 3. of his Hist.* had laid the Foundation of the Capitol, and afterwards *Servius Tullius* and *Tarquinius* the Proud, built it; one with the Gifts of the Allies, and the other with the Spoils of the Enemies, but the Glory of finishing this great Work, was reserved for Liberty: As for *Junius Brutus*, he was not only Author of the Consulship, but also the first who Exercis'd it, and with so great Zeal for his Country, that not being content with having banished *Collatine* his Collegue, only because he was of the Royal Family of the *Tarquins*, he caus'd his own Sons to be beheaded, who endeavour'd to restore them to the Throne. The two Magistrates, on whom was transfer'd the Authority which the Kings had, were call'd *Consuls*, to signify that they ought to assist the new Common-Wealth with their Counsels, and not to Govern it according to their humour, as the Kings had done.

c Dictatorship.] The Dictator was a Sovereign Magistrate, but whose Power lasted no longer than the Danger lasted, which threaten'd the Common-Wealth; so that he was no more than the Trustee of the Sovereign Authority. The first whom the Romans created was in the War against the Latins, who had given the *Tarquins* Protection, his Name was *Titus Lartius*, or *Lartius*. He was call'd Dictator, *ab edicendo*, or *ab editando*, i. e. because he had authority to make Edicts; or because he was not chosen by the Suffrages of the People, nor by the Scrutiny of the Senate, as other Magistrates were; but only *Dictus* named by the Consul, and afterwards proclaimed by the People. He was therefore named by the Consul, faith *Machiavel*, *Ch. 34. Lib. 1. of his Discourses*, because, as the Creation of a Dictator was a sort of a Dishonour to the Consul, who from being chief Governor of the City, became thereby subject, as the rest, to a Superior Power, the Romans would have him chosen by the Consuls themselves, to the end that as often as the City should stand in need of one, they might be the more willing to chuse him, and to have the less reluctance to obey him; the

Wounds

Vol. I. CORNELIUS TACITUS.

the Authority of the Decemvirate continu'd only for two Years'. The Consular Power of the Military

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The surest way to preserve Liberty, faith *Livy*, is not to permit the Magistracy, wherein the Supreme Authority is lodg'd, to be of long duration. There is no place in the World, where this Maxim is so well observ'd as at *Venice*; and it may be this is the chief Cause which hath made it out-live so many Ages, and so many States, which were more powerful than theirs, and not surrounded with so many dangerous Neighbours. *Machiavel* faith, that the short Duration of the Dictatorship, hinder'd the Dictator from transgressing the Bounds of his Duty. *Discourses*, lib. 1. ch. 34.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Wounds which we voluntarily give our selves, being far less sensible, than those which others give us. He had power to depose the Consuls, witness *Q. Cincinatus*, who depose'd the Consul *Minutius*; he suspended the Functions of all the Magistrates, except the Tribunes of the People, who sometimes had the better of him. At first, the Dictatorship was conferr'd only on the Nobles, but afterwards the Commons were admitted to it, as well as to the Consulship. The Dictatorship, faith *Machiavel*, deserves to be reckon'd amongst those things, which contributed most to the advancement of the Roman Empire. For in Republicks, which are always slow in their motions, (because no Magistrate can dispatch any business singly, and one having need of anothers agreement in their opinions, the time insensibly slips away.) The ordinary remedies are very dangerous, when they are to provide against some pressing Evil, which doth not give time to wait for the Consultation of many; whence I conclude, that Common-Wealths, which in pressing dangers have not recourse either to a Dictator, or some other Magistrate of the like Nature, will certainly run a-ground upon some sudden accident. Heretofore the Dutchy of *Brabant* created a *Ruevert*, or a Protector, on whom the Province conferr'd an Absolute Power for the time. The Prince of *Orange* got himself chosen *Ruevert*, *Anno. 1577. Cabrera, c. 24. lib. 11. of his Philip II. and Strada lib. 1. dec. 1.*

d Decemvirates.] Ten Men who govern'd the Common-Wealth instead of Consuls. It was under them that the XII Tables were compos'd, i. e. a Compilation of the best Laws of *Greece*, but particularly of *Athen*, whose Policy was esteem'd the most Excellent. For all those which the Kings had made were abolish'd in hatred of Monarchy. The first year each made his Table according to the several matters, which fell to their lot, and the Year following, they made two more in common, to supply what was wanting in the ten former. But as they were endeavouring to perpetuate their Government, which began to degenerate into Tyranny, the Decemvirate was abolished for Ever, and the Consulship restored. The Decemvirs had greater Authority than the Dictator, for the Dictator could make no alteration in the ancient Laws of the City, nor do any thing which was prejudicial to the State, the Tribunes of the People, the Consuls and the Senate, who still subsisted, put a Bridle upon him, which kept him from breaking out of the right way, faith *Machiavel*; on the contrary the Con-

B 2

following

4 *The ANNALS of* Book I.
 Military Tribunes remain'd in force but for a little space¹. Neither was the *Arbitrary* Dominion of *Cinna*, or that of *Sylla*, of any long continuance². The Power of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, were soon transferr'd to *Julius Cæsar*; and the Arms of *Marc Anthony* and *Lepidus*, gave place to those of his *Successor*, *Augustus*. Then it was, that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. All Power that is Establish'd by Sedition, as was that of these Tribunes, can never subsist long.
2. Nothing is so weak and so obnoxious to a reverse of Fortune, as a Power, which hath neither Right nor Reason for its Foundation. *Cinna* was slain in a Sedition by his own Soldiers, and *Sylla* constrain'd to renounce the Dictatorship. Upon which *Cæsar* said pleasantly, that *Sylla* could not Read, seeing he knew not how to Dictate.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

fulship and the Tribuneship having been abolish'd by the Creation of the Decemvirs, to whom the People transferred all their Rights, these Ten, who had their hands at liberty, there remaining no appeal from them to the People, had an opportunity of becoming insolent.

Military Tribunes. The Patricii, or the Nobles being at discord with the People, who would have the Commons admitted to the Consulship, as well as the Nobles, found an Expedient to create Military Tribunes in the room of the Consuls: so that, as often as the People and the Nobility could not agree in the Election of the Consuls, they created Military Tribunes, who exercised all the Military Functions. A Testimony, saith *Michaëlis*, *Discourse* l. 1. c. 34. that it was rather the Name of Consul that they hated, than the Authority of the Consulship. And this Custom lasted about 80 Years, not in a continu'd Succession, for there was sometimes of Consuls, and sometimes of Tribunes. *Tacitus* says nothing here of the Tribunes of the People, who held notwithstanding a considerable Rank in the ancient Common-Wealth, as having been instituted to moderate the Power of the Consuls, and to protect the meaner sort against the Insolence of the Great ones; besides, their Persons were Sacred and Inviolable. They were instituted fifty years before the Creation of Military Tribunes, when the People jealous of the Power of the Nobles, and weary of their Insults, retired to the *Crustumerin* Hill, call'd afterward the Sacred Hill, because of the happy accommodation of this quarrel. There was at first but two Tribunes of the People, but a little while after there was four other; and in process of time they were multiply'd to ten, and the Nobility excluded from this Office, which was not observed in following times. *C. Licinius Stolo*, and *Sextius Lateranus* put a stop to the Elections of Consuls, for the space of five years, and by these means the Senate was forced to admit *Plebeians* to the Consulship, which was conferr'd upon them the first time in the Persons of *Sextus* and *Licinius*. *Sylla*, the sworn Enemy of the Common People, had much humbled these Tribunes, but after his Death they resumed all their Authority.

f. Prince

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 that the Civil Wars having exhausted the Forces of the Common-wealth, *Augustus Cæsar* assum'd the Government, under the *Modest* Title of Prince³ of the Senate^f.
 But all the good or adverse Fortune, which happen'd to the Ancient Republicque of the Romans, has already been

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Ambition and the Quarrels of Great Men, are the Shelves on which the Liberty of Common-Wealths are always split; for the State is weaken'd in Proportion, as particular Persons fortifie themselves by Arms, under pretence of revenging their Injuries, or of securing themselves against the Resentments of their Enemies, or the Violence of these that are stronger. And as the People suffer themselves in the end to be the Prey of their Dissentions, they are constrain'd to receive an absolute Master, that they may have Peace; Thus *Tacitus* had good reason to say, that the Factions of Citizens are much more dangerous in Common-Wealths, and that Regal Power came not into the World but since Equality and Modesty went out of it, *Periculosiores sunt inimicitie juxta libertatem*. In Germany. *Postquam exui equalitas, & promodestia ac pudore ambitio & vis incedebat, provenere dominationes.* Ann. 3. To conclude, *Tacitus* seems to observe here, that *Rome* was never at rest, after the Expulsion of its Kings, until it return'd to the Government of a Single Person, as to its first principle; for in *Tully's* Opinion it was not the Regal Power, but the Abuse of Regal Power which the Roman People hated, 3 *de Legib.*
2. A new Prince ought always to wave odious Titles, for besides that Authority is not in Titles, those which he accepts give Men occasion to judge of the good or bad dispositions which he brings with him to the Government. It is natural to believe, that a Prince who voluntarily assumed a Title which shocks his Subjects, will take no great care to be belov'd, and will make it his principal Maxim, *Oderint, dum metuant*. Pope *Paul II.* gave People an ill opinion of his Pontificate from the Day of his Exaltation, by being desirous to take the name of *Fermo-sur*. And indeed, his Vanity which sprang thence, made him to do many things unbecoming a Pope, for according to *Platina's* Relation, he Painted and Dress'd like a Woman.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

[*Prince of the Senate.*] He had yet no Superiority over the Senators, who was equal to him in every thing, except Precedency, and for this Reason *Dio* calls him *οὐρανὸς ἡγεμὼν*, i. e. the first of the Senate. This Title was in use under the ancient Common-Wealth. The first who was honour'd with it, was *Fabius Ambustus*, about the Year of *Rome*, 435. The Consuls were more than the Prince of the Senate, for they were Princes of the People.

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g. Adili

been related, by great Authors¹. Neither were there wanting Famous Wits to transfer the Actions of *Augustus* to future Ages, till they were hinder'd by the Growth of Flattery². During the Reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius*, and *Nero*; their several Actions were falsify'd through fear, while they were yet living; and after their Decease, were traduc'd through the recent hate of their Historians³.

For which reason, I shall only give you here a Summary Account of those Actions which were perform'd by *Augustus* in the latter part of his Life; and afterwards the History of *Tiberius*, and of the three succeeding Emperors: the whole without Partiality or Prejudice; to neither of which I can have a Motive⁴.

After

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. They who relate only these things which make for the Honour of their Country, and suppress the rest, are good Citizens, but very bad Historians,

*Dum patriam laudat, dum damnat
Poggius hostes,
Nec malus est civis, nec bonus
historicus.*

In *Tacitus's* Opinion, History is always better written by the Subjects of a Republick, than by those of a Monarchy, because Flattery reigns less in Republicks.

2. Flattery increases in proportion as Government is Establish'd. It began under the Reign of *Augustus*, but it was at its height under that of *Tiberius*: To see the extravagant Progress which it made in a little time among Writers, we need only compare the History of *Paterculus*, with that of *Livy*. This was written under a Common-Wealth, the other under a Monarchy. If *Augustus* call'd *Livy* Pompeian, he would certainly have call'd *Paterculus* Tiberian.

3. The History of bad Princes is

never Written faithfully, not during their life, because they are fear'd, nor after their Death, because they are calumniated. And besides, those who have made their Fortunes under them, believe that it is permitted to them to lye by way of gratitude. So that Posterity are equally deceived by both, *Ita neutris cura posteritatis inter infensos, vel obnoxios. Hist. 1.*

4. They who undertake to write History ought to indulge neither to the Love nor the Hatred which they have towards the Persons they are to speak of; Neither their Animosities, nor their Acknowledgments ought to pass from their Heart to their Writings; they should set themselves above Hope and Fear, that they may be at Liberty to speak Truth. Every one faith *d'Aubigne* protests at his setting out to make up his wants of Abilities, by an exact Fidelity, every one boasts of Liberty, and of laying his passions at his Feet, even such a one who in the very beginning shews, that his Pen and his Conscience are sold to Favour. *Preface of his Universal History.*

1. When

After the Death of *Cassius* and *Brutus*, when there were none remaining to take up Arms for Liberty; the Younger *Pompey* being defeated in *Sicily*, *Lepidus* dispossest of his Command, and that *Marc Anthony* had lost his Life together with his Power, *Augustus*, the only Survivor of the three Competitors, and Heir of *Caesar*, laying down the Title of Triumvir¹, took up the less invidious Name of Consul; and pretended to satisfy himself with the Tribunitial Power, thereby to protect the People² in their Rights and Privileges; but when he had once gain'd the Soldiery to his Interest, by rewards³, the People by Donatives and plenty of Provisions⁴, and allur'd all in general, by the Mildness of his Government; He began by degrees to incroach upon them, and to draw into his own hands, the Authority of the Senate, of the Magistrates, and Laws: none daring to oppose him, the most violent of his Enemies being either slain in Battle, or cut off by Proscriptions, and the remaining Nobility, the more ready they were to enter into Servitude, the more sure of Honours and Preferment. Besides, that they who found their account in the Change of Government, were more willing to

em.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Prince ceases to be Cruel, and grows Merciful, all the Evil that he hath done, is attributed to Necessity, and the Unhappiness of the Times, and all the Good that he doth to his own Nature. *Augustus* effaced all the Footsteps of his Triumvirate, by quitting the Title of Triumvir; and it may be said, that his Clemency did the Roman Common-Wealth more mischief than his Triumvirate, seeing it made the People tame for Servitude, by making them love him for a Master, whom they before abhor'd as a Triumvir.

2. They who have oppress'd the Liberties of Common-Wealths, have almost all of them begun by de-

sending it; for the People accustom themselves insensibly to obey him who knows how to deceive them, under the specious Title of a Defender. It was by this fine Name *Pagano della Terra* made himself Lord of *Milan*, and the Duke of *Atenes*, of *Florence*.

An Army hath always a greater love for the Gifts which are bestow'd on them, and the Licentiousness which is allow'd them, than for the publick Liberty. *Donis corrumpatur, says Livy, malebat licentiam suam, quam omnium libertatem.*

4. The Common People love their Bellies better than their Liberty.

B

It

embrace the Present Slavery, with an assur'd prospect of Ease and Quiet, than to run the Hazard of new Dangers for the recovery of their Ancient Freedom¹. Neither were the Provinces any ways unwilling to admit these Alterations, as being weary'd out with the continual dissensions of the Senators among themselves, and the Covetousness of their Magistrates, against whom it was in vain to seek the Protection of the Laws: Which either through Force, or Cabals, or Bribery, were become of no effect.

As for the rest, *Augustus* to strengthen his Authority, advanc'd *Claudius Marcellus*, the Son of his Sister, and yet very Young, to the Dignity of the Pontificat, and that of *Edile*². And also honour'd with two Successive Consulships *Marcus Agrippa*, a Man of mean Parentage³, but an expert Soldier, and the Companion of his Victories; and not long after, *Marcellus* being dead he Marry'd him to his Daughter *Julia*. He also gave *Tiberius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is as dangerous to attempt to restore Liberty to a People who desire to have a Master, as to endeavour to bring a People under Subjection, who desire to live free: In fine, it is to preserve the shadow and appearance of Liberty, to obey those willingly who have the power to force us to it; *Libertatis servaveris umbram, says Lucian, si quicquid jubere, velis.*

2. The Prince who would be well served ought to honour Virtue wheresoever it is found, and to look

upon him as the most Noble, who is the best able to assist him to govern well. A single Person, saith *Comminius*, is sometimes the Cause of preventing great Inconveniences to his Master, although he be not of Noble Birth, provided that he has only Sense and Virtue. *Ch. 5. Lib. 5. of his Mem. Cabrera* says, that *Philip* the II. in conferring Offices and Military Honours, preferred Spill'd Blood to Hereditary Blood, *Ch. ult. Lib. 2. of his History.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

² *Ædile Curule.*] That is to say an *Ædile*, for there were *Ædiles* taken out of the Common People, who were not permitted to ride in the City with a Chariot, or to sit in an Ivory-Chair. But this distinction which was odious to the People, was afterwards abolished, and all the *Ædiles* were *Curules*: They had the oversight of the Government of the City of Publick Games, and of the Reparation of the Temples, and of all things relating to the Worship of the Gods.

³ *Prætexta.*]

rius Nero, and *Claudius Drusus*, the Command of Armies, though but the Sons of his Wife *Livia*, and that his own Family was yet flourishing with Heirs. For he had already adopted into the *Julian* Family *Cajus* and *Lucius*, his Grandsons by *Agrippa* and his Daughter: And had earnestly desir'd, though with a seeming repugnance¹, that they should be made Princes of the Youth, and design'd Consuls, while yet they wore the *Pretext Robe*². In a short time after *Agrippa's* Death, his Sons follow'd him, either through the Force of an immature destiny, or through the Treachery of their Mother-in-Law *Livia*³. One of them as he was going into *Spain*, to command the Armies there; and the other as he was returning from *Armenia*, and ill of a Wound, which he had receiv'd. And as *Drusus* was not long e'er this deceas'd, *Tiberius* only was remaining: Who from thence-forward, was regarded as Successor to the Sovereignty. *Augustus* adopted him⁴; and made him his Colleague in the Empire, and the Tribunitial Power: He sent him also to make his Publick Appearance in all the Armies, that he

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is enough to guess, that a Prince does not Refuse a thing in good earnest, because he makes no resistance to accept it, when it is offered him again with greater importunity. The more Popes affect to shew in the beginning of their Pontificate, little inclination to call their Relations to the Administration of Affairs, the more the Cardinals, the Ambassadors and the Courtiers are importunate to persuade them to that which they knew they desire,

Vid. Reflection 6. of Ch. 7.

2. The Death of Princes is frequently imputed to those, who have the greatest Advantage by it. As *Livia* desir'd to reign, even after *Augustus's* death, she was suspected to have poyson'd *Lucius* and *Caius*, to make way for her Son. *Henry* Duke of *Orleanse*, and *Catherine de Medicis*, his Wife, were supposed to be the true Authors of the Death of the Dauphine of *France*, because his Death secured the Crown to them.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

² *Prætexta.*] A Robe edg'd with Scarlet, which Children of Quality wore from the time of the Reign of *Lucius Tarquinus*, surnamed *Priscus*, or the Old, they left it off at 17 years of Age.

⁴ According to *Paterculus*, *Tiberius* was adopted by *Augustus* in the Consulship of *Ælius Catius*, and of *Caius Sestius*, the 27th of June *A.D.* Rome, 754. *Hist. 2. Ch. 103.*

Brutus

he might be known to the Soldiers, and all this at the open Sollicitations of *Livia*; who now no longer manag'd her affairs by Intrigues and secret Artifices, as formerly she had done. For she had gain'd so great an Ascendant over her Husband, now in his declining Age, that to satisfy her desires he had banish'd *Agrippa Posthumus*, his only remaining Grandson, into the Island of *Planasia*. This Youth, 'tis to be confess'd, had been ill Educated, was of a rude Behaviour, and valu'd himself too brutally on his strength of Body: but otherwise, was free from any apparent Vice. The Emperor had also plac'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is rarely seen, that a Prince growing old, maintains his Authority to the last. *Tacitus* saith, that the Power of an Old Man is precarious, *precarium seni imperium, & brevi transitorium*. Hist. 1. For under the colour of relieving his Old Age, his Wife, or his Son, or his Ministers assume the Government. Duke *Philip* being grown Old, *Commynes* saith, that his Affairs were so manag'd by the Lords of *Crouy* and of *Chinay*, that he restor'd to the King the Cities upon the River of *Saone*, at which the Count his Son was much troubled, for they were the Frontiers of their Lordships.

The Count call'd a great Council in the Bishop of *Cambray's* Palace, and there declar'd the whole House of *Crouy* mortal Enemies to his Father and himself: insomuch that they were all of them forc'd to fly. These proceedings were very displeasing to Duke *Philip*, but his great Age made him bear it with patience, Ch. 1. & 2. Lib. 1. of his Memoirs. That which also adds much to the Diminution of the Authority of an old and infirm Prince, is, that there being no more to be hop'd for from him, he is abandon'd by his Servants.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

BRUTUS and CASSIUS.

Paterculus saith, that never any Persons had so favourable a Fortune in the beginning, as *Brutus* and *Cassius*, nor so short liv'd a one; *Brutus* was but 37 years old when he died; *Cassius* was a better Captain, *Brutus* a better Friend; the one had more Vigour, the other more Honesty. And as it was more advantageous to the Common-Wealth to have *Augustus* for its Master than *Anthony*, it would likewise have been more agreeable to obey'd *Brutus* than *Cassius*. They both kill'd themselves; the latter frighted by a Company of People who came to bring him News of the Victory, believing that they were Enemies; the Former a few days after in despair.

Young

plac'd *Germanicus*, the Son of *Drusus*, at the Head of Eight Legions, which were quarter'd towards the *Rhine*, and had commanded *Tiberius* to adopt him for his Son; that he might thereby strengthen the Succession²; tho' *Tiberius* at that time, had a Son also of his own, then of Age, and capable of Publick Business.

He

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It may be this was not so much to oppose the Incursions of the Germans, as to put a Check upon *Tiberius* if he should make an attempt upon the Authority of *Augustus*.

2. Adoption doth not only serve to multiply the Heirs of a Prince, who is too old for Procreation, but also to secure him from the reproach

of Old Age, and incapacity to govern, when it is seen, that he makes a good Choice: And this was *Galba's* meaning in what he said when he adopted *Piso*; as soon as the Senate and the City shall hear of thy adoption, they'll no longer think me old. *Audita adoptione desinam videri senex*. Tac. Hist. 1.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Young POMPEY.

This young Man having possessed himself of *Sicily*, formed an Army of the broken remains of that of *Brutus*, and of multitudes of Slaves, Fugitives, and proscribed Persons, who flock'd to him. For although he was not much like his Father, and was not Valiant but in a Heat and in a Passion, any Leader was fit for People who had nothing to lose. When he infested the Seas by his Pyracies, *Augustus* and *Anthony* were oblig'd to make Peace with him to quiet the People of *Rome*, who were no longer able to bear the Scarcity of Provisions, which was caused by the Robbery of *Pompey's* Fleet. *Sicily* and *Greece* were yielded to him by this Treaty. But this turbulent Spirit being not content to keep within those bounds, *Augustus* declared War against him. In the beginning of which *Pompey* was successful, but *Augustus* in the latter end, for he forced him to fly into *Asia*, where he was slain by the Command of *Anthony*. *Paterc.* Hist. 2. Chap. 72, 73. and 79.

The Triumvir LEPIDUS.

After the defeat and flight of Young *Pompey*, *Lepidus*, who was come in to *Sicily* with twelve Legions, incorporated with his Army *Pompey's* Troops. Being therefore at the head of above twenty Legions, he had the boldness to send *Augustus* word, that *Sicily* belong'd to him by right of Conquest, although he had only been the Spectator of another's Victory, and which he had also a long time retarded, by giving advice upon every occasion, contrary to that, which all the rest approved. *Augustus*, notwithstanding he was unarm'd, enter'd *Lepidus* his Camp, and not regarding the Arrows which the other caused to be shot at him, he seiz'd the Eagle of a Legion. *Lepidus* abandon'd by his Soldiers, and fortune which rais'd him to a degree of power which he no ways deserved, was forc'd to throw himself at *Augustus* his feet, who gave him his Life and his Estate.

MARK

He had now no other War upon his hands, but that of Germany, which he continu'd rather to blot out the Ignominy which he had receiv'd, by the Defeat of *Quintilius Varus*, than to extend the Bounds of the Roman Empire: or for any other important Interest. All things at Rome being in a settled Peace; the Magistrates still retain'd their former names: The Youth being born after

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Arcaum novi status imago antiqui*, that is to say, the Art of a New Government is to resemble the Old. For the People ought not to be sensible of a Change, for fear of an Insurrection. After that *Philip II.* had taken possession of Portugal, he left Cardinal Arch-Duke *Albert*, Vice-Roy there; so that as to Habit, saith *Cabrera*, King Cardinal *Henry* seem'd not to be dead, *History of Philip II. sub fin.* It was possibly for the same reason, that *Philip* gave the Government of the Low-Countrys to the Dutchess of Parma his Sister, considering that the Flemings having been accustomed to a Female Government for the space of 46 Years, that *Margaret of Austria*, Dutchess Dowager of Savoy, and *Mary Queen of Hungary*, his Aunt, had govern'd them; it was probable that a Governess would be more agreeable to them than a

Governor. *Herrera* saith, that *Philip* having recall'd the Arch-Duke *Albert* from Portugal (in 1592.) the Government of this Kingdom remained in the hands of five Administrators, because that having promis'd the Portuguese to give them always one of the Royal Family for their Governor; and being either not able, or not willing to do it at that time, he thought to make no Innovation by placing in the room of *Albert* five Portuguese Lords, after the example of the King Cardinal *Henry*, who by his last Will had named five others, *Third Part of his Hist. Lib. 10. C. 23.* *Henry IV.* would make his Abjuration in the Church of St. Denis, to shew that he would follow the Religion and the Examples of the Kings, who were interr'd there. *Memoirs of the Chancellor Chiverny.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

MARK ANTHONY.

This Triumvir having resolv'd to make War on his Country, the Quarrel was decided by a Fight, which put an end to the Civil Wars. This Battle was fought near *Actium*, a Promontory of the Sea of *Albania*. After the two Fleets were engaged, Queen *Cleopatra* flying, *Anthony* chose rather to accompany a Woman who fled, than his Soldiers who fought. These brave Men however obstinately maintain'd the Fight, and they despair'd of the Victory; they held it out a long time, being willing to die for a Defenter. But in the end *Augustus* having softned them by his Remonstrances, they threw down their Arms, and yielded the Victory to him who merited it as much by his Clemency, as by his Valour.

k *Tiberius*

after the Battle of *Actium*, and the Elder sort, during the Civil War, few were now remaining of those which had seen the times of Liberty; All things had another face. Nothing of the Form or Force of the Ancient Government was left. Equality and Freedom were at once distinguish'd; the Common Interest was to obey and serve the Prince, at least, before he grew subject to the Decays of Age, and cou'd attend with Vigour to the Cares of Government, and to the Fortunes of his Family. But when he was infeebl'd with Years and Sickness, and his end was visibly approaching; the Minds of Men were alter'd by the prospect of a Change. Some few cry'd up the Advantage of Publick Freedom: Many were fearful of an impending War, which was earnestly desir'd by others. But the greater Part employ'd their time in various Discourses of future Matters¹.

" *Agrippa*, they said, was fierce by Nature, and exasperated by the Disgraces which he suffer'd; besides, that he was wholly unacquainted with Affairs, and incapable of sustaining so great a Weight. *Tiberius* was indeed mature in Years, and experienc'd in Warfare; but had inherent in him, the Severity and Pride of the Claudian Family, which he cou'd not so perfectly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Prince begins to break and grow infirm, all People turn their Eyes towards the Rising Sun, that is to say, towards his Successor, if there is an Heir apparent, as in Hereditary States there is: but if the Successors be uncertain, as in Elective Kingdoms, then every one reasons upon the good or bad Qualities of the several Pretenders, and destines to the Throne him that is most agreeable to himself. *Multi*, saith *Tacitus*, *occulta spe, prout quis amicus vel client, hunc vel illum ambitiosus rumoribus destinabant*, *Hist. 1.*

2. It has been often observed, that Princes who come from Exile to a Throne, have been cruel,

— *Regnabit sanguine multo, Quisquis ab exilio venit ad imperium. Apud Suet, in Vita Tib.*

and likewise those who have been despised or ill-treated under the Reign of their Predecessor. When once *Lewis XI.* was crowned and knew his Power, he thought of nothing but revenge. *Hist. Memoirs, Lib. 1. Ch. 12.*

" perfectly dissemble, but that some signs of Cruelty
 " might be observ'd in his Nature and his Actions.
 " What was there to be expected from a Man, bred
 " from his Infancy^k, in the Imperial House, and amidst
 " Arbitrary Power, loaded with Honours and Triumphs
 " in his Youth^l, and during his retreat at Rhodes, which
 " was, in effect, but a specious Exile; feeding his
 " thoughts with the hopes of Vegance, forming him-
 " self to the Practice of Dissimulation, and consuming
 " the rest of his time in Luxury². His Mother of a
 " Violent and Imperious Nature, according to the Sex
 " themselves, subjected to the Slavery of a Woman;
 " besides, two Youths, who at present were chargeable
 " to the Common-Wealth, and wou'd tear it piece-meal
 " after the Emperor's Decease.

While these things were in agitation, the Health of
Augustus was impairing daily; and there wanted not
 some, who suspected the Impiety of his Wife by *Poison*³.
 For, some Months before, there had been spread a Ru-
 mour, that *Augustus*, attended by some of his most trusty
 Ser-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It ought to be observed, saith
 the same Author, that all Men who
 have ever been great, or have done
 great things, began very Young.
 And this lies in Education.

2. Princes of the Humour of *Ti-
 berius* can never be in worse Com-
 pany than with themselves. The
 fierce and cruel Temper of *Don
 Carlos*, Prince of Spain, according
 to *Cabrera*, was owing to the Inclina-
 tion which he had for Solitude.
 C. 8. L. 1. of his History. For Soli-

tude, saith he, makes young People
 Wild, Melancholly, Fantastical,
 Cholerick, and apt to form ill de-
 signs. That which none sees none
 reproves; and consequently tempta-
 tion meets with no obstacle. L. 4. c. 2.

3. It is usual for People to impute
 the Death of Princes to Poyson; as
 if Princes could not dye of Diseases,
 or of Old Age; or that their Death
 must be render'd as mysterious as
 their Life.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^k *Tiberius* was not three years old when his Mother was married to
Augustus. *Tiberius*, saith *Paterculus*, Educated under *Augustus*, season'd
 with his Divine Precepts, and endowed moreover with extraordinary Parts,
 discover'd very early somewhat which promis'd all that we behold in him
 at this day. Hist. 2. Ch. 94.

^l The

Servants, and accompany'd only by *Fabius Maximus* his
 Friend and Confident, had made a Secret Voyage to
 the Island of *Planasia*, there to visit Young *Agrippa*; that
 many tears had been mutually shed, with reciprocal te-
 stimonies of tenderness¹; from which it might be ga-
 ther'd, that there were yet some hopes of his being
 restor'd into the Family of his Grandfather⁴. It was
 farther reported, that *Fabius* had reveal'd this Secret to his
 Wife *Marcia*², and she to *Livia*³, who complain'd of it
 to *Augustus*: these things being come at length to the
 notice of the Emperor, and shortly after, *Maximus* be-
 ing

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Augustus* being willing to re-
 pair the Error which he had com-
 mitted in disinheriting his Grandson,
 made a greater by recalling him to
 the Succession of the Empire, after
 he had taken *Tiberius* for his Col-
 league. For besides that it was not
 in his power to undo what he had
 done, his Repentance which came
 too late, expos'd him to the Hatred
 and Revenge of *Livia* and *Tiberius*,
 who were no longer oblig'd to him
 for a Favour that he was sorry he
 had done them. When any one will
 do so great a thing, saith *Commynes*,
 he ought to consult and debate it
 well, that he may take the safest
 side: For there is no Prince so wise,
 who doth not fail sometimes, and
 also very often, if he lives long;

and this would be evident from his
 actions, if he always spoke the
 Truth of them. His Memoirs, l. 5.
 c. 13.

2. *Cato* the Censor had good rea-
 son to say, that one of the three
 things whercof he repented, was,
 that he had told his Secret to a
 Woman; for, if you'll believe *Plau-
 tus*, none of that Sex have been
 Mutes. Two or three contrary Ex-
 amples, saith a Modern Author, are
 miracles, which do not make a Pre-
 cedent. P. *Bohairs* keeping a Secret.

3. It is a general Custom, saith
Commynes, more to endeavour to
 please those whose future advance-
 ment we expect, than him who is
 already rais'd to such a Degree, that
 he can ascend no higher. l. 6. c. ult.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. The Elder *Pliny* saith, that *Augustus* lamented his Grandson *Agrippa*,
 after he had banish'd him, and that the Ambitious Designs of *Livia* and
Tiberius, gave him anxious thoughts enough in the latter part of his life.
Abdicatio Posthumi Agrippæ post adoptionem, desiderium post relegationem.---
Hinc uxoris & Tiberii cogitationes supremæ ejus curæ. C. 45. L. 7. Lastly,
 concludes he, this Divine *Augustus* died, leaving his Enemy's Son his Heir
 and Successor. For *Tiberius* was the Son of *Claudius Nero* the High-Priest,
 who was the declared Protector of all the Malecontents after the Death of
Julius Caesar, and had rais'd the War in *Campania*, *Pater. Histor. c. 75.*
Sueton adds, that the Father of *Tiberius*, was so passionate for Liberty,
 that he propos'd in the Senate, that rewards might be decreed for *Caesar's*
 Murderers. In *Tiberio.*

in *Paterculus*

ing dead, ('tis doubtful whether by a Voluntary Death, or not,) *Marcia* was heard at his Funeral amidst her sorrows to accuse her self, as the Cause of her Husband's Destiny'. But however it was, *Tiberius* was scarcely enter'd into *Illyria*; when he was speedily recall'd by Letters from his Mother; and it is not known for certain, whether or no he found *Augustus* yet living^m when he arriv'd at *Nola*. For *Livia* had order'd the *Corps de Guard* to be all under Arms at every Avenue of the Palace and the Town, and caus'd reports to be hourly spread

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes always destroy those who have discover'd their Secrets, not only for fear of treachery, but also because they are asham'd to be deceived in those they trusted. *Augustus*, who was a great discernor of Men, prefer'd *Fabius* before all the rest of his Friends, and yet this Confident through imprudence discover'd his Secrets. Therefore Princes ought not to confide in any Person, no more than *Metellus*, who said he would burn his Shirt, if it knew his secret design. By the way, 'tis fit to observe, that there is nothing more dangerous than to trust a married Woman with a Secret, because of her near relation to her Husband; for sooner or later the Bed discovers all, especially if 'tis the Woman's interest not to keep the Secret. Thus, we are not to wonder that *Livia*, knowing there was a design to set aside her Son *Tiberius*, and to bestow the Empire upon the Young *Agrippa* her Son-in-Law, sacrific'd without respect and pity, *Fabius* and *Martia* to the anger of *Augustus*, to prevent him recalling his Grandson. In the last age Don *Antonio de Padilla* having

discover'd to *Donna Anna* the Queen of *Spain*, that *Philip II.* had disappointed her of the Regency, by the Will which he had made at *Badajoz*, this Princel, who thought her self excluded for want of Love and Esteem, did not cease to make complaints, which soon after cost Don *Antonio* his Life, *Cabrera* in his History Chap. 3. Lib. 12. and c. 2. l. 13. He must never trust a Secret to a Person who is infinitely below him; for such is the case of Great Ones, that they reckon it a dishonour to stand in awe of their Inferiors; and a ridiculous Folly to be afraid of disobliging him, to whom they told a thing which may be for his advantage to reveal. *Antony Peper*, says, that the Tongue is that part of Man which the Ladies are most set against, because of the Secret which they wou'd have kept, and which they are afraid shou'd be discover'd. Men have more reason to be cautious, but especially they who live at Court, or who converse with the Court Ladies, ought to be more jealous of a Womans Tongue, and even of their own Wife's, than of their most dangerous Enemies.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^m *Paterculus* says, that *Tiberius* came to *Nola* before the Death of *Augustus*, and that they had also some discourse together, Chap. 123.

ⁿ *Suetonius*

spread of the Emperor's amendment, till having all things in a readiness, which the present Conjunction could require. She declar'd at once the Death of *Augustus*ⁿ, and the Accession of *Tiberius* to the Empire^o.

The Reign of

T I B E R I U S :

Beginning in the Year of Rome, 767.

I. THE first Action of the New Reign, was the Murder of *Agrippa Posthumus*¹; who unarm'd as he was, and wholly Ignorant of the design, was not without some difficulty slain, by a Centurion hardned in blood. *Tiberius* was silent of this matter in the Senate, feigning a Command from his Father *Augustus*, wherein he

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Prince who sheds the Royal Blood, gives an Example of most dangerous consequence. The Queen of *Naples*, *Joan I.* says *Ammirato*, when she caus'd *Andrew* her Husband to be strangled, taught *Charles III.* when he had it in his power to strangle her also. And after he had taken from the Queen his Mother her Crown and Life, he also lost his own Crown and Life, by the hands of the Hungarians who were taught by the example which he had given them. Discourse 7. of the 17 Book of his Commentaries upon Tacitus. There are many Politicians, says *Cabrera*, who say on the contrary, that 'tis difficult to keep in Prison Princes of the Royal Blood; and that when they are dead they don't bite: which is the reason why *Charles of Anjou*, (that is *Charles I.* King of *Naples*,) put to death *Conradin*, the Nephew of *Manfred* his Predecessor. But *Aragon* did not want Heirs, who happily recover'd the Kingdom, and who condemn'd to death the Son of *Charles*. And though

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ *Suetonius* says, that *Tiberius* wou'd not publish the Death of *Augustus* till he had caus'd the Young *Agrippa* to be assassinated. In *Tiberio*.

^o At the Age of Fifty five years.

C

^o *Paul*

he had order'd the Officer of the Guard to murder the Young Man, immediately after his own decease. 'Tis undoubted that *Augustus* had often, and that with bitterness, complain'd in the Senate, of his Manners; and had also exacted a Decree from them to authorize his Banishment. Yet he had never proceeded to so much cruelty, as to compass the Death of any of his Relations. Nor is it credible that he would command his Grandson to be murder'd, to secure the safety of his Son-in-Law. The suspicion fell more naturally on *Tiberius* and *Livia*, for hastning the Death of a Young Man, obnoxious to the hatred of the first through fear of a Competitor^o, and of the last, through the inbred malice

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

though this Sentence was not executed, (for *Constance the Eldest Daughter of Mantrede, and Wife of Peter III. King of Aragon, was more generous than Charles I.*) yet the innocent *Conradin* was reveng'd, by that mark of Infamy which his blood imprinted upon the House of *Anjou*—*Philip II.* provided for the safety and preservation of *Queen Mary of England* his Wife, in opposing the execution of the Sentence of Death given against *Elizabeth*, his Sister-in-Law; for the Prince who puts those of his own blood into the hands of the Executioner, whets the Sword against himself. Chap. 10. of Book 1. and 5 of Book 2. of his History of *Philip II.* *Henry IV.* would never consent to the Death of *Charles of Valois*, Count of *Auvergne*, who conspir'd against him, saying, that he ought to have a respect for the blood of Kings; and *Mr. Villeroi*, one of his Ministers

said well to the same purpose, that when the Question was put concerning the Life of Princes of the Blood, the Prince ought for Counsel to hear nature only. *Barnet* has declared, that the Death of the *Queen of Scotland* was the greatest Blot of *Queen Elizabeth's* reign. And I wonder that *Pope Sixtus V.* who knew so well how to teach others to give respect to Royal Majesty, should envy this *Queen* the Happiness and Honour to have a Crown'd Head fall at her feet. And never was a Dream more full of instruction, than that *Ladies*, who usually lay in the Chamber of *Queen Elizabeth*, and who the Night before that Execution, awak'd in a fright, crying out, that she saw the Head of *Mary Stuart* cut off, and that they would also have cut off the Head of *Queen Elizabeth* with the same Axe. Letti Book 3. of part 2. of the Life of *Sixtus V.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^o. *Paul Piasceki* says, in his Chronicle, that *Constance of Austria*, the Second Wife of *Sigismund III. King of Poland*, used all her Interest to get her Eldest Son *John Casimir* to be chosen King, and her Son-in-Law and Nephew *Uladislaus* excluded, who being the Eldest Son of the King, according to the Law and Custom of the Country, was to be prefer'd before all others. Another *Polonian* says, *Nec inquam committunt, quin hic eligatur, cui ipso jure debetur successio.* *Krzysztofowicz* in his description of the Government of *Poland*.

p. Mary

lice of Step-mother. When the Centurion, according to Military Custom, told *Tiberius* that he had perform'd his orders; his answer was, that he had given him no such Commission²; that the Officer should be answerable to the Senate for his offence, which coming to the knowledge of *Sallustius Crispus*, who was the confidant of all his Secrets, and who had issued out those orders to the Centurion, He fearing that the Murther would be charg'd on him, and knowing that it was equally dangerous in his case, either to confess the Truth, or divulge the Secret, to approve himself, either Innocent or Guilty³; advis'd *Livia*, that care should be taken not to expose the Secrets of the Imperial House, or the Counsels of Ministers⁴, or the Names of the Soldiers, whom he privately employ'd to execute his orders. For *Tiberius* would certainly weaken the Government, if he permitted his actions to be scan'd in the Senate⁵.

Arbitrary

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. 'Tis the Custom of Princes in hurtful cases to throw the Odium upon their Ministers. *Anthony Perez*, who found it so by sad experience in the Murder of *John of Escovedo*, which *Philip II.* gave leave to be enquir'd into; says, that Princes are advis'd to keep a Council of State to clear themselves of all unlucky accidents. *Queen Elizabeth* imprison'd the Secretary who dispatch'd an Order to hasten the Execution of *Mary Stuart*, *Queen of Scots*, saying, that she was surpris'd when she sign'd the Warrant. Letti.

3. That Minister is unhappy, who is forc'd to accuse his Prince, to prove his own Innocence; or who must be Criminal, to make his Prince to be reputed Innocent. For if he keeps the Secret, the Judges condemn him; if he does not keep it, his Master sacrifices him as an unfaithful Servant. Besides, the Prince is always glad to rid himself of one who may be a Witness against him.

4. Princes would often want Counsel, if it was dangerous to give them Counsel. *Desiderius qui suadent, se suaders periculum sit.* *Curt. Lib. 7.* When a Prince keeps a Secret, says *Cabrera*, we freely tell him every thing that may do him hurt; which often preserves his State and Person. *Philip II.* was ignorant of nothing, because every one told him what he knew; and 'twas certain he would never discover what ought to be kept secret. Chap. 3. of the 12 Book of his Life.

5. 'Tis the Destruction of a Republick and introduces a Monarchy to commit the Sovereign Power to one alone, and 'tis the Overthrow of a Monarchy to give this Power to many. This was the mistake of *Philip II.* after the death of *Levis of Regusien*, Governor of the Low-Countrys, in committing the Administration of the Affairs of *Flanders* to the Council of State of that Country. For the People, when

C 2

they

Arbitrary Dominion being of that nature, that the Performance of a Command, from a single Person, can be accountable but to him alone P.

II. In the mean time, at Rome the Consuls, Senators, and Knights, endeavour'd to out-strip each other in the race to Servitude. And they who were the most Noble and Illustrious, made the greatest speed; using so specious a behaviour, that without shewing any exterior gladness for the Death of their late Emperor, or any discontent, for the Succession of the New^q, their Mourning was mingled with their Joy, and their Tears with expressions of Flattery. *Sextus Pompeius* and *Sextus Apuleius*, then

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

they saw themselves delivered from the Yoke of a Spanish Governor, were not afraid of a Power, which being divided among many, seem'd unto 'em a kind of a Republick. Besides, the Interest and Advice of those who were of this Council never agreeing, the People had a fair pretence not to obey, standing neuter among so many Masters, who did not know how to command. 'Tis almost impossible, says *Commines*, that many great Lords of the same Quality and Estate, should be able to hold long together, unless there be one Superior to command 'em, and 'tis necessary that he should be Wife and well Approved whom they must all obey. And a little after, he gives this reason for it. Because, says he, they have so many things to dispatch and agree among themselves, that half of the time is lost before they can conclude any thing. *The last Chap. of Book 1. of his Memoirs.* *Cabrera* says, that a Prince has need of Counsel and of Ministers to assist him in the Government; for though he be an able Prince, yet he can't know every thing; but they must not be his companions in the Government, because being only his Instruments, 'tis fit he should use 'em as he pleases. *Chap. 7. of the first book of his History.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p *Mary*, Queen of Hungary, Sister of *Charles V.* shew'd her self of the same opinion, when taking her leave of the Low-Countrys, which she had govern'd 23 years, she us'd this Expression: If I have fail'd in any thing, I may be excus'd, since I have done the best I could; but if any are dissatisfied with what I have done, I regard it not, since the Emperor my Brother is satisfied, and my care was only to please him. *Brantome disc. 4. of brave Women.*

q *Don John Antonio de Vera* speaking of the Ceremony of the Abdication of *Charles V.* says, that they who assisted at it gave publick testimony of their sorrow, but however in such a manner as, without displeasing the Prince they received, shew'd what a Prince they lost. *Epitome of the Life of Charles V.*

z Under

then Consuls, were the first who took the Oath of Fidelity to *Tiberius*, and gave it afterwards in his name, to *Sejus Strabo*, Captain of the Pretorian-Guard, and to *Cajus Turranius*, Commissary-General of the Publick Provisions: after these, to the Senate, to the Forces, and to the People. For *Tiberius* affected to begin all publick Functions from the Consuls, as in the ancient Commonwealth, and as if he were yet doubtful, whether or no, he would assume the Government. Even the Edict it self by which he summon'd the Senate to the Court, was short and modest, declaring, that he exercis'd this Right but only in vertue of the Tribunitial Power^r, which was vested in him by *Augustus*²; and in order to deliberate on those funeral Honours, which were to be paid to his Father, whose Corps, in the mean time, he would not forsake^s, and that all the part to which he pretended in the Publick Administration, was no more than

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Because Liberty began with the Consulship, he affected to propose all things by the Consuls, to amuse the People, and even the Senate, by an image of the ancient Republick. *Arcanum enim novi status imago antiqui.*

2. The Edicts of a Prince ought always to be short, for they are Laws and Commandments, of which it belongs not to Subjects to examine the reasons. 'Tis the business of a Doctor to alledge reasons, but not of a Legislator, who ought to make

himself obey'd by Authority and not by Persuasion. If reasons were given to Subjects, they would examine them; and this Inquiry would carry 'em to Disobedience when they did not think those Reasons good. The force of a Law, does not formally consist in the Justice of it, but in the Authority of the Legislator; and therefore Kings, who are the Supreme Legislators, must be obeyed, because they have establish'd such and such Laws, and not because their Laws seem just to us.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

r Under the ancient Republick, the Tribunes of the People had oftentimes assembled the Senate; so *Tiberius* acted popularly in convoking them. 'Tis true, the Tribunes had usurp'd this Power, for in the beginning they could only *vetare*, aut *intercedere*, i. e. hinder or oppose; whereas the Consuls had a right to command. *Consules jubent.*

s Because *Augustus* dying at Nola, as *Tacitus* says, at the end of the Abridgment of his Life, he would in honour accompany his body to Rome.

than what was reducible to that Edict¹. Yet after the Death of *Augustus*, it was his Custom to give the word to the Prætorian Cohorts, to be attended by Soldiers, and no part of the State belonging to an Emperor, was wanting to him. Whether he walk'd the Streets, or went to the Senate, his Guards follow'd him. He had also written to the Armies in the style of Emperour and Successor, and all without the least Ambiguity or Hesitation, unless it were when he spoke in Senate². The principal Cause of his dissimulation³ was, that he fear'd *Germanicus* who commanded so many Legions, assur'd of succour from all the Allies, and lov'd even to Idolatry, by the Roman People, would rather chuse to enjoy the Empire in present, than to attend it from his Death. Neither was there wanting a mixture of Vain-Glory, in these proceedings, for he affected to have it thought, that he was Elect'd by the Common-Wealth⁴, rather than intro-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. He acted the part of a Republican in the Senate, because that was the only place where there yet remain'd any shadow of the ancient Liberty.

4. 'Tis the Interest of Courtiers to discover the Sentiments of the Prince, in the beginning of his Reign, to know how to behave themselves towards him; but 'tis the Interest of the Prince not to reveal or declare any thing in his affairs, that may exercise their Curiosity. For if they are before hand in discovering what is in his breast, he will never come to know what is in their hearts.

Lleva la ventaja, says a Spanish Proverb, el que vea el juego al compañero.

5. In an Elective Empire the Prince ought always to declare, that he holds the Kingdom from them who have a right to Elect, though he obtained it by other means; for otherwise he will be accounted an Usurper, and a declar'd Enemy to the publick Liberty, and by consequence his Life will be always in danger. Nothing can be said more judicious, nor more agreeable to a Republick, or to an Elective State, than that which *Galba* said of his Election

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. *John Freinshemius* gives another sense to this passage: *neque abscedere a corpore, idque unum ex publicis numeribus usurpare*; making *Tiberius* say, that by this assembling the Senate, he did not pretend to a Superiority over it, or over any Senator, but only to acquit himself of his duty to his Father: and that for the future he would not take upon him to give any more commands. And in the Examen of the Translators of *Tacitus*, which

duc'd by the Artifices of a Woman⁶, and the adoption of an old doting Man. It was afterwards discover'd also, that this Irresolution which he shew'd, tended to found the Affections of the Great towards him; for he study'd their Countenance, and their Words, to make them guilty afterwards, whom he purpos'd to destroy.

III. The first time he came into the Senate, he would permit no other business to come on, than only what related to the Funeral of his Father¹; whose Testament was brought thither by the Vestals. By it *Tiberius* and *Livia* were declar'd his Heirs. *Livia* was adopted also into the Julian Family, and honour'd with the Title of *Augusta*². In the second Degree were rank'd his Grand-Children,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Election to the Empire. Under the reigns of *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, and *Claudius*, said he, the Roman Common-Wealth has been as the Patrimony and Inheritance of one Family alone; but I who have been call'd to the Empire by the consent of the Gods and of Men, can say, that I have restored Liberty to the Common-Wealth, because Election has begun again in my Person; and that if the vast body of the Empire could be content to be govern'd by a single Person, I should be the Man, who would revive the ancient Common-Wealth.

6. In times past, the great Men thought it a dishonour, to be obli-

ged to Women for their Fortune, as if they had been prefer'd by their Favour, rather than by their own Merit. But at this day, we are not so nice in that respect. The *Ruelle* advances far more than the Sword.

1. The Prince who Honours and requires others to honour the Memory and Ashes of his Predecessors, gives an example to his Successors, which obliges them to pay him the same respect after his death. *Suetonius* relates, that 'twas said, *Cæsar* had secured his own Statues and Images from being broken, by restoring the Statues of *Sylla* and *Pompey*, which the People had thrown down during the Civil Wars.

In

HISTORICAL NOTES.

is at the end of his Paraphrase, he says, most Interpreters understand these words, *abscedere a corpore*, of the Body of *Augustus*; but I understand 'em of the Body of the Senate. In which he has followed *Dati*, who renders them thus: *Ne voleva egli en cio partirsi dalla volonta de gli altera Senatori*: And *Rodolphus*, the Maltre, who interprets them in these terms, to be inseparably united to the body of the Senate.

2. That is, with the Name of Empress, and with the Title of Majesty which she had not while her Husband was living.

Children, and their Descendants; in the third, the Greatest of the Romans, not out of Affection, for he hated most of them, but out of Ostentation², to be admir'd by Posterity*. His Legacies exceeded not the common Rules, only he bequeath'd to the People four hundred Thousand great Sesterces; to the most Inferior fort thirty five Thousand great Sesterces; to each of the Prætorian Soldiers (or Guards) a Thousand small Sesterces, and three hundred to every Legionary. After this, they spoke of the Honours which were to be render'd to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

In Poland the King elect is not crown'd till the dead King be buried: (*Piasceki in his Chronicle.*) which is probably done out of respect to the dead, who surrenders not the Crown till he has received burial. For the King Elect, does not act as King, nor Seals the Letters he writes to Foreign Princes with the Arms of the Kingdom, till after his Coronation. *Philip II.* King of Spain, built and founded the Monastery of *S. Laurence* of the *Escorial*, to be the burying place of the Emperor *Charles V.* his Father, and of the Empress *Isabella* his Mother, and all their Posterity, as he expressly declares in the act of the Foundation, reported by *Cabrera*, Chap. 11. of book 6. of his History.

Before he left Portugal he staid three days at the Monastery of *Belem*, which is a little place of *Lisbon*, and caused to be interr'd the Bodies of the Kings *Sebastien* and *Henry*, and of twenty other Princes, the Children and Grand-Children of King *Emanuel*, which had been buried apart in divers Convents; being willing to make at least this acknowledgment to twenty two Heirs, who had given place to him to succeed in this Kingdom. *Spanish Relation of the Interment of Philip in Portugal.* Chap. 16. and *Conciliario*, Book 9. of the Union of Portugal and Castile.

2. In Princes, Clemency is often an effect of their Vanity, or of their good Nature.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* We see here, says *Pagliari*, what slips sometimes the Wisest Men make. For if on the one side we consider, that *Augustus* made himself to be lamented, and esteem'd, by an unparallel'd demonstration of Humanity, yet without contributing any thing of his own; his last Will will appear to be made with great Wisdom and Policy, but if we examine more narrowly how he purchas'd the favour of the People, we shall find, that for a Prince of such Understanding he committed a great Fault, because by the bait of an apparent intail, he provoked the great Persons concerned in it, to plot against his Posterity, whom he had strengthen'd by many Adoptions. For if these Noble Persons were Politick Men, as 'tis probable, since *Augustus* mistrusted them; 'tis not likely that they would be contented with an hope, which according to the ordinary course of Nature, could not take effect in some hundreds of years, *Germanicus* and *Drusus* with all their Children, being to succeed before he. In the thirty third of his Observations upon Tacitus.

2. Who

to the Dead; and the Chief on which they insisted, were, that the Funeral State should pass through the Triumphal Gate, which was first advis'd by *Gallus Asinius*. That the Titles of the Laws which had been Instituted by him, and the names of the Nations which he had vanquish'd, should be carried before the Body, which was propos'd by *Lucius Arruntius*. But *Messala Valerius* adding, that the Oath of Fidelity to *Tiberius*, should be annually renew'd; *Tiberius* (interrupting him on the sudden) ask'd, if it were by his Order, that he had thus spoken? And *Messala* replying, that it was of his own head, adjoin'd farther, that in all things which concern'd the Publick Good, he would never take any Man's opinion but his own, though in so doing he should make *Cæsar* himself his Enemy. This was the only remaining kind of Flattery. The Senators with a General Cry, demanded, that the Imperial Corps should be carried to the Pile on their Shoulders only. But *Tiberius* dispens'd with that Office rather out of Vanity, and to do himself honour in the refusal, than out of real Modesty. After this he publish'd an Edict to the People, warning them not to disturb these Funerals, as they had done those of *Julius Cæsar*, with their excess of Zeal, and not obstinately to persist in their desire, that the Body should be burn'd in the Market-place, and not in the Field of *Mars*, which was the place decreed for that Ceremony. On the day of the Funeral Solemnity, the Soldiers were order'd to be under Arms. Those who had either seen themselves, or had heard from their Fathers of that day, whereon *Julius Cæsar* the Dictator had been slain, when the sharpness of their Slavery was yet fresh upon them, and their Liberty, with an ill Omen just restor'd, much deriding the superfluous care now us'd by *Tiberius* on this occasion; for even at that time, as there were some who judg'd his Death an impious action, so there were others who extoll'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y Who call'd *Cæsar*, Tyrant, to authorise this Murther as Lawful. *Ita enim appellari Cæsarem fasce ejus expiebat*, says *Paterculus*, Book 1. Ch. 58. speaking of *Brutus*.

z Counting

extoll'd it as a glorious Justice³. But in the present case, here was an old Emperor, quietly gone out of the World, who had been settled in a long course of Sovereignty of 44 years², and who had establish'd the Succession against the Common-Wealth, by a large Provision of Heirs, and those in power; he, it seems, must have a Guard of Soldiers about his dead body, to secure it from disturbance at his Funeral.

IV. This afforded no small occasion of discourse concerning *Augustus* himself. The greater part of the Assistants

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The actions of great Men may be taken by two handles, some commend, others blame them. They receive divers names, according to the different inclinations of Persons who pass a Judgment of 'em. *Cataline* was blamed for what he would have done, and *Cæsar* was commended for what he did. When there are Parties, every one judges according to the Affection and Interest of that side he is of. The Doctors of the League durst compare *Clement* the Jacobin, who assassinated *Henry III.* with *Ehud* who delivered the Children of *Israel* out of bondage, by killing *Eglon* King of *Moab*. The Spaniards put into their Martyrology *Baltazar* of *Guerard*, who kill'd the Prince of *Orange* at *Delf*, whereas the Hollanders and Protestants have made him a Devil incarnate. In the 14 Book of the Second Part of the History of *Anthony of Herre-ra*, there are two Chapters (the 9. and the 10.) which make a Panegyrick upon this *Guerard*, whose death he calls a Martyrdom. I admire amongst others these words: *Considerando, como avia de executar su intento, y estando firme con el exemplo de nuestro Salvador Jesu Christo, y de sus Santos, &c. i. e.*

Guerard, considering, how he ought to proceed to the Execution of his design, and contending firm in his resolution, after the Example of our Saviour *Jesus Christ*, and his Saints, went the 10th of *July* to find the Rebel, &c. as if *Jesus Christ* and his Saints had given any example of murder! The Inquisition of *Spain* let this pass, as if they approved it. Moreover, this shews how much Men love their own Opinions, and how rash they are to believe things holy or wicked in the sight of God, as their passion moves them. Upon this occasion I shall observe, that the History of the Reformation of *England*, by *Dr. Burnet*, is full of this partiality, every where calling all those Rebels and Superstitious who would not acknowledge *H. VIII.* to be head of the Church of *England*, nor consent to the Laws which he made concerning Religion; nor to those which were made in the Reign of his Son *Edward VI.* and on the other side, giving the Glorious Title of Martyrs to the Protestants who suffered under the Reign of *Q. Mary*, the Sister of *Edward*, who restor'd the Catholick Religion in *England*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2 Counting from the Death of *Anthony* the Triumvir.

3 The

assistants vainly admiring, that he should happen to die on the same day on which he first assum'd the Empire^a: that he died at *Nola*, in the same House and Chamber, wherein his Father *Octavius*^b had finish'd his Life. The number of his Consulships was extoll'd likewise, which equall'd those of *Valerius Corvinus*, and *Caius Marius*^c, both together, that had enjoy'd the Tribunitial Power, without Intermission, 37 Years; had been saluted Emperor^d one and twenty times: Besides, a multitude of other Honours, which had been heap'd upon him, or invented for him. But the Politicians examin'd the conduct of his Life, after another manner. Some said, that his filial Piety to *Cæsar*, the necessity of Affairs, and the importance of the Laws had hurry'd him into a Civil War¹; which cou'd not possibly be manag'd with the Forms of Justice; though the Cause was honest. That he had consented to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. We must not always ascribe to Princes the Cause of publick Evils; for sometimes the Times contribute more to them than the Men. A Prince, who at his accession to the Throne, finds the Kingdom in disorder, and upon the brink of ruine, must of necessity use violent Remedies to give Life again to the Laws, to root out dissensions, and to set the Government upon a right foot.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a The 21. of September, compleat 20 years old, except one day, according to *Paterculus*, *Hist. 2. Chap. 65.*

b At the Death of Cardinal *de Richelieu*, the Parisians observ'd almost the same, that he was born and died in the same House: that he received Baptism and Extreme Unction in the same Parish. *History of Cardinal de Richelieu*, Book 6. Chapter the Last. *Constancio* and *Cabrera* have likewise observ'd, that *Henry* Cardinal King of *Portugal*, died the same hour in which he was born 68 years before.

c. *Paterculus* says, that he was Consul eleven times, and refused to be Consul any more. Book 2. Chap. 89. Now *Marius* had been Consul seven times, and *Corvinus* six.

d. That is, Victorious General, or Great Captain. *Tacitus* says, that 'tis an honour which Armies formerly gave to their Captains, when they were over-joy'd for having gain'd a Victory. So that, at the same time, there were many Emperors, who did not take place of one another. At the end of the 3 Book of his *Annals*.

e 'tis

to many violent proceedings of *Anthony* and *Lepidus*², because he had need of their assistance, to revenge the Murther of his Father. That *Lepidus* being grown Effeminate by the Sloath of a Private Life, *Anthony* drown'd in his debauches, and the Common-Wealth torn in pieces by the Discord of her Citizens, there was no other Remedy left in Nature, but the Government of a single Person; which notwithstanding, *Augustus* had never taken up the Title ^f of King³, or of Dictator ⁴, but contented himself to be call'd Prince of the Senate; That the Empire was owing to him, for being surrounded by the Ocean⁵, and remote Rivers⁵; That the Pro-

vinces

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Sometimes Princes shut their Eyes, that they may not see the Oppressions and Crimes they would be obliged to punish, if their Eyes were open. There are times when rigour wou'd be prejudicial to their Affairs, and particularly in the midst of a Civil War, when 'tis dangerous to encrease the Number of Male-Contents.

3. A Prince ought to forbear to assume new Titles and Honours; for instead of gaining by the new Power he pretends to, he runs the risque of losing that which no body denied him. *Augustus*, a wise Prince, was cautious of taking the Title, which

a Thought of only cost his Predecessor his Life.

4. The Dictatorship being an image of the ancient Regal Power, *Augustus* would never accept it, to shew that he avoided whatsoever had made his Uncle odious. *Ovid* makes the reign of *Augustus* and *Romulus* to oppose each other, as Liberty and Sovereign Power. *Tu domini nomen, says he to Romulus, principis ille gerit.*

5. The greatest Contests which happen among Princes, arise upon the subject of limits, especially when their Lands lie one among the others, as those of the Dukes of *Savoy* and *Mantua*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e. 'Tis true, says *Paterculus*, they reviv'd again the Proscription which had been begun by *Sylla*, but this was not approved of by *Augustus*, though being single against two he could not oppose the Fury of *Anthony* and *Lepidus*, join'd together.

f. *Paterculus* says, that *Cæsar* was become odious, from the day he assisted at the Feast of the *Lupercalia*, when *Mark Anthony*, his Colleague in the Consulship, put upon his Head a Royal Diadem; for *Cæsar* refused it in such a manner as shewed, that though the Action was rash, yet it had not much displeased him. *Hist. 2. Chap. 56.* Besides, he happen'd to say before, that they must take care how they spoke to him for the future, and that he meant what he said should be a Law. *Suetonius in his Life.*

g. The Roman Empire was bounded on the West, by the Ocean; on the North by the *Danube* and the *Rhine*; on the East, by the *Euphrates* and the *Tygris*; on the South, by the Mountain *Atlas*.

h. *Paterculus*

vinces, the Legions, and the Naval Force, were well united; the Citizens obedient to the Laws; the Allies in terms of dutiful respect, and the Town adorn'd with stately Buildings; that it was to be acknowledg'd he sometimes made use of Severity and Force, but very rarely, and always for preservation of the Publick Safety^h. On the other side it was alledg'd, that the boasted Piety of a Son to a Father, and the Necessities of a Commonwealth, were only his pretext⁶; that through an insatiable desire of reigning, he being then a Youth, and of a private Fortune, had corrupted the Veteran Troops with Bribes and Donatives, had rais'd an Army, and debauch'd the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Mantua in *Montferrat*; of the King of *Spain*, and of the Dukedome of *Venice* in the *Milanese*; of the same Republick and of the Grand Signior in *Dalmatia*, and in the Islands of the *Levant*. On the contrary, when Kingdoms are divided by the Sea, by Mountains, or by strong Forts, which hinder a Passage, Princes have less disputes with one another.

6. The actions of great Princes have always been liable to the Peoples censure, how wise soever they may have been, the Speculative have ever been able to give probable reasons for their conduct; nor do the Male-contents and the Envious, ever want matter to defame them. When *Philip II.* caus'd his Son *Don Carlos* to be arrested, all the Courtiers spoke of it as their inclinations led them, for the Father or the Son. Some call'd him Prudent, and others Severe, because his Sport and his Revenge met together. *Cabrera, Chap. 22. the 7th Book of his History.* *Commines* paints *John II.* King of *Portu-*

gal as a Cruel and Barbarous Prince, because he kill'd his *Colin-German*, the Duke of *Viseu*, and cut off the Head of the Duke of *Bragance*, Brother to the Queen his Wife. (*Chap. 17. of the last Book of his Memoirs.*) On the contrary, *Mariana* says, that he was a lover of Justice, and the Great Men of the Kingdom hated him, because he seiz'd the Criminals who withdrew for shelter into their Territories and Castles. And as for the Dukes of *Viseu* and *Bragance*, who had both conspired against the Person of the King and his Kingdom, I believe *Commines* would have agreed with *Mariana*, if he more narrowly examin'd this matter. *Chap. 23. of the 14th Book, and the 11th of the 26 Book of the History.* Where by the way we may observe, that the Resemblance between Vice and Virtue, often causes the Common People to confound and blend 'em together, giving to both the Name which belongs to its contrary.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h. *Paterculus* says, that *Augustus* was resolved to refuse the Dictatorship when the People offer'd it to him. *Chap. 89.*

i. In

the Legions of *Decimus Brutus* then Consul, under colour of reconciliation with *Pompey's* party; that after he had extorted from the Senate, the Ornaments and Authority of a Prætor, and seiz'd on the Troops which had been commanded by *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, newly slainⁱ, either by the Enemy, or by the Treason of this young *Cæsar*, (for *Pansa* was thought to have been brought to his end by an envenom'd Plaster apply'd to his wound, and *Hirtius* was slain by the hands of his own Soldiers,) he caus'd himself to be created Consul in spite of the Senate, and had turn'd those arms against the Common-Wealth, which he had taken up against *Anthony*: The Proscription of so many Citizens was charg'd on him; and the division of the Lands^k disapprov'd even by those to whom they fell. The Death of *Cassius* and the two *Bruti*^l, must indeed be own'd for a just Vengeance on the Murderers of his Father^m; though still it had been more glorious for him, to have sacrific'd his private hatred, to the Publick Interest: But the younger *Pompey* had been unworthily betray'd under the shadow of a pretended Peace;

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i. In the War of *Modena* against *Anthony*, *Hirtius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, and *Augustus* commanded there in quality of Proprætor. *Anthony* was forc'd to fly and leave *Italy*.

k. That is, That these Lands belonging to the Community, could not be given to private Persons, much less to the Soldiers, without wronging the Publick.

l *Marcus*, and *Decimus Brutus*, of whom the first kill'd himself, as I have already said, and the other was killed by the command of *Anthony*. A punishment he justly deserv'd for his ingratitude towards *Cæsar*, whom he was so hardy as to Murther, at the same time he receiv'd favours from him. He envy'd, says *Paterculus*, the Fortune of him who had made his, and after having taken away the Life of *Cæsar*, he thought it no injustice to keep the Estate he had receiv'd from him. *Hist. lib. 2. Chap. 64.* 'Tis fit to observe by the way, that of all the Murtherers of *Cæsar*, who were sixty in number, there was not one of them who did not die a Violent Death, nor did any of them out-live him more than three years.

m *Hoc opus, hæc pietas, hæc prima elementa fuerunt, Cæsaris, ulcisci jussa per arma patrem.* Ovid. l. 3. Fast. Cato the Censor meeting a Young Man who came for a Decree to disgrace one of his Father's greatest Enemies. See there, says he, how a well-bred Child ought to offer sacrifice to the Memory of his Father.

n *Rufus*

Peace; and *Lepidus* by a dissembled Friendship: *Anthony* sooth'd and lull'd asleep, by the Treaties of *Tarentum*, and *Brundisium*, and by his Marriage with the Sister of *Augustus*, had paid with his Life the forfeit of that fraudulent Alliance. After this a Peace was of necessity to ensue, but it was a bloody Peace; and infamous for the punishment of the *Varro's*, the *Egnatii*ⁿ, and the *Julii* of *Rome*; to which succeeded the Defeats of *Lollius*^o and *Varus* p. in *Germany*: Neither did they spare his private Life in their discourses. They reproach'd him for having forcibly taken from her Husband a Woman then with Child; and for having made a Scoff of Religion, by demanding of the Priests if it were lawful for him to espouse her before she was deliver'd⁷. They allow'd him

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

7. Princes often make Religion yield to their Interests, whereas their Interests ought to give place to Religion. Dispensations for marriages within the Degrees forbidden are become so common, that 'tis not any longer a matter of scruple to marry two Sisters, or two Brothers. *Philip II.* who, according to Historians, had so nice a Conscience, was very near Marrying *Elizabeth* the Queen of *England*, and *Isabel* the Queen-Dowager of *France*, both his Sisters-in-Law, and the latter also the Daughter of the Empress *Mary* his Sister; and matching his Son, *Don Carlos*, with his other Sister, *Joan* the Princess-Dowager of *Portugal*,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Rufus Egnatius*, who, according to *Paterculus*, was in every thing more like a Gladiator than a Senator, having form'd a Cabal of Men like himself; he resolv'd to kill *Augustus*; but his design succeeded no better than *Lucius Murena's*, and *Fannius Cæpio's*. He was punished with the Accomplishes of his Treason, by such a Death as his detestable Life deserv'd.

o *Marcus Lollius*, according to *Paterculus*, was more careful to enrich himself than to do his duty.

p *Quintilius Varus*, a Peaceable Man, but heavy, and more fit to command an Army in time of Peace, than to make War. He was so imprudent, says *Florus*, Book 4. Chap. 12. as to assemble the Germans in the midst of his Camp to do them justice, as if he had been able to restrain the Violence of these barbarous People with a Serpent's Wand. He imagin'd, saith *Paterculus*, that they were plain honest People, who had little more than the Shape and voice of Men, and whom he could civilize by mild Laws, and tame by the Forms of Justice, those, who could not be subdued by the force of Arms. *Segestes* gave him notice of the intended revolt of *Arminius*, but he would not believe it, thinking the Germans had as much good will for him, as he had for them; In the mean time his Army is surpris'd and Massacred by people whom they butcher'd before like Sheep. Poor *Varus*, more courageous to die than fight, stab'd himself.

q *Dio*

him to have suffer'd the Luxury of *Quintus Atedius*, and *Vedius Pollio*^s, his Minors, and also of having given himself up to be govern'd by *Livia*^s, a heavy Burden to the Common-Wealth, and a worse Step-mother to the Family of the *Cæsars*; That he had made himself a Fellow to the Gods, commanding Temples to be dedicated to him as to a Deity, with the Pomp of Images, Priests, and Sacrifices. That for the rest, he had appointed *Tiberius* to succeed him¹⁰, not out of any affection,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

gal, alledging for a President *Moses* and *Aaron*, who were the Sons of *Amram* by his Father's Sister. *Henry* the Cardinal King of *Portugal*, as devout a Priest and Arch-Bishop as he was, at the age of 67 years, was very earnest to obtain a Dispensation to marry the Duke of *Braganza's* Daughter, who was but 13 years old. Upon which *Cabrera* tells an odd Story; that *Don Duarte de Castelblanco* advised *Henry* to marry, and advised the Jesuits, who govern'd him absolutely, to make him take a Wife that was already with Child, there being no hopes, by reason of his Age and Infirmities, that he could otherwise have Children, *Lib. 12. Chap. 14.* *Paul Prascki* saith, that the Poles abhor incestuous Marriages, and the Dispensations that permit them; and that the Famous *John Zamoycki*, Great Chancellor of *Poland*, who to his Death opposed the Marriage of *Sigismund III.* with *Constance of Austria*, Sister to his former Wife *Ann*, remonstrating to *Clement VIII.* that such a Marriage was repugnant to common honesty, and that the Polish Nation would never suffer this Decency to be Violated by his breeding Mares. Inasmuch, that *Sigismund* was not able to procure the Dispensation he demanded, till after the Death both of the Pope and the Chancellor. In his Latin Chronicle ad *An. 1604.* I tremble, saith *Commynes*,

speaking of the Marriage of *Ferrand*, King of *Naples*, with the Sister of his own Father, King *Alphonso*, to speak of such a Marriage, of which Nature there have already been several in this Family within thirty years last past. *Memoirs, L. 8. Ch. 14.* Thus the Author of the Satyr *Ménippe*, had reason to say, that the House of *Austria* do as the *Jews*, and lie with one another like *May-Bugs*.

8. Princes are reproach'd, not only with their own Vices and Irregularities, but also with those of their Ministers and their Favourites. For people suppose they have the Vices which they tolerate in persons who are in their Service or their Favour.

9. Where is the Difference, saith *Aristotle*, in being govern'd by Women, or by Men who leave the Management of affairs to Women? *Polit. Lib. 2. Ch. 7.*

10. A Prince, who voluntarily chuses a bad Successor, instead of augmenting, effaces the Glory of his Reign; for his Memory becomes as odious as his Successor's person: To leave a good one, saith *Cabrera*, after the younger *Pliny*, is a kind of Roman Divinity, *Hist. Philip II. Lib. 1. Ch. 8.* If some of the better actions of the most moderate Princes are ill interpreted after their Deaths, as *Tacitus* sheweth, by the Example of *Augustus*, whom they rail'd at with so much

Affection which he bore him, nor out of any Consideration for the Publick Good, but only to add a Lustre to his own Glory, by the Foil of that Comparison; as having a perfect Insight into his Nature, and knowing him at the bottom to be Proud⁹ and ¹¹ Cruel. For not many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

much Liberty, they have Hatred enough to bear; without loading themselves also with that, which the choice of an unworthy Successor draws upon them.

11. In Princes, the Vices of the Man don't unqualifie him for good Government. Thus *Augustus* made no scruple to demand the Tribuneship for *Tiberius*, although he knew he had many Personal Vices, because he knew he had the Virtues of a Prince to ballance them. *Commynes*, after having observed in several places of his Memoirs all the Vices of *Lewis* the Eleventh, his Inquietude, his Jealousie, his Levity in Discourse, his Aversion to great Men, his Natural Inclination to Men of mean Birth, his Insincerity, his Cruelty, concluded notwithstanding, that God had made him wiser, and more virtuous in all things, than the Princes, who were contemporary with him; because, without flattering him, he had more of the Qualities requisite to a King, than any Prince that he had ever seen: *lib. 6. cap. 10.*

And speaking of *John Galeas* Duke of *Millain*, he saith, That he was a great Tyrant, but Honourable, *l. 7. c. 7.* *Cabrera* speaking of Cardinal *Henry* King of *Portugal*, saith, That he had the Virtues of a Priest, and the Faults of a Prince; which was as much as to say, That he wanted the Qualities that are necessary to a King, *cap. 24. lib. 12.* of his *Philip II.* There have been, saith the same Author, Princes and Governours, who, notwithstanding great Vices, have been Venerable, for having had Qualities that deserve Reverence, as Eloquence, Liberality, Civility, the discernment of good and bad Counsels, the Art of governing Cities, and commanding Armies, and other Natural Virtues resembling Moral ones; whence arise great Advantages, which make the Persons, who are the Authors of them, highly Esteemed and Respected. It is for this Reason, that some have said by way of Proverb, *A bad Man makes a good King.* A severe Prince, who doth not violate Natural and Divine Laws,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

⁹ *Dio* and *Sueton* don't differ much from *Tacitus*. *Suspicio*, saith the first, *quosdam tenuit, consilio Tiberiusi ab Augusto satis tum qualis esset cognoscere, successorem ordinatum; quo magis ipsius gloria foret, Lib. 56.* *Nec tunc ignoro*, saith the other, *aliquos tradidisse Augustum etiam ambitione tractum ut tali successore desiderabilior ipse quandoque fieret: In Tib. cap. 23.* So that *P. Boetius* censures all at once these three Roman Historians, when he speaks thus: "Is it probable, that *Augustus* preferred *Tiberius* to *Agrippa* and *Germanicus*, for no other Reason, but to acquire Glory by the comparison" which would be made of a cruel and arrogant Prince, such as *Tiberius* was, with himself, his Predecessor. For although *Tacitus* puts this in the Mouth

many Years before, *Augustus* requesting the Senate once more to confer the Tribunitial Power on *Tiberius*¹, had cast out some Words concerning his Humour, and the Oddness of his Manners, which seeming to Excuse, did in effect Reproach them¹².

V. The Funerals of *Augustus* being ended, there was a Temple and Divine Worship decreed for him; and that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Laws, is never called a Tyrant. The Imperious Majesty of King *Francis I.* although it was excessive, was more useful than the Sweetness and Humanity of his Son, who authorised Vice and Licentiousness, and who, by the Gifts and Favours which he conferred on Flatterers, converted the Publick Good into Private Interest, and left the People to the

Mercy of Great Men, and never punished the Injustice of his Officers: cap. 8. lib. 2. of the same History.

12. This manner of Accusing, while we Excuse, is very much in fashion with Courtiers, who, according to the *Florentine* Proverb, have Honey in the Mouth, and a Razor under the Girdle.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. Mouth of the *Romans*, 'tis visible enough, that the Reflection is his own, as well as that which he makes on the same *Augustus*, for having put in his Will, amongst his Heirs, the principal Persons of *Rome*, of whom the greatest part were odious to him; that he had put them in, I say, through Vanity, to make himself esteemed by Posterity. *Dialogue 3. de sa maniere de bien penser*. If this Reflection is *Tacitus*'s own, it ought to be attributed likewise to *Dio* and *Sueton*, who are esteemed nevertheless true, and well-informed Historians. And consequently we may say of *Pere Bouhours*, what *Raphael dalla Torre* said of *Strada*, on occasion of the Censure of this Passage of History, and many others, that he knew better how to accuse *Tacitus*, than to justify *Augustus*: For although *Sueton*, saith *Raphael*, declares in the place forementioned, that so sinister an Opinion is not agreeable to the Goodness of *Augustus*, yet in stead of confuting it by any Reason, he confirms it by the Knowledge which he owns *Augustus* had long before of the Evil Qualities of *Tiberius*. *Ille commota. (Livius) veteres quosdam ad se Augusti codicillos de acerbitate & intolerantia morum ejus e sacris protulit atque recitavit*. And by the Words which he saith *Augustus* spoke after the last Discourse which he had with *Tiberius*, crying out, *Unhappy is the People of Rome, who are to fall under such heavy Yokes*, *Sueton* therefore may say as much as he will, that he cannot believe, that so prudent a Prince could be willing to choose a Successor of so Tyrannical a Temper to make himself the more regretted; but seeing he confesses, that *Augustus* knew the Ill-Nature of him that he chose, he ought at least to have given us some pertinent Reason to excuse so bad a Choice: cap. 4. of his *Astrolabe of State*.

2. He had exercised this Sovereign Power with *Augustus*, before his Retreat to *Rhodes*. *Paterculus Hist. 2. cap. 99.*

3. *Sueton*

that being done, earnest Supplications were address'd to *Tiberius*; who, on his side, spoke ambiguously concerning the Greatness of the Empire, and the Diffidence he had of his own Abilities: Saying, "That nothing but the Soul and Genius of *Augustus* could support so great a Burden of Affairs"; and that having sustain'd some part of them during the Life of the Emperour², he was sensible by his own Experience, how difficult and dangerous it was to charge his Shoulders with the Weight of Government. That in a City, which is bounded with the Choice of great and able Persons, all Things ought not to be intrusted to the Management of one; since Publick Functions were better

"ex-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The Prince who immediately succeeds a Predecessor who hath performed great Things, doth himself an Honour in exalting him, for besides, that it is believed that the Esteem that he hath for him will spur him on to the Imitation of him, he becomes himself more wonderful and more venerable to his Subjects, when he equals him, or excels him. *Tiberius* was not inferior to *Augustus* in Understanding and Experience. The Day that *Charler* the Fifth had abdicated the Kingdom of *Spain*, his Son *Philip* said in his Speech, That the Emperor laid an heavy Weight upon him; That he would not accept of a Crown which stood in need of the Prudence and Experience of his Imperial Majesty, were it not to contribute to the Preservation of so invaluable a Life. Concluding, that he would endeavour to imitate some of his Virtues; since to imitate them all, was a Thing impossible for the most perfect Man in the World. *Cabrera, lib. 1. cap. 7. of his History.*

2. It would be a great Advantage to the Children of Sovereign Princes, if their Fathers would them-

selves take pains to instruct them; I mean those who are to succeed them; for, from whom shall they learn the Art of Government, if not from him who Governs? And, how can they be able to Govern when they ascend the Throne, if they have never been admitted to any Knowledge of the Affairs of their State? It must pass through the Hands of interested Ministers, who will make their Advantage of their Prince's Ignorance, to render themselves more necessary, and who, to maintain themselves in the Power they have gotten, will never let him see Affairs, but on that side which may give him a disgust of Business. On the contrary, a Prince who hath had some share in the Government in his Father's Life-time, enters trained up and accustomed to act the difficult part of a King. I don't pretend to say, that a King ought to trouble himself to teach him a thousand Things, which belong to the Office and Duty of a Preceptor. *Majus aliquid & excelsius a Principe postulatur*. But setting Jealousie aside, he cannot fairly dispense with himself from teaching him certain

D 2

Maxims,

"exercis'd, when many join'd their Cares and Labours³. But there was more of Ostentation, than of upright Meaning, in these Discourses. And besides, if *Tiberius*, whether by Nature, or by Custom, spoke obscurely even on those Subjects, where he had no occasion to dissemble, his Words at this time became more intricate and doubtful, when he studied altogether to disguise his Thoughts. Then the Senators, who were all equally afraid of seeming to divine his Meaning, broke out into Tears, Complaints and Vows; holding out their Hands to the Gods, and to the Image of *Augustus*, and embracing the Knees of *Tiberius*, till he commanded a Register⁴ to be brought written by the Hand of *Augustus*, and containing a Particular of the Publick Revenues, with a Roll of the Names of Citizens and Allies, which serv'd in the Armies, of the Tributary Kingdoms, of the Conquer'd Provinces, of the Naval Strength, of the Imposts, and all the Pensions and Expences which were charg'd on the Commonwealth. To which, *Augustus*, whether out

of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Maxims, which are as the Principles and the Springs of Government, and which *Tacitus* calls *Arcana Dominationis*. And as the Children of Sovereign Princes, saith *Cabrera*, have been accustomed to believe themselves above the Laws, they have absolute need of the Instructions of their Fathers; for besides the Impressions which Blood and the Majesty of Sovereign Power make upon them, there are none but their Fathers, who have the Authority to command them, and the Means to make themselves obeyed: cap. 8. lib. 1. of his History.

3. It is very necessary for a Prince, saith *Commines*, to have several Persons of his Council; because the wisest sometimes err, and they help to set one another right: l. 2. c. 2. The chief Point is to know how to chuse them well, and to employ every one according to the Nature and Degree of their Abilities.

4. Although Princes have Secretaries, whose Hand might save them the trouble of Writing, it is so far from being beneath them to write themselves Memoirs of this kind, which *Tacitus* calls *Dominationis Arcana*; that on the contrary, it would be

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^s *Sueton* calls this Registry, *Rationarium*, i.e. an Inventory, or a Journal.

t Dis

of Fear for the Empire, which had receiv'd so great a Blow in *Germany*, or out of Jealousie, left some of his Successors should have the Glory of extending the *Roman* Conquests farther than himself, added the Advice of Restraining the Empire within the present Limits⁵.

VI. In the mean time, the Senate still descending to the most abject Supplications, it happen'd that *Tiberius* said unwarily, He found himself incapable of Governing the whole Empire, but if it pleas'd them to commit some part of it to his Administration, whatsoever it were, he would accept it. Then *Asinius Gallus* laying

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

be Imprudence in them to commit them to the Ears and Hand of another. There is no Secretary, nor Confident, whosoever he be, that ought to be admitted to the Knowledge of these Secrets. A Prince, who is guilty of this Oversight, will become precarious to such a Subject. *Edward* the Sixth, King of *England*, wrote himself the Journal of his Life, whereof the three last Years are extant. So that if this Prince, who died at Sixteen, had lived longer, and continued his Labour, he would have proved a very great Man. In *Portugal* they have an Office which they call *Escrivan da puridade*, as much as to say, The Writer or Register of the Confidence, or of the Secrets. And *Mariana* often makes use of this Word in this sense, when he saith, *Communicar sus confesos y puridades*. As this is the most important place of the Kingdom, and which hath never been held by any other, but by the chief Minister, it is probable, that it was erected on purpose to write the Secrets of the King's Cabiner, and thence to prepare Memoirs of State. *John* the Second King of *Portugal*, and *Ferdinand* the Fifth King of *Aragon* and *Castille*, wrote them themselves.

5. Whether this Counsel proceed- ed from Fear or Jealousie, it was certainly good. Power is not always augmented in proportion as it is extended. It is often with a vast State, as it is with prodigious Ships, whose Burden hinders their sailing. Besides, there are Conquests, which are burthenome because they can't be preserved. It was for this Reason, that *Edward* King of *England* would not hearken to the Proposals of *Lewis* the Eleventh, who would have engaged him in the Conquest of *Flanders*, after the Death of the last Duke of *Burgundy*; answering, "That the Cities of *Flanders* were strong and great, and the Country try not ealie to keep after it was conquered. *Memoirs* of *Commines*, l. 6. c. 2. The King of *Spain* would gain more by giving up to *France* the remainder of the Low-Countries, than by keeping it; for besides, that this Country not only brings him in nothing, but costs him a great deal, it would be much more Honourable to give it up voluntarily, than to lose it by piece-meals after a shameful manner, as it were, by the Attachments of a Sergeant. *Pensees diverses*, ch. or sect. 40. This Counsel of *Augustus*, to shut up the Empire within its Limits, cross'd,

D 3

saith

laying hold of the Word, *And what part of it, O Tiberius, said he, wouldst thou undertake?* He not expecting such a Question, and not having his Answer in a readiness, for a while stood silent: But having recover'd the use of his Reason, answer'd, "That it was unbecoming of his Modesty to choose a Share of it, when he had rather discharge himself altogether of the Burden". *Asinius*, who discover'd in his Countenance, that he had stung him, replied, *That the Demand which he had made, tended not to the sharing of that Power, which could not be divided, but to draw this Acknowledgment from his own Mouth, that the Commonwealth, being but one Body, could only be govern'd by one Soul.* Then, after he had prais'd *Augustus*, he desired *Tiberius* to remember his own Victories in War, and his excellent Actions in Peace, during the space of so many Years, wherein he had the Management of Affairs. But all this was not sufficient to make him well with the Emperour³, who bore him an an-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

faith *Ammirato*, the inviolable Maxim of the *Romans*, who were ever endeavouring by all ways possible to enlarge their Empire; but *Augustus* knowing by his own Experience the Evils that might ensue thence, thought it his Duty to leave this Counsel to his Successors, to cut up the Root both of Foreign and Civil Wars. And if *Tacitus* gives the Name of Fear to this Advice, it is because it is the part of a wise Man to fear that which deserves to be feared, and to foresee how many Dangers he exposes himself to, who never ceases from invading others. *Commentary, lib. 1. disc. 6. and lib. 12. disc. 1.*

1. Nothing gives greater Offence to a dissembling Prince, such as *Tiberius* was, than to endeavour to sound his Heart, or to let him see, that you perceive that he dissembles. We ought never to put Princes upon explaining themselves farther than

they are willing; when they speak obscurely, it is a sign that there is some Mystery in it; and consequently, it is dangerous to enquire into it. The Marquis of *Aitane*, faith *M. de Montresor*, went to visit Monsieur, who kept his Bed, pretending to have the Gout, and knew well enough that his Highness acted a Part, but he made no discovery thereof by any outward shew, or by any particular Act to prevent his Retreat out of the Territories of the King his Master. *In his Memoirs.*

2. This Answer of *Tiberius* plainly shews, that Princes do not love to be replied upon, and that it is want of Respect towards them to put them to the Trial. Princes desire to be thought sincere, because this conduces much to the obtaining their Ends; but they will not be so.

3. The Praises which a Subject gives his Prince, after he has given him

ancient Grudge, suspecting him for having espous'd *Vipsania*, the Daughter of *Marcus Agrippa*, and formerly the Wife of *Tiberius*¹, as if by that Marriage he design'd to raise himself above the Condition of a private Life², and inherited the imperious Humour of *Asinius Pollio* his Father.

VII. After this Speech, *Lucius Aruncius* likewise offended him by another, almost of the same Tenour: For though *Tiberius* had not any old Animosity against him, yet he hated him for his Riches, for the Excellency of his Natural Endowments, and Moral Perfections; and for

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

him Offence by Words, are never a Plaster so broad as the Sore. The Affronts offered Princes are irreparable, because they impute the Reparations thereof to the Fear which the Offenders have of their Repentment, and not to their Repentance.

4. A Prince never looks with a good Eye on him who hath married a Wife whom he hath divorced, whether he divorced her out of Aversion, or by Constraint; for if he did it out of Aversion, he looks on the Husband as a Person who hath taken her Part against him, or who knows the Secrets of the Family, whereof he may make an ill Use: If by Constraint, which was the case of *Tiberius*, he hates the Husband as a Rival, who hath enrich'd

himself with his Spoils; or as an ambitious Person, who, by the advantage of his Marriage, hopes to advance his Fortunes. The Honour which *Asinius* had of being Father-in-Law to *Drusus*, one of the presumptive Heirs of the Empire, join'd with his ambitious Spirit; distinguished him too much, not to raise Jealousie in *Tiberius*. *Piasceki* relates, that *John Duke of Finlandia*, who was afterwards King of *Poland*, was imprisoned by King *Eric*, his Brother, with his Wife *Catharine*, Sister to *Sigismund Augustus* King of *Poland*; because he seemed to have compassed this high Alliance, to enable him to seize the Crown of *Suedeland*, as their Father *Gustavus* had done. *In the beginning of his Chronicle.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ *Dio* adds a Reason, which is of yet greater weight. That *Asinius* having married *Vipsania*, *Drusus* his Mother, he looked upon *Drusus* as his own Son. So that not being satisfied with having *Tiberius*'s first Wife, he also shared with him in his Prerogatives of a Father. It looked also as if he would have had a share also in *Drusus*'s Heart, *Cum Drusum filii instar haberet*: These are *Dio*'s Words, *lib. 57.* Lastly, as *Tiberius* had always loved *Vipsania*, whom he had not divorced but to please *Augustus*, who gave him his own Daughter; he could not endure that *Asinius* should enjoy this Lady, who had as many good Qualities, as *Augustus*'s Daughter had bad ones.

for the Reputation which they had gain'd him with the People, which was not inferiour to his Merit¹. Besides, that *Augustus* in one of the last Discourses which he held, speaking of those, who would refuse the Empire, though capable of Ruling it; or who would be Ambitious of it, though incapable of Governing; or who at once would be capable of Governing, and desirous of the Government; said, That *Lepidus* would be worthy of it, without wishing for it; that *Asinius* would be desirous of it, without deserting it; that *Arruntius* neither was unworthy of it, nor would fail to lay hold of the first Occasion², to seize it³. Concerning the two first of these, 'tis agreed on all Hands;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Kings, saith *Salust*, are more afraid of Men of Virtue and Merit, than of ill Men. *Reges boni, quam mali, suspectiores sunt, semperque his minus virtus formidulosa est.* In *Caesars*. *Tiberius* was well persuaded by what *Agrippa* had said to *Augustus*, That a Man of great Understanding; and great Courage, could not but be a Lover of Liberty, and in his Heart an Enemy to an absolute Master. *Dion*, lib. 52. *Cominius* saith, that *Lewis* the Eleventh feared all Men, but especially those who were worthy to be in Authority. *Memoirs*, l. 6. c. 12.

2. A Prince can never give better Instructions to his Successor, than to mark out what great Men he ought to distrust. This Knowledge is the most necessary thing to a Prince when he first ascends the Throne, and is much the more, because it is in the beginning that he is most easily deceived, and the great Men most forward to make their Attempts upon an Authority that is not yet well established. In the last Councils, which *David* on his Death-bed gave to his Son *Salomon*, he advised him not to let *Joab* go to the Grave in peace, who had slain two just Men, *Abner* and *Amasa*, to bring to the Grave with

blood the hoar Head of *Shimei*, who had daved to curse him, and to cause the Sons of *Barzillai* to eat at his own Table, who had furnished him with Provisions and other Necessaries for his whole Army, when he fled before *Abshalon*: 1 Kings, chap. 2. *Francis* the First, in the last Hours of his Life, advised his Son *Henry* not to admit the House of *Lorraine* to any share of the Government; foretelling, that the *Guises* would be the Ruine of the *Valois*. Counsel that would have saved *France* from many Wars and Calamities, had *Henry* the Second been wise enough to have made use of it. On the contrary, *Philip* the Second employed all those Ministers which *Charles* the Fifth recommended to him when he resigned the Crown of *Spain*, and especially the Duke d'Alva, the Bishop of *Arras*, who was afterwards *Granvelle*, *Diego de Bargas*, *Francis de Eraso*, and *Gonzalo Perez*, the Father of *Anthony*, who was so famous for his Misfortunes. And this he did with so much the more success, because *Charles* the Fifth, by a secret Memoir which he had sent him, had fully informed him of the true Character of their Minds, and of the difference of their Interests. This was

Hands; but some, in stead of *Arruntius*, have nam'd *Cneius Piso*. Certain it is, that all of them, excepting *Lepidus*, perish'd afterwards, by *Tiberius*, under the supposition of several Crimes.

Quintus Haterius, and *Mamercus Scaurus*, incurr'd likewise the Displeasure of that suspicious Soul: The first, for asking him, *How long, O Caesar, wilt thou suffer the Commonwealth to be without a Head?* The other, for saying, *It was to be hop'd, that the Suit of the Senate would not be unprofitable, because when the Consuls propos'd him to them for Emperour, he interpos'd not his Tribunitial Power to resist the Motion.* He reprehended *Haterius* on the spot, but he said not a Word in reply to *Scaurus*, against whom he was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

was a Paper of so excellent Instructions, saith the Commander of *Vera*, that if *Tiberius* had made the like, *Tacitus* would have given him Immortal Praises. *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth*, and *Cabrera*, cap. 7. lib. 1. of his History. *Burnet* saith, that *Edward* the Sixth, King of England, wrote in a Book the Portraiture of the Lord-Lieutenants of his Counties, and of the principal Magistrates of his Kingdom, with all the Particulars that he was told of them: Part. 2. l. 1. of his History. Certainly, he had in this found the Secrets of knowing every thing, and consequently, of being well served.

3. Ambition, Merit, Courage and Opportunity, are all that are necessary to make a Usurper. A Subject who hath been esteemed worthy to Govern, by a Prince who hath excelled in the Arts of Government, will always be suspected by the Successor of that Prince, and, which is worse, will fall a Sacrifice, if the Prince be of a sanguinary Temper. It was never doubted, but *Ferdinand d'Avalos*, Marquis de *Pesquera*, who commanded the Army of *Charles*

the Fifth in *Italy*, was disposed to accept of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which *Francis Sforza*, Duke of *Adrian*, in the Name of the Pope and the *Venetians*, offered him with the Title of Captain-General of the *Italian League*; for he was a long time in Treaty with *Jerom Moron*, who was this Duke's chief Minister. And that he afterwards discovered all to the Emperour, was an effect of the difficulty of the Enterprize, rather than of his Fidelity, which *Charles* the Fifth ever after suspected.

4. Subjects cannot reproach their Prince more, than to complain, that the State is without a Head, and consequently fallen into an Anarchy. From the moment that a Prince ascends the Throne, he ought to set upon Action, and not to give his Subjects space to doubt, whether they have a Master. *Anthony Perez* said, That the King and Kingdom make a Marriage; that the King is the Husband, and the Kingdom the Wife; and that a Kingdom is a Widow, that hath nor a laborious and vigilant King.

was more deeply ^uoffended ^s. At length being tir'd with hearing the general Complaints and Murmurs, and the Remonstrances of each Man in particular, he unbent somewhat of his Stiffness; not to the degree of declaring, that he would accept the Empire; but only as he said, to put an end to their Requests⁶, and his Refusals. 'Tis undoubted, that *Haterius* going to the Palace to ask his Pardon, wanted but little of being slain by the Soldiers of the Guard, as he was embracing the Knees of *Tiberius*, who slipping at that instant, happen'd to fall as he was going forward⁷; whether by chance, or having his Legs entangled with the Hands of *Haterius*: But the Risque, which so great a Personage had run, abated nothing of his Resentment. *Haterius* continued still obnoxious to his Anger, till the Empress, whose Protection he had sought, inter-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. Silence is the most certain sign of a deep Resentment; for whereas the Mouth gives the Heart vent, Silence nourishes in it Hatred, and the desire of Revenge. *Tacitus* saith, that *Agrippa* was a little too sharp in his Reprimands, but that afterwards there remained no more in his Breast, so that none had any jealousy of his Silence.

6. Most Popes use this Policy; at first they seem not willing to hear any mention made of a Cardinal Nephew, or of the Acquisition of Principalities or Duchies for their Kindred, but after they have acted this Part some Weeks, they call their Nephews to the Administration

of Affairs, to gratifie, as they say, the Ambassadors of Princes, for whom it would be inconvenient to treat always with the Pope himself in Person, whereas treating with their Nephews, they discharge their Office with less Ceremony, and consequently with greater Liberty and Confidence.

7. When a great Man is fallen under the Hatred of his Prince, Accidents are imputed to him for Crimes, as well as voluntary Faults. Besides, there are always at Court, Persons who are ready to dispatch those, whose Death they know will be pleasing to the Prince.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^u Because he discovered, that all *Tiberius's* refusals of the Empire were not in earnest; whereas *Haterius* seemed to be persuaded, that his Refusal was sincere, when he conjured him not to suffer the Commonwealth to be longer without a Head; which was also an oblique way of flattering *Tiberius*, intimating thereby, that the Senate was not the Head of the Empire.

^s Which

interceding in his Favour, by force of Prayers obtain'd his Pardon.

VIII. The Flatteries of the Senate were yet more excessive, in relation to *Livia*. Some of them voting her the Title of *Mother*^x, by way of Excellence and Distinction: Others, that of *Mother of her Country*: And many of them were likewise for passing a Decree, that to the Name of *Cæsar*, should be added the Son of *Julia*. But *Tiberius* replied to all these, That they ought not to confer Honours on Women too lavishly¹: That for himself, he would use the same Moderation in those which were propos'd for him². Which he said out of Envy to his Mother, whose Elevation he regarded as a Lessening to his own Authority. He would not, that even a Licour^y should be decreed for her, and hindred the erecting of an Altar, in memory of her Adoption into the *Julian* Family;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Kings are obliged, as all other Men, to honour their Mothers, and to have all the Complaisance for them, that domestick and civil Decency require; but as for Honours, which properly belong to Majesty, or which are of dangerous consequence, they ought not to permit them to be decreed to their Mothers. *Salomon* seeing his Mother coming to him, rose up to meet her, and caused her to sit on a separate Throne at his Right Hand; but as soon as she had asked *Abisag* in Marriage for *Adonijah*, *Salomon's* elder Brother, he said to her, Why do you not ask the Kingdom for him also? And was so far from granting her Request, which was very imprudent, that he put *Adonijah* to death as a Traitor,

who aspired to the Crown by marrying the Companion of his Father's Bed: 1 *Kings*, ch. 2. In Poland, they crown the Queen, but take no Oath of Allegiance to her; for the State allows her no Jurisdiction. *Martin Cromer*, lib. 2. of Poland.

2. Princes who will retrench superfluous Titles, and moderate the Vanity of their Subjects, ought to begin with themselves. And this is what *Philip* the Second did, to give Life and Vigour to the famous Ordinance of 1586, entituled, *Pragmatica*, where he commanded all those who should hereafter write to him, to give him no other Title in the beginning of their Letters, than *Senor*; nor any other Compliment in the end, than this Form, *Dies* *guarde*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^x Which was as much as to say, the Empress-Mother.
^y i. e. An Usher or Mace-bearer to walk before her.

^s The

44 *The ANNALS of* Book I.
Family; and forbad them to ascribe to her any other Honour of the like Nature. But he ask'd the Proconsular Power for *Germanicus*, and sent him the Decree by some of the Senate; who were also commission'd to comfort him for the Death of *Augustus* 3. The Reason why he requir'd not the same Honours for his Son *Drusus*, was because he was then in *Rome*, and besides was design'd Consul. He afterwards nam'd twelve Pretors, which was the Number establish'd by *Augustus* 4; and the Senate requesting him to create more 5, he took a Solemn Oath, never to exceed that Number.

IX. It was now, that the Assembly 2 for electing Magistrates,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

guarde la Catolica Persona de Vuestra Magestad; and after that, the Subscription in the most simple manner, viz. only the Name of him that writes, without the flourish of, *Vour most humble and most obedient Subject and Servant*. And for the Supercription, these Words, *Al Rey nuestro Senor*. *Cabrera* saith, that *Philip* made this Ordinance, that Ambition and Flattery might not come to usurp Divine Titles; and to set his Subjects an Example in all his Grants and Letters Patents, he stiled himself only *Don Filipe, &c.* without assuming the Surnames of *Magnificent, Triumphant, Invincible*, which the Kings *Alphonso* the Sixth and Seventh, his Predecessors, had used: cap. 21. lib. 12. of his History. See Note 1. Article 38. Lib. 4. of these Annals.

3. A Prince, who is disappointed of the Succession of a State, whereof he is the lawful Heir, hath much greater need to be comforted upon the account of the Injustice that is

done him, than for the Death of him that hath done it.

4. A wise Prince ought never to alter the Rules made by his Predecessor, if he is one whose Memory is had in Veneration by the People; or if he doth it, Prudence requir's, that it be not in the beginning of his Reign, which is always the time wherein he is most expos'd to Censure. *Lewis* the Twelfth, saith *Commines*, took possession of the Kingdom, without making any Alterations in the Pensions for that Year, which had yet six Months to come. He displaced few Officers, and said, That he would keep every Man in his Post, and in his Estate. And all this was very becoming him. Cap. ult. of his Memoirs.

5. The multiplication of the Officers of Justice, tends always to the Ruine of the People. Whereas it seems probable, that Affairs would be dispatched with more expedition by a great number of Officers, than by a small; on the contrary, they are

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2 The Assembly, where they chose the Magistrates called *Comitia a campo vel comendo*, which was held in the Field of *Mars*. a *Romulus*

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gistrates, was for the first time transferr'd from the Field of *Mars* to the Senate: For though formerly the Emperor had manag'd all Affairs of Consequence according to his Pleasure, yet some Things were still permitted to be done, by the Intrigues and Suffrages 2 of the Tribes 1: For which loss of Privileges, the People shewed no other Resentment, but by insignificant Complaints and Murmurs. And the Senate, for their part, were well satisfied, that thereby they were discharg'd from the shameful Necessity of bribing and supplicating the Commons 3, to favour their Election. And this the more, for that *Tiberius* reserv'd to himself but the Naming 3 of four Can-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

are spun out without end, because there are more People who have an Interest to protract them, that they may subsist thereby, especially when Offices are venal. For, according to the common saying, He that buys Justice in Gross, will sell it by Retail.

1. When a State is lately changed from a Democracy to a Monarchy, the Prince, as being new, ought to leave the People the Enjoyment of some of their ancient Rights, to accustom them insensibly to Obedience.

2. There is no Yoke which the great Men and the Nobility will not bear, rather than fall into the Hands of the People, and to make court to

them to obtain Offices: It is for this Reason, that a Democracy is always of short duration in States where there is much Nobility.

3. A Prince newly established, who reserves to himself the naming but of a small number of Officers, so as his Nomination be liable to no Contest, establishes his Power much better, than if he attempted at first to name all. For, in process of Time, it will be easie for him to extend the Prerogatives of a Sovereignty, which the People have once acknowledged. When the Principality it self is in question, the Conditions ought never to be disputed whatsoever they are; it is sufficient to get possession of it, after which, all

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 *Romulus* divided the People into three Tribes, as the City was then divided into three Quarters; which Number gave occasion to the Name of of *Tribe*. He afterwards divided these Tribes into thirty *Curia*, or Classes. The elder *Tarquin* doubled these Tribes, to equal their Number to the six Quarters of the City, which was much enlarged. *Servius Tullius*, the Successor of *Tarquin*, distributed it into nineteen Tribes, four of which were called *Tribus Urbanae*, or the Citizens; and the other fifteen, which comprehended all the Inhabitants of the Country, were called *Tribus Rusticae*. And in process of Time, the Number of Tribes encreased to Thirty five.

Candidates^b, who were to be admitted without Caballing, or any Contradiction. At the same time, the Tribunes of the People demanded the Permission, to celebrate at their own Charges those Plays in Honour of *Augustus* ^c, which in their Calendars were call'd by the Name of *Augustales*. But it was order'd, that the Publick should be at the Expence, and that the Tribunes should wear the Triumphal Robe^d in the *Circus*; where, nevertheless, it was not allow'd them to be born in Chariots. And the Annual Celebration was thenceforward committed to that particular *Prætor*, to whose Lot it should fall, to judge the Differences arising betwixt Citizens and Strangers.

X. This was the face of Affairs at Rome, when a Sedition arose, of the Legions in *Pannonia* ^e. They had no new occasion of Disturbance; only the change of an Emperour inspir'd them with Boldness to make some Disturbance, in hope to better their Condition by a Civil War^f. Three Legions were quarter'd together in the same

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

all the rest follows as one would wish. *Ubi sit ingressus, adesse studia* *Q. Ministor.* Ann. 4.
4. A remarkable Example of Flattery! Those, who by their Office and their Duty are obliged to pro-

serve the publick Liberty, canonize the Person who destroyed it.
1. The beginnings of Reigns are ever subject to some Tempest; for it is then that all Male-contentments are stirring, and are for selling their Obe-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b So they call those who stood for Offices, because during the time of their Suit they wore a *White Garment*.

^c In this Calendar, called *Fæsti*, were set down the Festivals, the Ceremonies, and the Names of the Magistrates of the Cities.

^d It was a figured Robe, edged with Purple, with a Vest wrought with Branches of Palms.

^e These Legions, saith *Paterculus*, were for a new Head, a new Government, and, in a word, for a new Republick; they threatened to give Laws to the Senate, and even to the Prince himself; they would by main force augment their Pay, and shorten the time of their Service, to have their Reward before the set time. There was nothing wanting to them, but a Head, to have lead them on against the Government; and whosoever this Head

same Camp, under the Command of *Junius Blasus*, who having heard of the Death of *Augustus*, and the Succession of *Tiberius*, had interrupted the daily Exercises of the Soldiers, either in Token of Mourning^f, or of Joy. This Dispute began to give a Loathing to the Army of their Labour, and Military Discipline; and infuse into them a Propensity of Idleness and Pleasure. It furnish'd them with Occasions of frequent Quarrels with one another; and of lending an Ear to the mutinous Discourses of the most dissolute amongst them. There was in the Camp a Fellow called *Perennius*, formerly Head of a Faction among the Stage-Players^g; afterwards a pri-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Obedience as dear as they can, by disturbing an Authority, that while it is in its growth hath need to keep fair with all, to gain Time to establish it self. Want of Power in a Prince; Ambition of great Men, who have always a good Opinion of their own Abilities and Discontents in the People, are the three ordinary Sources of Factions, as those are of Civil Wars. *France* saw sad Instances thereof during the Minority of *Lewis* the Great. GOD grant that these may be the last.

2. Great Seditious are commonly raised by pitiful Fellows; and if a Rascal hath a Talent of speaking, the Rabble is always ready to lend an Ear to him. The common People need no other Oracles, especially if the Haranguer inveighs against some Minister that is much hated, as

they all are. In the beginning of the Reign of *Charles* the Fifth, the famous Insurrection of the City of *Castille*, called *Las Comunidades*, (because it was a Sedition of the common People against the Nobles, which afterwards degenerated into a direct Rebellion against the Prince;) This Revolt, I say, had for its Leaders, a Barber at *Medina del Campo*; a Fell-monger at *Salamanca*; a Carder at *Valencia*; a Tanner at *Segovia*; a Barber at *Avila*; and such other Deliverers at *Burgos*, at *Guadalajara*, at *Sigüenza*, at *Valladolid*, at *Zamora*, &c. Epitome of the *Commandeur de Vera*. *Bussy-le-Clere* was one of the principal Supporters of the League; and *Peter de Broussin*, who was but an ordinary Counsellor, was the Oracle and the Idol of the *Fronde*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Head had been, he would have found this Army ready to have followed him: *ch. 125.*

^f *Ob Jusitium*, saith *Theitir*. The *Jusitium* then was a Vacation or Suspension of all Civil Affairs, which was commanded by the Senate, or the Magistrates of the City, as may be gathered from these words of the Second Book of the Annals: *Ur ante Edictum Magistratum, ante Senatûs consultum sumptis Jusitio deservantur feri, &c.*

private Soldier: Insolent in his Speech, and who had learn'd to raise Sedition, by his Practice, in the Play-house. This Man haunting the Conversation of the most Ignorant, and Silly, who were very inquisitive to know what their Condition was like to be under their new Emperour, debauch'd them by his Nightly Conversations with them, or at least when it grew late in the Evening; and when the more sober Party were withdrawn to Rest, assembled the Band of Mutineers. At length many others, who were Promoters of Sedition, being associated with him, he question'd them, like a General who Harangues his Army, on these following Propositions.

XI. *Why they paid a Slavish Obedience to a small number of Centurions, and a less of Tribunes? When would they have the Courage to expose their Grievances, and require a Remedy, if not now, in the unsettled Condition of a new Emperour? with whom they safely might Expostulate, or, if need were, de-*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. An Army which comes to consider its own Multitude, and the small number of its Officers, is very apt to desire to free it self from Discipline, and makes a Jest of petitioning for those Things which they know well enough durst not be refused them, if they have recourse to Force.

2. The Male-contents of a preceding Reign, find the beginning of the succeeding to be the most favourable time to have their Demands heard. This was the Policy the Peo-

ple of Ghant used towards Charles Duke of Burgundy, who was forced to grant them all they demanded, that he might not have two Wars on his Hands at once, Duke Philip, his Father, having left him one with Liege. *Memoirs of Commynes, l. 2. c. 4.* Pope Innocent the Ninth said, That the beginning of a Reign was not a time for Negotiations, but for Congratulations and Rejoycings, to free himself by this handsome Excuse from the Importunities of those who came to beg Favours of him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g In elder Times the Military Tribunes had none above them, but the General; but afterwards the Lieutenant-Generals took their Place. So that these Tribunes were much the same with our Colonels or Commanders of a thousand Men; for there were six of them in every Legion, which ordinarily consisted of six thousand Men. Their Office was to distribute the Generals Orders, to give the Word to the Sentinels, to take care of Fortifications, to try Deserters and Mutineers for their Lives, &c. Some-

demand Redress by force of Arms? They had in their own Wrong been already silent for the space of many Years, when would they be weary of so tame a Patience? Not the least Account was made of thirty or forty Years of Service, without mentioning the Infirmities of Age, the greatest part of them had their Bodies mangl'd, and their Limbs disabl'd with their Wounds. That even they who were exempted from their daily Duties, yet saw no end of their Sufferings; being still retain'd under their Colours, they still endur'd the same Miseries, without other Advantage, than that of a more honourable Name! If some amongst them surviv'd so many Misadventures, they were sent into remote Countries, where, under the specious Title of Rewards, they had Fens allotted them to drain, or barren Hills to cultivate: That the Trade of Warfare was of it self Laborious and Unprofitable; that they earn'd a hard Livelihood of Eight Pence a Day¹, or little more, out of which they were to supply themselves with Clothing, Tents and Arms; and pay their exacting Centurions for their Exemption from Military Duties². That the Blows of their Officers, their Mayms, the Severity of the Winter, the insufferable Toils of Summer³, a bloody War, and a barren Peace, were endless Evils; for which, there was no other Remedy, than not

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is impossible, that an Army should be ever well disciplin'd, in which the Officers sell Exemptions from Watches, and other Military Duties; or that it should not abound with Male-contents, seeing that all the Soldiers who buy these Exemptions continuing useless, the rest must necessarily be often upon Duty, and withal, more exposed to Dangers. *Inter paucos periculum ac labor crebrius redibant. Hist. 2.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

times *Tribunus Militum* is taken for the chief Commander of a Legion, and sometimes of a Cohort; and hence it came to pass, that the Romans had not so many Officers as we have.

b They were called *Veterani*, i. e. Soldiers, who had completed their time of Service.

i The Roman *Denarium*, or Penny, was worth ten Asses, but under Augustus it was worth sixteen; about Sevenpence-Halfpenny of our Money.

k Because they continued Day and Night.

l They

to list themselves for Soldiers under the Daily Pay of a Roman Penny (or Denarius ¹); covenanting also to be discharged from Service; at the end of Sixteen Years; to be sent to their respective Homes, to receive their Pay in Silver, and in the Camp where they had serv'd; shall then the Prætorian Soldiers receive each of them a double Salary to ours, and be dismissed after Sixteen Years of Warfare? Are their Actions, or Sufferings to be compar'd with ours? I speak not this, either out of Envy, or Contempt; but at least we may say for our Reputation, that being in the midst of barbarous and fierce Nations, we have our Enemies in view, even from our Tents.

XII. The whole Company receiv'd his Oration with a general applause; though from different motives: some of them shew'd the Marks of the Civil Blows which their Officers had given them; Others their hoary Hair, and many bar'd their Flesh, ill cover'd, with old and tatter'd Cloaths. In short, they were inflam'd to that height of rage, that they propos'd the Uniting the three Legions into one^m; but their jealousy put a stop to that, every Man pretending to the chief Honour for his own Legion. They bethought themselves of another Expedition, which was for mixing the three Eagles confusedly, with the Ensigns of the Cohorts; which having done, they rais'd a Tribunal on fods of Grass, that the Seat might be the farther seen. *Blesus* arriving thereupon, took those by the Arm whom he met in his Passage, and reproach'd them with great Severity ¹.
Rather

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Firmness is the best of Arms | in unforeseen Accidents; for in a
against Men in Sedition, especially | surprise, a Man not having time to coun-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 They demanded a Penny in Specie, in stead of ten Asses in Money, because the Penny was then worth sixteen Asses.
2 To make themselves more formidable by this Union, and to be always in a readiness to make a common Effort, if their General should think fit to employ Force against them.

3 Be-

Rather dip your Hands, said he to the Mutineers, in the live Blood of your General; it will be a less Crime for you to murder me, than to revolt against your Emperor: I will either restrain you within your due Obedience, if you suffer me to live, or I will hasten your Repentance by my Deathⁿ.

XIII. In the mean time they proceeded with their Work, which they had already rais'd to the height of their Shoulders; when at length their Obstinacy being conquer'd by his Courage, they gave it over. *Blesus*, who was a Master of Well-speaking ¹, represented to them, That their Demands ought not to be carry'd to the Emperor, by way of Sedition ²; that their Predecessors had never offer'd any thing of that Nature to former Generals; nor they themselves, to the Divine *Augustus*; that they had ill tim'd their Purpose, to give new Troubles to a Prince, oppress'd with the weight

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

counterfeit, shews what he is, and consequently, all his Courage, or all his Weakness. Thus when a General immediately resists the Fury of a seditious Army, Admiration succeeds into the place of Insolence, and Fear seizes them, when once they see that they are not terrible enough to be feared; and that their General hath Courage and Resolution to despise them. In some occasions, saith Cardinal *de Richelieu*, to speak and act with Resolution, when one hath the Right of his side, is so far from making a Rupture, that on the contrary, it is the way to prevent it, and stifle it in its Birth. *Second Part of his Politick Testament, ch. 2.*

1. Eloquence in the Mouth of a

General is a powerful means to suppress a Sedition, especially when he speaks *Ex tempore*, as *Blesus* did. But it must be a masculine, nervous, and vehement Eloquence; and without Art; for, according to *Tacitus*, Soldiers have not the subtilty nor delicacy of Gown-men. *In signis cala.*

2. How just and necessary soever the Demands be, which Subjects make to their Princes, they ought to present them with Respect and Submission; otherwise the Circumstances totally change their Nature, i. e. of a good Cause, they make a bad one; and they are so far from deserving to be heard favourably, that they ought to be rigorously punished for their Insolence.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. Because of the Revenge which the Prince will take of it.

E. 2

2 There

of his Affairs now in the beginning of his Reign³; that if, notwithstanding, they would make such Demands in the midst of Peace, which the conquering Side in a Civil War had never presum'd to ask from their Commander; yet why would they transgress the Limits of Respect, and violate Discipline by taking Arms? Why nam'd they not their Deputies, for whom they might draw up their Instructions in his Presence? At these Words they answer'd with a general Cry, That the Son of *Blesius*, who was one of the Tribunes, was the most proper Man to take upon him that Commission; and to require a Discharge for all, when their sixteen Years⁴ of Service should be expir'd; and that they would send him fresh Instructions, when that first Article was accorded. When young *Blesius* was set forward on his Journey, they were somewhat calm: But the Soldiers grew more haughty, on the account of that Deputation; which shew'd, that they had carried that by Violence, which by other Methods they could never have obtain'd.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A Prince hath never more Business than in the beginning of his Reign; for besides, that his Authority is unsettled, he is employed in drawing up the Plan of his Government, which is an Affair of great difficulty. A Politick Spaniard said, That no Prudence nor Sagacity was sufficient for the beginning of a Reign; and that the case of Princes, at their Accession to the Throne, is much the same with that of Travellers, who meeting divers Paths, know not which to take for fear of losing their way. *Gratius* in his *Ferdinand*. To be short, what *Tacitus* makes *Blesius* say, that it was ill-timing their Business, to address to a Prince, whilst he was oppress'd with the Weight of Affairs, teaches Ambassadors, that there are Times which are not proper to negotiate successfully with the Princes, with

whom they are resident, and that they ought to watch Opportunities, when the Prince is in a good Humour.

4. There is nothing more dangerous for a Subject, than to take upon him the Commissions of Rebels, for it is in some sort to espouse their Interests against those of the Prince. And besides, the Prince hath always reason to take it ill, that his Subject will Capitate with him. *Charles* the Fifth seeing *Don Pedro Laso* at the Head of the Deputies of the People of *Toledo*, who had made an uproar, told him, That he would punish him immediately, but that he considered whose Son he was: And he was very near cutting off the Head of *Anthony Vasquez d'Avila*, for undertaking to deliver a Letter of the Commune, i. e. of the Seditious of *Terdesillas*. *Don* 7449

XIV. In the mean time, those Bands of Soldiers^o, who, before the Sedition, had been sent to *Nauportum* to repair the Ways and Bridges, and for other Occasions, receiving Notice of what had pass'd in the Camp, laid hold on the Ensigns, plunder'd the Neighbourhood, and *Nauportum* it self, which was in the nature of a Municipal Town⁹, contemn'd, revil'd, and even beat their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Juan Antonio de Vera, in the *Epitome of his Life*. The Prince of *Salerna*, of the House of *Sanseverino*, lost the Favour of this Emperour, and afterwards his Principality and his Reputation, for having undertaken an Embassy from the City of *Naples*, which had made an Insurrection against the Viceroy *Don Pedro de Toledo*, (in 1547.) The Duke d'*Alva* having Notice given him, that a Trumpeter had brought him a Letter from the Rebels of *Flanders*, commanded him to be hang'd immediately. And this is the Answer, saith *Bernardin de Mendoza*, which Kings and other Sovereign Princes and their Ministers ought to give to Ambassadors, which are sent to them by Subjects in Rebellion, to teach them not to Treat with them as Equals, it belonging only to Princes

to send Ambassadors and Trumpeters. Besides, there ought to be no Communication between the Officers of a Prince, and those of Rebels; for Malecontents seeing that Rebels have the liberty to Treat and to Negotiate with safety, are encouraged thereby to Revolt also, to endeavour to make their Condition better. His *Memoirs of the Wars of the Low-Countries*, l. 4. c. 3. The same Duke being General for *Charles* the Fifth in *Germany*, answer'd a Page and a Trumpeter, who came to declare War in the Name of the Princes of the League of *Smalkald*, That they deserved to be hang'd, but that the Emperour was pleas'd to pardon them, and reserve the Punishment for their Masters. *Vera's Epitome of the Life of Charles V.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o There was the great and the little *Manipulus*, or Band. The little one, called *Contubernium*, as much as to say, a Company that lies in one Chamber, and had but ten Men, but the great one consisted of a Hundred, or a Hundred and twenty. Each great Band had two Centurions, who commanded each sixty Men, as our Captains. Each Cohort had three Bands. These Companies were called *Manipuli*, i. e. *Manualis herbarum fasciculus*, because they carried a Bundle of Hay, or a handful of Grass, for their Ensign, such as the Kings of *Sweden* and *Poland*, of the House of *Wasa*, bore in their Arms. The Emperours changed this Ensign into a Hand fixed on the point of a Pike. The little Band had a tenth Man, or *Decurio*, which was as a Corporal with us.

p It was a City of *Pannonia*, called now *Laubac* in *Carniola*, a little Province of *Hungary*.

9 That is, a City which enjoyed the Privileges and Franchises of the *Roman* People.

their Centurions, who endeavour'd to restrain their Madness. Their Rage was chiefly bent against *Aufidius Rufus*, who, from a private Soldier, had been rais'd to a Centurion, and from thence to a Prefect, or *Marſchal de Camp* ¹. They pull'd him from his Chariot, they loaded him with Baggage, and made him march at the Head of a Battalion, asking him in scorn, If he w^{er}e not pleas'd to carry such a Burden, and to travel so far on Foot? For *Rufus* was an indefatigable Man, who restor'd to use the strictness of the ancient Discipline ², and who spar'd their Labour so much the less, because he had undergone himself what he had impos'd on others.

XV. The arrival of these Mutineers renew'd the Tumult, and roaming lawlessly round the Country, they made Waste of all Things in their way. *Blesus* caus'd some of them, who return'd loaden with their Plunder, to be beaten, and made Prisoners, thereby to imprint a greater Terror in the rest: (For the Centurions, and the sober part of the Soldiers, still continu'd in their Duty.) The Pillagers thereupon resist those who force them to Prison, embrace the Knees of their Camerades, implore

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Those Men, who from private Soldiers rise to the great Offices of an Army, are commonly the most severe, because they know better than others the Licentious Humour of Soldiers, and all the Tricks which they use to deceive the Vigilance of their Captains; as also, all the Debaucheries and Injuries which they commit in the Towns where they keep Garrison. Such a one in the last Age was Colonel *Francis Verdugo*, who from a private Soldier, and a very poor Gentleman, rose by his Merit to be one of the General Officers of the Spanish Army, and Governor of *Brachant*. He was wont to say, That he was *Francisco*

for the good Soldiers, and *Verdugo* for the bad. A Name that in Spanish signifies a Hangman. D. *Carlos Colemt*, lib. 8. of his *Wars of Flanders*.

2. Rigour is the Soul of Military Discipline, and we see every Day by Experience, that there are no worse Soldiers than those who serve under an indulgent Captain. But we must observe by the way, that as Military Seditions, which arise from the Severity of a General, are less frequent; so they are more dangerous, and of longer continuance than those, whereof Indulgence is the cause.

1. *Nam*

implore their Succour; either, in particular, by their Names; or, in general, the Company, the Cohort, or the Legion, in which they serv'd; crying out, Their own Turn must be next in the same Usage. They pour out a thousand Reproaches against their General, and call the Gods to witness his Injustice. In short, they omit nothing to move Compassion, to raise Envy and Fear, and to foment Sedition. The Soldiers run in heaps to their Relief, break open the Prisons, deliver their Companions, and strengthen their Party with Deserters, and Criminals condemn'd to Death.

XVI. From thence, the Mutiny grew more outrageous, and the Numbers of their Heads increas'd. One *Vibulenus*, a private Soldier ¹, being hoisted on the Backs of his Companions, was carried, as it were, in Triumph, before the Tribunal of the General, and the Soldiers big with expectation of his Speech, and thronging to hear him, thus began. 'Tis true, *Companions*, you have restor'd to Life and Liberty our innocent Fellow-Soldiers; but who shall give me back my Brother, who, being Commission'd to you from the Army now in Germany, for our common Interests, has this Night been butcher'd by the Gladiators, who are purposely entertain'd by *Blesus*, for our General Massacre. Tell me, *Blesus*, where thou hast thrown this murder'd Body? Even Enemies refuse not Burial to the Slain. When I have satisfied my Grief with Tears and Kisses, command me to be murder'd; and I consent to my own Death, provided thou wilt order us to be laid in one common Grave, like Brothers, who suffer'd Death, not for the Guilt of any Crime, but only for defending the Cause of the ²Legions.

XVII. He

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Nam & hi*, saith *Tacitus*, *Hist. 1. malis temporibus partem se Reipub. faciunt.* For, in troublesome Times, the meanest People make a Figure in a State, and private Soldiers have

more Authority than Generals. *Civilibus bellis plus militibus, quam civibus licere.* *Hist. 2.*

2. All Rebels and Traitors cover their wicked Designs with the Cloke of

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ When the Duke of *Alain* heard at *Lyon* the News of the Duke and the Cardinal of *Guise* his Brothers; he caus'd it to be published through the whole

XVII. He animated this Discourse with Sobs and Groans, and with the Blows which he gave himself on his Face and Breast; then getting loose from those who had carried him on their Shoulders, he threw himself hastily at the Feet of the Assistants, and mov'd them so much to Compassion and Revenge¹, that one part of the Soldiers seiz'd on the Gladiators of *Blesus*, another secur'd his Menial Servants, whilst many of them ran searching here and there for the Body of their slain Companion. And if, by good Fortune, it had not been immediately discover'd, that *Vibulenus* never had a Brother, that there was no such Body to be found, and that the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

of publick Good. The Count de *Charolois*, and other Princes of *France*, having taken Arms against *Lewis* the Eleventh; this War was afterwards called the *Publick Good*, because it was undertaken, as they said, for the Publick Good of the Kingdom. *Memoirs of Guignes*, l. 1. c. 2. The Demands of the Lords, adds he in cap. 12. were great: The Duke of *Berry* demanded *Normandy* for his Share; the Count de *Charolois* the Cities seated on the River of *Somme*, as *Amiens*, *Abbeville*, *S. Quentin*,

and *Peronne*; and several other Demands for each, with some Overtures for the Good of the Kingdom: But this was not the bottom of their Designs, for their Publick Good was turned into Private Interest; and, as *Salust* saith, speaking of *Cataline* and his Accomplices, *Bonum publicum simulantes pro sua quisque potentia curabant*.

1. In Seditions, he is always the most mutinous, who is most hearkned to.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

whole City, that *Henry* the Third had taken away their Lives, for no other Reason, but because they protected and defended the Catholick Religion against the Huguenots. *Herrera*, l. 5. of the Third Part of his History, c. 3. Notwithstanding the Duke of *Guise* being at the Estates of *Blois*, had refused to sign a Declaration which the King caused to be offered to him by a Secretary of State, wherein he promised and swore to make War on the Huguenots, provided that his Subjects would assist him with their Forces, and would make no League with Foreigners without his Approbation; and that those who should act contrary to this Condition, should incur the Penalties of High-Treason: c. 11. l. 4. of the same Part. I cite this Historian here, because being a Spaniard, his Testimony is of greater force against the *Guises*, whom all the Spanish Writers make to be *Maccabees*, notwithstanding at the bottom they were act'd only by Ambition, to make themselves Kings of *France* with the Catholics of *Spain*, against all Laws both Divine and Humane.

2. The

the Slaves of *Blesus*, being put to the Torture, persisted to deny the Murder; the General was in immediate danger of Assassination. In the mean time, they forc'd the Tribunes, and the Prefect of the Camp, to fly for their Safety; they plunder'd their Baggage, and kill'd *Lucilius* the Centurion, to whom they had given the Nick-name of *Cedo alteram*; because when he had broken his Baton² on the Back of any Soldier, he was wont to call for another, to continue the Correction. The rest of the Centurions absconded, excepting only *Julius Clemens*, who was sav'd; as being one, who, for his ready Wit, was thought a proper Man to execute the Commissions of the Soldiers². There were two of the Legions, the Eighth and the Fifteenth, who were ready to come to Blows with one another concerning one *Sirpicius* a Centurion; the Eighth demanding him to be produc'd and put to Death, the other defending him: If the Ninth had not interpos'd, and partly with Prayers, partly with Threatnings, brought them to Reason on either side.

XVIII. These Things coming to the knowledge of *Tiberius*, constrain'd him, as expert as he was in dissembling his Temper, and concealing all ill News¹, to send away his Son with all speed to *Pannonia*, without other Instru-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. As Soldiers commonly exercise their Hands, more than their Minds; and consequently, understand how to Fight, better than how to Speak; they set a great Value upon a Man who is able to Speak well, and Negotiate, especially when they have Complaints to make at Court a-

gainst their Generals, or Ravours and Rewards to solicit, which there is some difficulty to obtain.

1. Princes take great care to conceal ill Success from their Subjects, because they have the less Veneration for them when Fortune is against them. The Army of *Lewis* the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2. The Roman Soldiers were chastized with a Wand of a Vine, and the Foreigners in their Service with Blows of Cudgels.

3. Th

Instructions, than only to act according to the present Necessity, and as the juncture of Affairs² requir'd. He gave for his Attendants two Prætorian Cohorts, reinforced with a Recruit of select Soldiers, with a great part of his Cavalry, and the Choice of his German Guards; sent in his Company the principal Men of Rome, and appointed for the Governor of his Person *Elius Sejanus*, his Favourite³, then Præfect of the Prætorium⁴, and Collegue to his Father *Strabo*, in that Office: Employ'd

par-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

the Eleventh having taken several Towns in *Burgundy*, and defeated all the Forces that opposed them, the Duke, who was then in *Picardy*, caused a Report to be spread in his Camp, That his Forces had had the better, for fear lest his Army should Revolt, if it should know the News of *Burgundy*. *Commynes*, l. 3. c. 3. of his Memoirs. But of all Evils, a Sedition, or a Revolt, is that which Princes are most concerned to keep the Knowledge of from their Subjects, because it is an Example which never stops at the place where it begins. It is a Civil Contagion, which spreads from Province to Province, and whose Progress is so much the quicker, as it finds every where many Incendiaries, and very few Physicians.

2. There are knotty Affairs, in which; Princes cannot take certain Measures. Seditions are of this Nature, Severity and Mildness being

equally dangerous towards People, who must neither be altogether exasperated, nor wholly satisfied. When the Evil is pressing, the best Expedient is to send them a Person of eminent Quality, with Power to act according as the Occasion shall require, without expecting farther Orders, which would retard the conclusion of the Accommodation. But Commissions of this nature ought never to be given, but to Persons of approved Fidelity. And it was for this Reason, that *Tiberius* sent his Son and his Favourite to the mutinous Legions.

3. When a Prince gives a Governor to his Son, he ought to chuse a Man of Authority, to the end, that the young Prince may have an Awe and Respect for him. "Education, (saith *Cabrera*) is the Source of all the good and bad Qualities of a Prince, and consequently, of the good or bad Fortune of his

jects.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

This Office was new, having been created by the Emperors. Some are of Opinion, that the *Præfectus Prætorio* was much the same with the *Magister Equitum*, or the General of the Horse under the ancient Commonwealth. For as this General held the first Place after the Dictator, to whom he was properly Lieutenant, the *Præfectus Prætorio* was the second Person of the Empire, especially after *Sejanus* thought fit to lodge in one Camp all the Prætorian Cohorts, or Companies of Guards, which were before di-

particularly, on this Occasion, to promise Rewards to those who should submit, and threaten Punishments to such as should persist in their Rebellion. On the approach of *Drusus* to the Army, the Legions drew out, to meet him on the way, and do him Honour; not with cheerful Countenances, as was the Custom, nor with shining Arms and Ensigns^u, but in a mean and ragged

Equi-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

"jects. For want of good Education, the Prince, in stead of being the Father and the Shepherd of his People, becomes the publick Scourge, and the universal Plague. The inward Council of a Prince comes both from Education and Nature, which opens the first Windows to the Understanding, and displays there more or less Light, according to the disposition of the Constitution, which gives the first Lineaments to the Manners and Actions. . . . A Prince's Son is born with no more Understanding, than a common Man's; he is a Diamond that is hard to cut, but which casts a great Lustre after it is polished. l. 4. c. 2. of his History. *Mariana* saith, That *Peter* King of *Castile*, surnamed *The Cruel*, had a mixture of great Virtues, and of great Vices; that at his Accession to the Throne, which was at the Age of fifteen Years and

a half, he shewed a Mind, a Courage, and Qualities, which gave great Hopes; that his Body was indefatigable, and his Courage invincible in all Difficulties; but that, with these Virtues, there began to appear Vices, which Age encreased, and Time multiplied, and which were owing to the ill Education which he had had under *Alphonso d'Albuquerque*, the Governour of his Childhood. Inasmuch, that his Reign almost in every thing resembled *Nero's*, for he put to Death two of his Natural Brothers, with their Mother; his Wife, *Blanche of Bourbon*, to gratifie his Concubine; the Queen of *Arragon*, his Aunt by the Mother's side; the Infant, *Johan of Arragon*, his Cousin-German; *Jean of Lara*, his Sister-in-Law; and many more Princes and Lords: c. 16. &c. l. 16, & 17. of his History of Spain.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

dispersed in several Quarters of the City. (*Tacit. ann. 4.*) *M. de Chamvallon* speaks properly, in saying, That he was as the Constable of the Empire. His Authority grew so great, that there was no Appeal from his Judgments, whereas there lay an Appeal from those of the Consuls to the People, which Rome was a Commonwealth. In the Year 1631, *Urban* the Eighth having created his Nephew *Dom Tade Barberino* Præfect of Rome, this Lord by virtue of this new Dignity, which was but a Phantom of the Ancient, would have the Precedence of Ambassadors to *Solia*.

u. The Roman Army was wont to adorn their Ensigns with Garlands of Ribbands, and Bands of water'd Stuff: But on sad Occasions they carried them without Ornaments.

x That

Equipage, and with sad and sullen Looks, which shew'd more of Contumacy, than of Repentance.

XIX. When he was enter'd into the Camp, they plac'd Sentinels at the Gates, and Corps-de-Guard in several Parts; the main Body of them gather'd round the Tribunal of *Drusus*, who was standing, and held out his Hand, as desiring their Attention. As often as the Mutineers cast round their Eyes, and consider'd their own Multitude, they fill'd the Air with Shouts and Threatnings¹, but when they turn'd their Sight towards *Drusus*, they shook for fear². To this confus'd Noise, and these insolent Clamours, succeeded a profound Silence; and by their different Motions they gave, and took Terror in their turns. At length, the Tumult being ceas'd, *Drusus* read to them the Letters of his Father; which contain'd in effect, That he would take a particular Care of those valiant Legions which had assisted him in sustaining several Wars³; That so soon as his Grief for the Death of *Augustus* would give him leave, he would propose their Demands to the Senate; That, in the interim, he had sent his Son to them, with full Power, and without the least Delay, to grant them all that was possible to be done for them on the sudden: And what requir'd more Leisure, should pass through the Hands of the Senate; it being unjust to take from them the Glory of Rewarding, or the Power of Punishing.

XX. To this, the Assembly return'd Answer, That
Julius

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In Seditions, whether Popular or Military, none dares speak singly, but all together; and all they say, is nothing but confus'd Complaints, and insolent Clamours and Demands.

2. Nothing strikes so much Terror into Subjects that are in actual Fault, as the Prince's Presence; for *the Wrath of a King, (saith Solomon) is as the Messengers of Death:* Prov. 16.

3. It is a good way to appease a Mutiny, or a Revolt of Soldiers, to shew, that one remembers their former Services; for this Remembrance induces them to return to their Duty, in hopes of being rewarded for them. Besides, after Promises and fair Means have been tried, the Prince may justly treat them with Rigour, when once he hath reduced them by Force.

1. *Drusus*

Julius Clemens was intrusted by them to make known their Desires. He then began, with their Pretension, to be discharg'd from Service at the end of sixteen Years, with a Recompence in Silver; that their daily Pay should be a *Roman Denarius*^{*}; and that the *Veterans* should no longer be detain'd under their Ensigns. *Drusus* alléding, that the Cognizance of these Matters belong'd to the Senate and his Father¹; was interrupted by their Clamours. 'What Business has he here, *they cry'd*, since he 'is not impower'd, either to augment the Soldiers Pay, or 'to redress their Grievances, while in the mean time 'they are expos'd to be beaten and slain at the Pleasure of 'their Officers? We remember since *Tiberius* has evaded 'our Petitions, by remitting us to *Augustus*, and has he 'sent his Son on the same Errand? Shall we always 'have to deal with Children, who come to us in their 'Fathers Name? Is it not a strange manner of Proceeding,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. *Drusus* had full Power, seeing his Father sent him with unlimited Instructions, *Nullis satis certis mandatis, ex re consulturum*; and yet he would not make use of them, although he ran no Hazard in doing it. An Example, which ought to be imitated by Ambassadors and Plenipotentiaries, who desire to keep the Favour of their Prince. For although the Prince is obliged to ratify all that his Plenipotentiary hath done, that he may not break his Word; yet he hath a Right to chastise his Minister, who hath not made the best use of the Authority that he hath committed to him. *Lewis* the Thirteenth was willing, at the Desire of *Pope Urban* the Eighth, to sign the Treaty of *Moncon*, which du

Fargis, his Ambassador, had made in *Spain*, anno 1626, but he might justly have sealed it with this Ambassador's Blood. It is very necessary to be exact in the choice of Ambassadors, and there can't be too great Severity used in the punishing those, which exceed their Powers, since thereby they put to hazard the Reputations of Princes, and the Safety of States. There are Men, who have such an itch to do something, that if they are not kept within the Bounds which are set them, by the fear of being ruined without Remedy, there will always some be found, who will chuse rather to make an ill Treaty, than none at all. *His Pal. Testament, part 2. ch. 6.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* That is to say, a Penny in Specie, which was then worth sixteen Ash.

2 Dro

ceeding, that the Emperour refers nothing to the Senate, but what concerns the Rewarding of his Soldiers? Why does he not also consult the Senate, when he is to give a Battle, or punish us with Death? Is it reasonable, that Recompences should not be given, but by the Consent of so many Masters? And that, on the contrary, every Officer has right to punish us at his own Pleasure, and without Comptrol from any Man?

XXI. At this, they flung from the Tribunal, threatening all they met of the Prince's Guard, or of his Friends, and seeking an occasion of Quarrel and Revenge. Their Malice was chiefly bent at *Cneius Lentulus*, because that being elder, and of greater Reputation in War than any of the other Officers: He was thought the Man, who most despis'd the Danger of the Mutineers, and render'd *Drusus* inflexible to their Demands. And shortly after, when departing from *Drusus*, to shun the Danger which he foresaw, he took his way to the Winter

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is usual for Princes to consult with none, when they will dispense Favours, that they may have the whole Honour thereof themselves: But when some unjust Action, or at least some odious Thing is to be done, they are willing to call in Counsellors, that the Hatred of the Malecontents may fall upon them. And this is what *Tiberius* did upon this Occasion, when finding it not convenient to grant the *Veterans* what they demanded of him, he referred them to the Senate, where he knew they would succeed worse, the Senate taking care not to grant that, which they perceived he would refuse.

1. Counsellors are always ascribed to that Minister, who is believed to be of the greatest Power, or of the greatest Abilities. As such a Mini-

ster hath the greatest Share in the Glory of Successes, so he is also more exposed than others to the Hatred and Revenge of Disaffected Persons. The Duke of *Alva* was insupportable to the *Netherlanders*, because they knew, that he had been an Enemy to their Nation from the Time of *Charles* the Fifth, and the Author of all the Evil Counsels, which had been taken to bring the Country into absolute Subjection. *Sir W. Temple*, c. 1. of his *Remarks on Holland*. "But, saith *Pagliari*, I doubt much, whether they who attribute to the Ministers all odious Resolutions, are well informed whence they proceed; or rather, I believe, that they beat the Sadle, because they dare not beat the Horse. In the 71st of his *Observations on Tacitus*."

1. There

Winter Quarters; they inclos'd him in the midst of them, and ask'd him, Whither he was going, and if he was returning to *Rome*, in order to oppose the Interest of the Legions? And they were already beginning to stone him, if the Troops which *Drusus* had brought along with him had not rescu'd him from their Hands all over bloody as he was.

XXII. The Night threaten'd some horrible Attempt, but an Accident unforeseen turn'd all to Quiet. The Moon in a calm and serene Night, on the sudden, was eclips'd; and the Soldiers, who were wholly ignorant of Astronomy, drew from thence an Augury, for the present Juncture of Affairs; and comparing the defect of Light in the Moon to their own Labours, interpreted, that all would go well with them, if the eclips'd Goddess recover'd Light. Therefore, they beat on brazen Instruments, sounded their Trumpets, and rais'd confus'd Clamours; and as she appear'd more bright, or became more dusky, they vary'd their Sadness, and their Joy. But when the Sky grew cloudy, and took her wholly from their Sight, so that they believ'd her lost in Darkness, as Minds once stricken with Amazement, are prone to Superstition, so they imagin'd a Per-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is nothing which makes the common People more Superstitious than Fear, nor which makes them more fearful than Superstition. For this Reason, Chance hath oftentimes greater Share in the good or ill Success of dangerous Enterprizes, than the Conduct of those who are the Authors of them. The Deputies of *Bohemia* having entred by Surprise into the Privy-Chamber of

the Emperour *Frederick* the Second, and threatening him with their Arms in their Hands, That they would do themselves Right, if he did not grant them all their Demands, chang'd their Threats into Submission and Fear, upon the casual coming of *Wallstein* with a new-raisd Regiment, which he brought to shew the Emperour; and the Thunder ceased on a sudden.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y Don Juan Antonio de Vera speaking of a Tempest by Sea and Land, which shook the Fleet of *Charles* the Fifth at his arrival to *Algiers*, saith, That

Perpetuity of Labours was portended to them, and lamented, that the Gods were averse to their impious Attempt. *Drusus* thought it Wisdom², to lay hold on the Occasion which their Fear administer'd, and order'd some to go into their Tents. He made choice of *Clemens*, and others, who, by their Merit, had acquir'd Credit

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. To know how to make use of the Occasion, is an infallible Mark of the Ability of a Prince, and particularly of a General of an Army. Occasion is the Mother of great Events, *Opportunos magnis consiliis transiit rerum*, saith *Tacitus*, *Hist.* 1. The Definition, or rather Description, which *Cabrera* gives of it, deserves a place here, as an Instruction necessary for those who manage great Affairs. "They, (saith he) who boast of starting Occasions, discover sufficiently, that they know not what an Occasion is; for if War is the Contriver thereof, it is no longer an Occasion, but a Contrivance: And although it is sometimes founded with Industry, it is notwithstanding quite another Thing. It is necessary for a Prince to lay hold on it at the very nick of Time, equally avoiding the being too soon, or too late. Persons that are too quick, lose it by their Precipitation, because they scarce see the Shadow of it; but they run to catch it. They who are slow, miss it also; for as in its Nature it is per-

petually in motion, they are not able to take notice of it at the moment it passes before them; nor to lay hold on it at the very instant that they do take notice of it. There is Understanding required to foresee it, and Patience to wait for it, till it comes. If Things depended only on Fortune, or only on our Wills, there would be no great difficulty in managing them, because Chance, or our Choice, would be our Guide; but when there is a necessity of joining Fortune, Art and Will together, there is need both of Patience and Judgment to make them act in Concert, which renders them twice stronger. We may easily make use of Art and Will when we please, but not of Fortune, with which we must absolutely comply, in observing the Seasons of her good Humour, without ever exalting of her what we see she obstinately refuses us, or drawing back when she gives us Encouragement to hope for what we desire. *His History*, l. 12. c. 9.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

That it exercised its Fury not only on the material part thereof, that is to say, on the Gallies, and the rest of the Equipage, but also on the Courage of the Soldiers, who remained all under a Consternation, for there is nothing that makes them more Superstitious, than unexpected Accidents, which come from the Heavens, or the Elements. Witness the Legions of *Pannonia*, who having mutinied in the Reign of *Tiberius*, passed immediately from Fury to Repentance, upon an Eclipse of the Moon. *In the Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth*,

Credit with the common sort. These mixing with the Centries, and those who went the Rounds, or watched about the Gates, redoubl'd their Apprehensions, and withal, awak'd their Hopes. 'How long, said they, shall we continue to besiege the Son of *Cæsar*? Shall we take the Oath of Fidelity to *Perennius*, and to *Vibula*? Will they give us the Pay and Rewards which we pretend? In a word, Shall they Usurp the Empire of the *Nero*, and the *Drusi*? Why should not we be the first to repent us, as we have been the last to be seduc'd? The Demands which are made in common, are ever slowly granted, and late received; on the contrary, the Reward comes speedily to their Hands, who will each deserve it singly. These Words having once sha-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. There are few People, who are Proof against the Charms of Interest. During the War of *Paris*, all the Generals of the Sling, were meditating on their particular Accommodation, and each had his secret Correspondence with the Court, to make his Conditions the better. The Counsellor *Broussel* grew tractable, and *André Milson*, after he had a secret Promise of the Govern-

ment of the *Bastille* for his eldest Son. *Memoirs of the Minority of Lewis the Fourteenth*. The *Sieur de Villeroi*, saith the Chancellor de *Riverny*, was engaged as far as any in the League; notwithstanding he quitted it by a particular Treaty which he made for himself, and afterwards returned to serve the King in his former Office of Secretary of State. *In his Memoirs*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2. In the Year 1546, the Elector Palatine, who had declared for the League of *Smalkald* against *Charles* the Fifth, reduced some Cities to the Obedience of this Emperour by the same Remonstrance. "We are (said he) the last who have committed this Fault; let us be the first to repair it; that we may more easily obtain Pardon for it. *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth*, by *John Antonio de Vera*."

3. The *Memoirs of Commines* furnish us with many notable Examples of this. "Of all Men that I ever knew, (saith he) *Louis* the Eleventh was the wisest to get himself out of the Briars, and took the greatest Pain to gain a Man, who was able to serve him, or able to hurt him: l. 1. c. 10. The Accommodation which he made with the Duke of *Brittany* by the means of the Seigneur de *Lesum*, this Duke's Favourite, to whom he gave the Government of *Cath*, and of some other Places; was the cause that *Charles* of *France* his Brother lost the Duchy of *Normandy*, to the great Displeasure of the Duke of *Burgundy*, who had made him give him this great

shaken their Resolution, and cast a Distrust into them of each other, the Love of their Prince re-enter'd into them by degrees, the Legions separate, and the new Soldiers divide from the Veterans: They forsake the Gates, and replace their Eagles by themselves, which they had shuff'd together in the beginning of the Mutiny.

XXIII. At break of Day, *Drusus* calls the General Assembly; and though he had not the Gift of Speaking well, yet his Discourse had in it a certain Air of Greatness, inborn to those of Noble Blood; highly condemns the past Proceedings, and extols the present. He tells

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. One Man of Parts is enough to reduce a whole Multitude to Obedience. Every Thing puts Fear into People who are in Sedition, when their first Heat is over, and a wise Man comes to deal with them, who excites in them the Desire of Impunity, which, according to *Tacitus*, baffles all the Enterprizes which are formed against a Prince.

1. There is an Eloquence of the Looks, of the Gesture, of the Coun-

tenance, which oftentimes prevails more, than that of the greatest Orators. Subjects don't so much regard what their Prince says to them, as the manner after which he speaks it; every thing that he saith, is effectual, if he knows how to speak with Majesty. He ought to speak not as one who is about to Persuade, but as one who hath a Right to Command, and is able to make himself be Obedied.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Apanage: *ch. 15. of the same Book.* The said *Lescun* obtained afterwards the Government of *Guesne*, of one of the Castles of *Bourdeaux*; the Government of *Blais*, of *Bayonne*, of *Dax*, and of *St. Sever*; the Earldom of *Comminges*, the Order of the King, Eighty thousand Crowns in ready Money, and Six thousand Livres in Pension, to have Peace with the Duke of *Britany*, because so powerful a Duke managed by such a Man, was to be feared: *l. 3. c. 11.* Garter Herald of *England* being come into *France*, to declare War against *Lewis*, if he did not surrender the Kingdom to the King of *England*, immediately received a Reward from the King's hands, for the Promise he made to endeavour an Accommodation between the two Kings: *l. 4. c. 15.* The three Ambassadors from *England*, who concluded this Agreement, had great Presents in ready Money and Plate, and each of them Two thousand Crowns Pension: *c. 8. of the same Book.* A Gascon Gentleman, (*Lewis de Bretailles*), who was much troubled at the Peace made between *France* and *England*, received a Thousand Crowns from King *Lewis* the Eleventh, after he had had the Honour to dine with him, to prevent him from telling the King of *England* his Matter, that the French laugh'd in their Sleeves, for having driven the *English* out of *France*, by a Treaty of Peace, and by some Presents: *ch. 10. of the same Book.*

b i. e. Cap.

tells them, he is not capable of Fear, and that, by consequence, he is not to be mov'd with Threatnings; that if he finds in them due Repentance, and Respect, he will write to his Father in their behalf, and incline him to receive their Petition, and graciously to answer it. Accordingly, at their Request, the fore-mention'd *Blesius*, *Lucius Apronius* a Roman Knight, of the Cohort of *Drusus*, and *Justus Catonius* Captain of the first Century^b, are sent to *Tiberius*. After this, a Council of War was held, where their Judgments were divided; Some were of Opinion, that the Soldiers should be mildly Treated, till the return of their Deputies; others thought

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The Minister, whom a Prince sends to suppress a Sedition, or a Revolt of Soldiers, ought to take care of nothing more, than of doing any Thing, or suffering any Word to slip from him, that may be taken for a sign of Fear. For if once they come to perceive that he hath Fear, they shall impute it to the Knowledge which they will believe he hath of the Weakness of the Prince, rather than to his own want of Courage or Resolution. What *Commynes* saith upon the occasion of the Town of *Nanci* surrendered to the Duke of *Lorraine* by a Lord of the House of *Crouy*, named *de Bievres*, who commanded in it for the Duke of *Burgundy*, shews of what Importance it is to be firm and resolved amongst Soldiers. "The *English*, (saith he) tired because the Duke of *Burgundy* delayed so long to relieve them, began to

"murmur, and to despair of Success, and told the Lord *de Bievres*, that they would Capitulate without him, if he did not Capitulate. Although he was a good Officer, yet he had so little Resolution as to use Intreaties and Remonstrances, and if he had spoken more boldly, I believe, that it had been taken better from him; for the next Day, or two Days, after the Place was surrendered, the Duke of *Burgundy* came, well accompanied, as the Occasion required. *Memoirs, l. 5. c. 5.* In great Dangers, a General ought to put on a better Countenance; it is not always amiss to fear, but it is always unbecoming not to know how to conceal it. A Captain's Countenance ought to be armed with Disimulation, as his Body with Steel, otherwise he will be betrayed sooner by his Eyes, than by his Soldiers.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b i. e. Captain of the first Century or Company of the Band or Manipule, which, as I have already said, consisted of two Centuries or Companies, and consequently had two Captains or Centurions. And by *Centuriones primarum ordinum*, *Tacitus* means those whom we call Elderst Captains.

thought it more adviseable to use Rigour, there being no Moderation to be expected from a Multitude³, which makes it self formidable when it fears nothing, and which may safely be despis'd when timorous: That Terrour was to be imprint'd in them, while they were yet fill'd with Superstition; and that they were to be made sensible they had a Master, by the Punishment of those who were Authors of the Mutiny⁴.

XXIV. *Drusus*, whose Nature inclin'd him to Severity¹, caus'd *Vibulenus* and *Percegnius* to be brought before him, and commanded them to be put to Death². Many relate, that they were slain, and buried in his Tent,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Shame is a Passion that is not to be found in the Multitude, but to compensate this, they are mightily subject to Fear. Thus Rigour hath the same Effect upon them, that the Point of Honour hath upon particular Persons.

4. Rebellions require an unrelenting Physician, that immediately cures by cutting and burning; for otherwise, the Cure will be long and difficult. Princes therefore never pardon the Ringleaders of a Revolt, or a Sedition, because they who sin without Example, are alone more culpable than all those who follow their Example, and consequently deserve less Compassion. Besides, there would be no Seditions or Rebellions, if there were no Incendiaries, inasmuch as the multitude sees only by Trust.

1. Of all Counsels which are given Princes, those appear to them to be the best, which are most agreeable to their Tempers. When a Prince is cruel or severe, and also affronted by Disrespect, it is in vain to advise him to Clemency. Cardinal *Spinosa*, and Prince *Rui Gomez*, found it not convenient to lend the Duke of *Alva* Governour into the Low-Countries, because, in their Op-

nion, his Rigour would exasperate the Minds of that People, whereas they ought to have been softened; but as it was in this very Particular, that the Duke resembled and pleased *Philip* the Second, he was preferred before the Duke of *Fria*, [*Gomez Figueroa*], whom the Cardinal and the Prince proposed, and who being equal to *Alva* in Quality, in Prudence, in greatness of Courage, and in Civil and Military Experience, surpassed him in Moderation and in Liberality; and was also more beloved by the King. *Cabrera's Hist.* l. 7. c. 7.

2. It is the Fate of the Heads of Seditions and Rebellions, to be the Victims of their Party; sooner or later they are Delivered up to the Prince, or the Magistrate, to wash away with their Blood the Stain of the common Treason. There is nothing more dangerous, saith the *Florentine* Proverb, than to hang the Bell about the Cat's Neck. And this is what they do, who by a false Bravery, or rather by a fatal Rashness, put themselves at the Head of a Party, which upon the first Check, or the first Alarm, will sell them for an Amnesty.

Tent³, to keep the Execution secret; others say, that their Bodies were cast out of the Camp, to serve for an Example, and remain a Spectacle to their Companions. Enquiry was made afterwards for the other Promoters of the Sedition, and many flying here and there for shelter, were discover'd and kill'd by Centurions, and Soldiers of the Guard; some of them were deliver'd up by their own Comrades, as a Pledge of their Fidelity. The Disquiets of the Mutineers were yet more augmented by an over-early Winter, with continual Rains, and Storms so furious, that they durst not stir out of their Tents to meet in Assemblies; and hardly were they able to keep their Colours, which the fierceness of the Winds threatened every moment to bear away. Add to this, That they were still in apprehension of the Wrath of Heaven; and their guilty Minds suggested to them, that the Planets were not eclips'd in vain, or that the Tempests rould without Presage over the Heads of Rebels⁴; that there was no other Remedy remaining for their present Evils, but to abandon a profan'd Camp, an unfortunate Abode, and to return to their Garisons, after they had expiated their Crime. The eighth Legion remov'd first, and was soon follow'd by the fifteenth. The ninth oppos'd themselves to this Depasture, crying out, The Answer of *Tiberius* was to be attended there; but being surpriz'd with Fear, as being left alone, they prevented the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. If the Duke of *Alva* had put the Earls of *Egmont* and of *Horhe* to Death in Prison, the *Flemings* might perhaps have had less Compassion for them, and less Resentment against him and the Prince. This Execution, saith Sir *W. Temple*, put them beyond all Patience; so that one may say, that the end of the Lives of these Lords was the beginning of the Troubles, which spilt so much Blood in Europe, and

which cost Spain a good part of these Provinces. *Remarks on the United Provinces*, cap. 1.

4. Nothing hath a greater Force on the Multitude, saith *Quintus Curtius*, than Superstition; how inconstant and furious soever they be, they will always obey the Divines better than their Governours, if once their Minds be struck with false Images of Religion: *lib.* 4.

the Necessity of being forc'd to Obedience. So that all Things being compos'd in a settl'd Calm, *Drusus* went immediately for *Rome*, without longer waiting for the return of the Deputies.

XXV. Almost at the same time, and for the same Reasons, the Legions in *Germany* rebell'd¹; and their Mutiny had in it the more of Insolence, because they were in greater Numbers; and all of them concluded, that *Germanicus* would never submit to the Government of another, but that, to prevent Subjection, he would Head those Legions²; by whose means, he might put himself in a condition of reducing all others to his Party. There were two Armies encamp'd on the Banks of the *Rhine*; that on the upper part was commanded by *Caius Silius*, in Quality of Lieutenant-General; that on the nether, by *Aulus Cecina*. Their common General was *Germanicus*, who, at that time, was busied in *Gaul* about gathering the Tributes. But those who were under *Silius*, protracted the time of declaring themselves, till they saw what Fortune would befall the Army of *Cecina*³, where the Sedition began from the Twenty first and Fifth Le-

gions,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Nothing gives greater opportunity to an Army, that hath great Pretensions, to Revolt, than the Absence of a General. The farther off Punishment is, the less they fear it. (*Germanicus* was then in the *Isles*.)

2. It is very natural to believe, that a Prince, who hath his Sword in his Hand, and Soldiers entirely devoted to his Service, will not suffer himself to be deprived of a Kingdom that of Right belongs to him, especially if he, who hath taken Possession of it, be odious, both to the common People, and the Nobility, as *Herius* was. It is rather Covetousness, than Moderation, to let a Want of Power may be

excused, but never want of Courage, especially in a Person, who ought to inspire others with it.

3. The Revolt of a Province, or of an Army, ought to be carefully concealed from other Armies and Provinces, for fear lest such an Example should draw them to Revolt likewise. It was for this Reason; that the *Burgundians* having been defeated, their Duke, who saw all his Affairs grow worse and worse, and his principal Servants desert him, and go over to *Lewis* the Eleventh, caused a Report to be spread in *Picardy*, and in *Flanders*, that his Army of *Burgundy* had had the better. *Commynes's Memoirs*, l. 3. c. 3.

4. There;

gions, which also draw into their Party the Twentieth, and the First; for they were quartered together on the Frontiers of the *Ubians*, living in Idleness⁴, or, at least, with small Employment. When the Death of *Augustus* was known amongst them, the Soldiers of the new Recruits, accusom'd to the Softnesses of Life at *Rome*, and, consequently, Enemies to the Toyls of War, began to broach amongst those who were Simple and Credulous, That now the Time was come for the *Veterans* to demand a quick Discharge; for the new-raisd Troops to have their Pay enlarg'd; for both Parties to require an end of their Sufferings; and to revenge themselves on the Cruelty of their Centurions. It was not any single Person, (as *Percennius* was amongst the *Pannonian* Legions,) who declaim'd in this manner: Neither did the Soldiers tremble at the sight of another Army more powerful than their own, and which were Witnesses of what they said and did; but many Mouths which cry'd in Concert, That the *Roman* Empire was in their Hands, to dispose of as they pleas'd; that they had enlarg'd it by their Victories; and that the *Cæsars*^d held it for an Honour, to bear the Surname of *Germanicus*.

XXVI. *Cecina* durst not oppose this, either by Word or Action, their Multitude having over-mast'rd his Resolution.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. There is nothing more contrary to Military Discipline than Idleness, saith *Paterculus*. *Res disciplina inimicissima opium*: *Hist.* 2. c. 78. It was for this Reason, that *Augustus* hardned his Soldiers by almost continual Expeditions in *Dalmatia* and *Illyria*; that *Cassius*, a Governor of *Syria*, exercised his Legions in times of Peace, with as much Care, as if he had been in open War. *Tacit. Ann.* 12. A *Lacedemonian* said, That nothing was to be done with an Army without Discipline, and that Soldiers ought to fear their General more than their Enemies.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c The Country of *Collen*.
d As *Tiberius*, who was Surnamed *Germanicus*, in *Augustus's* Life-time; *Drusus*, and *Germanicus* his Son.

F 4

e By

Resolution. The Seditious being seiz'd, with one common Fury fell with their drawn Swords on their Centurions, (ever the Object of their Hate, and the first Sacrifice which they offer'd to their Vengeance;) they pull'd them down, and beat them afterwards to Death with Cudgels; Sixty of them at once assaulting one, to equal the Number of the Centurions, which were Sixty to every Legion. To conclude, they cast them out of the Camp half dead, or threw their Bodies into the Rhine. One of them call'd *Septimius*, who had refug'd himself in the Tribunal of *Cecina*, and had embrac'd his Knees, was demanded with so much Obstinacy, that the General was forc'd to deliver him up to their Fury. *Cassius Cherea*, an intrepid Youth, the same who afterwards eterniz'd his Memory by the Death of *Caligula*¹, open'd himself a Passage with his Sword through a Crowd of Arm'd Soldiers, who endeavour'd to have seiz'd him. From that moment, neither the Tribunes, nor the *Marschals de Camp*, were any more obey'd. The Mutineers themselves plac'd the Sentinels and the Corps de Guard, and order'd all Things which their present Needs requir'd. Those who pierc'd into the depth of that Affair, drew from thence a certain Augury, that the Sedition would be of a long Continuance; because they acted not with any separate Interest, or, by the Insultation of any particular Men among them; they rais'd their Clamours all at once, and at once they ceas'd them;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is no Enemy from whom Princes have more reason to fear Attempts against their Lives, than from an undaunted Man, who is animated with Resentment against them, and particularly, if he be a Man who hath a mighty Passion to make his Name memorable to Posterity. *Machiavel* describes, that *Jeron Olgiato*, who was one of the three Assassins of *Galeas Duke of*

Milain, very much like this *Cherea*, when he said, That this Cavalier, who was but 23 Years old, underwent his Punishment with no less Courage, than he had executed his Enterprize; and that seeing the Executioner with the Sword in his Hand, he spoke these Words; *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti*. Lib. 7. of his History of Florence.

1. For,

them; with so much Equality, and so good an Understanding amongst themselves, that it might have been reasonably believ'd, they were under the Government of one Head.

XXVII. While *Germanicus*, as we have said, was detain'd in Gaul to collect the Tributes, he receiv'd the News of *Augustus's* Death, whose Grand-daughter he had marry'd. He was the Son of *Drusus*, Nephew to *Tiberius*, and Grand-son to *Livia*; But the secret Hatred of his Uncle, and his Grand-mother, gave him great Inquietude, knowing that their Aversion was so much the more to be fear'd, because their Motives to it were unjust¹. For the Memory of *Drusus* was in high Veneration amongst the Romans; it being the general Opinion, That if he had come to possess the Empire², he would have restor'd their Liberty to the People: From thence, their Favour was deriv'd to *Germanicus*, and their Hopes of him the same: For *Germanicus* was of a soft,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. For, according to *Seneca*, The more Unjust our Hatred is, the more Obdurate it is: *Persecutores ipsi facit iniquitas ira*. And, according to *Thucydides*, it is the Nature of Man always to hate those whom he hath injured: *Proprium homini ingenium est, odisse quem laeserit*. In *Agric. Mangeron*, saith Queen *Margaret*, having quitted the Service of my Brother, [the Duke of *Alençon*], bore so mortal a Hatred to him, (as 'tis usual for him that doth the Injury, never to forgive,) that he plotted his Ruine by all ways possible: l. 2. of her Memoirs.

2. The People always imagine fine Things of those, whom they desire should Reign. Possibly it might have sared with *Drusus* and *Germanicus*, had they come to the Empire, as it did with those two Kings of the *Suevi*, *Vangio* and *Sido*, who, *Thucydides* saith, were passionately

loved before they Reigned, and as much hated when they Reigned: Ann. 12. At least, we may lay of *Drusus* and his Son, what *Thucydides* saith of *Brutanicus*, that *Periculis commendatus virtutibus famam sine experimentis*; that both of them dying in the Flower of their Age, (at the Age of 10 Years,) and both by Poison, their Misfortune hath preserved a grateful Fame of their Modesty, which possibly they would have lost, had they reigned. The Mildness, the Civility, and the Familiarity of Princes, who aspire, or who begin to Reign, are not so much the Effects of their Nature, as of their Policy. Add hereto, that the best Men are not always the best Princes. There is a Spanish Proverb, which saith, *De mal hombre buen Rey*, i.e. An ill Man makes a good King.

3. A

soft, pleasing Humour, affable in Conversation, and his Behaviour wholly different from the sullen Reservedness and Arrogance of *Tiberius*. The Quarrels betwixt the Women contributed not a little to this Enmity; For *Livia* behav'd herself with the Loftiness of a Mother-in-Law to *Agrippina*, and *Agrippina* carry'd it somewhat too resentingly towards *Livia*; but her known Chastity, and the Love she bore her Husband, to whom she had born many Children, wrought so far upon her Soul, that, though naturally haughty and inflexible, she contain'd herself within the Bounds of what was Virtuous and Laudable.

XXVIII. But *Germanicus*, the nearer he approach'd to the height of Sovereignty, the more eagerly he strove to maintain *Tiberius* in Possession; he caus'd him to be recogniz'd by the Neighbouring Provinces of the *Sequani* and *Belgæ*; and when he was inform'd, that the Legions

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A proud and severe Prince can never love Ministers, who will be beloved by the People; for their popular Humour serves only to make him yet more odious, or at least more disagreeable to his Subjects. It often happens, that the People, and also the Courtiers, make Comparisons between the Prince and the Minister, which never fail of being reported sooner or later to the Prince, nor of ruining the Minister, when they are to his Advantage. And it was one of the Artifices, whereby the Grandees of *Spain* compassed the Disgrace of Cardinal *Espinosa*, whom they could not destroy by their Complaints. *Lewis Sforza*, Duke of *Milain*, beheaded *Cecca Si-*

moneta, his Secretary of State, for saying to him, That he could not defend *Milain* against the *French*, but by the good-will of his People; because his Counsel gave him to understand, that his Minister was too popular. Now-a-days Princes have no jealousy in this Particular.

1. The next Heir of a Crown, or of a Principality, ought, according to all the Rules of good Policy, to shew himself the most zealous in the Service of the reigning Prince. As he hath more to lose, he hath more to fear; and, consequently, he ought to be more complaisant and submissive than all others. *Strada* attributes the cause of all the Misfortunes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

e By the *Sequani*, now the *French* Counties; and by the *Belgæ*, who are the *Flamings*.

f In

Legions were tumultuously up in Arms, he made all possible Expedition in his Journey to them. They met him without the Camp with dejected Eyes, as in sign of their Repentance. But as soon as he was enter'd, the Camp resounded with confus'd and jarring Clamours. Some of them taking his Hand, as it were, to kiss it, put his Fingers into their Mouths, to make him sensible that they had lost their Teeth. Others shew'd him their decrepid Limbs, and Shoulders bending under the weight of Age. As they were all mingled in a Crowd, and without Order, he commanded them to draw up in their several Companies, under pretence that they might with more convenience hear his Answer, and to separate their Colours, that he might distinguish every Cohort by its proper Ensign. They obey'd him but as slowly as possibly they could. Then beginning his Oration with the Praises of *Augustus*, he descended to those of *Tiberius*, but above all enlarging on those Exploits, which he had perform'd with them in *Germany*. He set before them

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

fortunes of *Francis*, Duke of *Alençon*, to the Envy which he had conceived against his Brother *Henry* the Third. For want of considering, that he was the Heir Apparent of the Crown, and, as it were, upon the point of being adored on the Throne, seeing his brother had no Children; he could not bear, that the casual order of Birth had made *Henry* his Sovereign. Thus looking on his Fortune only on the worldly side, he lived in a continual Agitation, equally a Burden to his Brother, and to the State; so that being desirous to Command whatever it cost, not caring in what Country, he put himself at the Head of the Rebels in *Flanders*, who invited him rather to be the Pretext of the War, than to make him their Prince; and who hastned his Ruine, by the eager Desire which he discovered of im-

posing the Yoke on that People, who had not shaken off that of the King of *Spain*, but that they might live as a Free-State: 1. 5. of the Second Decad of his History.

2. It is a Degree of Rebellion, for People to deliberate, whether they shall obey; they do not seem to have been willing to obey, who have a long time deliberated, whether they shall obey or no: *Qui deliberant, deservierunt*. Tacit. Hist. 2.

3. As the Memory of *Augustus* was pleasing to them, he gained their Good-will by beginning with his Praises: And as they loved not *Tiberius*, whose Humour was wholly different from that of *Augustus*, he made them favourable to him, by putting them in mind, that they had a great Share in the Glory of his Exploits.

1. Indeed

them the Universal Consent of *Italy*, the Fidelity of the *Gauls*, and the Concord of all the other Provinces of the Empire. And thus far he was heard with a respectful Silence, or, at least, with little or no Disturbance.

XXIX. But when he came to ask them, what was become of their Obedience, and of their ancient Discipline, where were their Tribunes, and what they had done with their Centurions? They stripp'd themselves naked, to shew him, by way of Reproach, the Scars of the Wounds, and the Bruises of those Blows which they had receiv'd from their Officers; and afterwards speaking all at once, they complain'd of their scanty Pay, and the intolerable Price with which they were forc'd to purchase their Exemption from Duties; and the Miseries they suffered in labouring Night and Day on their Retrenchments, in providing Forage for their Horses and Beasts of Burden, and heaps of Faggots, (or *Fascines*;) and what other Employments are invented to keep the Soldiers in exercise, when no Enemy is

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Indeed, all this is worthy of Compassion, but Seditions and Revolts are evermore Inexcusable, and consequently, Punishment is absolutely necessary, for fear lest Impunity open the Gate to Licentiousness. "Good and Evil are so contrary, that they ought not to be put in the Balance against one another. They are two Enemies, betwixt whom there ought to be no Quarter, nor Exchange given: If one deserves Reward, the other doth Punishment; and both of them ought to be treated according to their Merit. Chap. 5. of the Second Part of the Politick Testament. Otherwise the Hopes, which every one will have of obtaining Pardon in consideration of past Services, will make them not care how they offend. *Manlius*, who had defended the Capitol against the *Gauls*, whence

he was honoured with the Name of *Capitolinus*, and of *Protector of the People*, notwithstanding he recounted the long Services which he had done his Country, and shew'd the Scars of Three and thirty Wounds which he had received in several Fights; the *Romans* condemn'd him to Death, as soon as his Adversaries had proved that he aspired to Regal Power. There is an indispensable Necessity of proceeding thus, according to the Opinion of *Machiavel*, in his 24th Chap. of l. 1. of his *Discourses*, and of *Scipio Africanus*, in the 7th Disc. of l. 2. of his *Commentary on Tullius*. And it is also the Opinion of *Tiberius* himself, who saith, That the City of *Rome* owes by its Revolt all the Merit of the great Services which it had done to the *Romans*. Hist. 4.

is near. A fierce Clamour of the *Veterans* arose, who having serv'd the space of 30 or 40 Years, besought *Germanicus* to take Pity on them, and not suffer them to die in the Hardships of Warfare, but to give them their Discharge, and wherewithal to subsist afterwards in their Age². Some amongst them also demanded the Legacies of Money, which were left them by *Augustus*, not without loud Acclamations to *Germanicus*, and engaging to serve him, if he would accept the Empire³. But he, as if he fear'd there had been Infection in their Crime, leap'd precipitately down from his Tribunal³, and was departing from the Camp, till they held him by the Arm, and turning the Points of their Swords against him, threaten'd to kill him if he refus'd to mount his Seat. He protesting, he would rather die, than be wanting to his Duty, drew his Sword, and raising his Arm, was plunging it into his Breast, if those who were nearest him had not stop'd his Hand. They who stood farthest in the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. In a State which is governed by Military Maxims, and whose Subjects are Warlike, as were the *Romans*, the rewarding of Soldiers is the principal part of Government: For the expectation of Rewards, supports Emulation, Affection, Labour, and Discipline. And besides, there is nothing more Unjust, nor which doth greater Dishonour to

the Prince, than to suffer People to die in Poverty, who have spent their whole Lives in the Dangers and Fatigues of War.

3. In such a Matter, to hear it, is to be Criminal. It is not enough to be innocent, especially under a jealous and mistrustful Prince, as *Tiberius* was; a Person must also act so, that the Prince may believe, that he

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f. In the Year 1577, a *Flemish* Lord having attempted the Fidelity of *Don John of Austria*, Governour of the *Low Countries*, by offering him the Sovereignty thereof, if he would accept it, *Don John* transported with Rage, gave him a Staff with a Ponyard. *Cabrera*, l. 5. c. 11. of *Philip II*. This Behaviour, in my Opinion, was more prudent, and also more sincere, than that of *Germanicus*, who would, or feign'd that he would have kill'd himself. For, by immediately punishing so pernicious a Counselor, he stop'd their Mouths, and struck Terror into all those who might be capable to draw him to this Design.

the Crowd press'd nearer, and some of them (what is almost incredible to relate) singling themselves from the rest, came up to him, and exhorted him to strike as he had threaten'd; And a certain Soldier, called *Calusidius*, offer'd him his naked Sword, assuring him, that the Point was sharper than his own. But this appear'd of bad Example, and even execrable to those who were mad themselves; so that there was Time given for his Friends to draw him off into his Tent.

XXX. There

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

he hath neither Will nor Power to be culpable. With Princes, it is a Crime: to be thought worthy to Reign; at least, it is a Rock, on which the Fortunes of the bravest Men have been split. *Vespasian*, by the Counsel of *Mitrian*, his Chief Minister, put to Death *Calpurnius Galerianus*, who yet had never meddled with any dangerous Affair, because his illustrious Birth, his Youth, and his graceful Meen, made him talk'd of, as of a Man that was worthy to possess the Empire. Although *Verginius* had refused to accept it, he was yet always suspected by *Galba*, and kept near him to secure his Fidelity. *Tacit. Hist. 4. c. 1.* Although *Don John of Austria* had not only rejected the Offers of the Sovereignty of the Low-Countries, but also punished with his own Hand the Person who had made him the Proposals of it. *Philip* the Second repented much, that he had

given him the Government: For there are Suspicions, says *Strada*, which the greatest Innocence can never cure; and how good an Opinion soever Princes may have of the Fidelity of the great Men whom they employ, they have always a jealous Spirit, and are inclined to believe, that they grow weary of being Obedient and Faithful; and that it is Prudence to use such Precautions, that a Subject, who have once had the Moderation to refuse the Sovereignty, may never be capable to accept it: *L. 10. of his First Decad.* It was well the Marquis of *Pesquers* died a little time after he had revealed to *Charles* the Fifth, that the Pope, the Duke of *Milim*, and the *Venetians*, offered him the Kingdom of *Naples*, for certainly the Emperour would not have long left him the Command of his Armies in *Italy*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g These two Circumstances of *Calusidius*, who presented *Germanicus* with his Sword as the sharper, and of the others who cried out, *Strike*, seem'd to imply that the Soldiers believed, that *Germanicus's* Indignation was but acted, and that his Fidelity towards *Tiberius* had less of Reality in it, than of Art and Ostentation. For those who encouraged him to kill himself, would not have had occasion to cry *Strike*, had they not seen that it was only long of *Germanicus*; that it was not done; and *Calusidius* would never have thought fit to have presented him with his Sword, had he not

XXX. There a Council was call'd, in order to appease the Mutiny; for Notice had been given, that the Seditious had propos'd to send Deputies to the Army of *Silius*, and to ingage them in their Revolt; that they had resolv'd to plunder the City of the *Ubiens*, and that if once they had tasted the Sweetness of *Rapine*, they would soon be tempted onwards, to make a *Prey* of *Gaul*. It was also apprehended, that the *Germanians*, who were not ignorant of what had pass'd, should make an Irruption into the *Roman* Province, in case the Legions should withdraw from the *Rhine*. And that, on the other side, if they should arm the Allies and the Auxiliaries against the Legions, to hinder their departure, that was in effect to kindle a Civil War. That Severity expos'd *Germanicus* to Danger, and Mildness to Contempt; that whether all Things should be granted,

or

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The first Remedy, which a Prince ought to employ against the Revolt of his Subjects, is to prevent the Rebels from gaining the Neighbouring Provinces and Cities which continue in Obedience.

2. To use Rigour, is to exasperate their Minds, and to drive them to Despair; to dissemble, temporise or comply with the Will of the Mutineers, is to shew that they are feared, and, by consequence, is to increase

HISTORICAL NOTES.

not been in a condition to make use of it. There is some Reason to believe, that the Faith of *Germanicus* was like that of young *Pompey*, who one Day, when he entertained *Octavius* and *Anthony* in his Gallery, being asked by the Corsair *Menas*, Whether he desired they should make him absolute Master, not only of *Sicily* and of *Sardinia*, but of the whole *Roman* Empire; answer'd, You should do it without giving me notice of it. *Plutarch, in the Life of Anthony.*

h Afterwards called *Collen*.

i There was this difference betwixt Allies, and Auxiliaries; that the former took an Oath of Fidelity to the *Roman* Commonwealth, and received no Pay; whereas the others, who were Foreigners, and not under an Oath, took Pay. The Allies had Corn given them.

k *Cabrera* saith, That the Commander *Dom Luis de Requesens*, in stead of reducing the Rebels of *Flanders* to Obedience, by his Mildness, and by his Favours, increased their Obstinacy, it appearing to them that he treated them so, because he feared them. *Ch. 15. l. 10. of his History.*

l These

or all refus'd to the Mutineers, was of equal Hazard to the common Good. In fine, all Reasons, both on the one and the other side, being duly weigh'd, it was resolv'd to counterfeit Letters, as from *Tiberius*, by which he gave a free Discharge to all such as had serv'd for the space of Twenty Years; and declar'd those for Volunteers who had serv'd Sixteen, retaining them under a particular Ensign, exempted from all sorts of Duty, excepting only to repulse the Enemy; and ordaining them to be paid double the Legacy which had been left them by *Augustus*.

XXXI. The Soldiers suspecting the Design, requir'd that all this should be immediately perform'd. And

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Increase their Insolence, and to expose to Contempt the Authority of the Prince and the General. What is to be done then in these Occasions, where Gentleness and Rigour are equally dangerous? He must not amuse himself about untying the Gordian knot; for this will never be done; it must therefore be cut through. After the Spanish Soldiers were gone out of the Low-Countries; by Virtue of the Perpetual Edict, Don John of Austria, who was Governour there, soon perceived, that the intention of these Provinces was to govern themselves in the form of a republick. Inasmuch, that he was constrained to retire from *Brussels*, where he was at the Mercy of the Estates, to *Munster*, and immediately to recall the Spanish and Italian Troops; (which he had sent away) to appease the Rebels. (1577.)

3. It is Prudence in a General, not to engage the Prince; and yet to pretend to do that in Obedience, which he doth through Necessity. Thus *Germanicus*, by counterfeiting Letters from *Tiberius*, who order'd him to grant them their Demands, artfully conceal'd his Inability to bring them to Reason; and *Tiberius* was not in the mean time oblig'd to make good any of the Promises contained in these forged Letters. And, probably, these Letters were only Blanks sign'd by the Prince; for otherwise, *Germanicus*, who knew too well how much he was suspected by *Tiberius*, durst not have made use of this Expedient.

4. When seditious Persons, or Rebels, obtain of a Prince more than they have demand'd of him; they have great Reason to believe, that he is much more concerned to de-

ceive

And the Tribunes expedited the Discharge; but the Payment being postpon'd till they were in Winter-Quarters, the Fifth and the Twenty first Legions refus'd to return into their Garisons; And *Germanicus* was forc'd to pay them out of the Money which he brought with him to defray his Voyage, and out of what he could borrow from his Friends. *Cecina* brought back to the *Ubians* the First and the Twentieth Legions; and it was indeed a shameful March, to see carried, as it were, in Triumph, the Silver, which they had extorted from their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS;

ceive them, (as they deserve) than to satisfy them. This puts me in mind of what *Christian* the Fourth, King of Denmark, did on the like Occasion, who was so far from discovering any Resentment against Mutineers, who had made insolent Demands of him, that he handsomly pretended to yield to their Reasons, and to be willing to give them all the Satisfaction they desired. And, as a Testimony of this, he said, That he would drink with them; which appeared to them the more sincere, because he often did his Friends this Honour, and because in his Nature he was very familiar: But after he had made every one of them as drunk as Beasts, he caused them all to be hanged the same Evening. This Relation was given me by a Danish Envoy.

2. Princes and Generals of Armies ought to avoid nothing more carefully, than the necessity of making Soldiers wait a long time for their Pay; for want of Pay is always followed with want of Respect and Obedience; and, in the mean time, the General dares not punish Men, whose Demands and Complaints are just. Besides, the oppor-

tunity of Acting and Fighting are lost, as long as the Mutiny continues; and there is no security in employing them, whilst they believe that they have a Right to do themselves Justice by Treachery. In fine, the longer their Pay is delayed, the more of their Insolence and cruelty must the People fear. Inasmuch, that the Princes Authority remains in suspense betwixt the Impunity of one side, and the desperate Condition of the other. Some Spanish Troops (saith Sir *William Temple*, c. 1. of his Remarks) having mutinied for want of Pay, and seized the Town of *Alost* in the Neighbourhood of *Brussels*, the People of this City were in despair, the Tradesmen left their Shops, and the Husbandman his Work, and all ran to Arms: So that the Estates being assembled at *Ghent* in the Year 1576, it was there resolv'd to drive out of the Low-Countries all Foreigners, and to re-establish the ancient form of Government. Which gave the King of Spain to know by a fatal Experiment, that nothing is able to stop the Torrent of an enraged and obstinate People, who overturn all that stands in their way.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* This Money was Sacred,

6

Note

1. These Soldiers, who were kept under this Colours, were Stigmatized *Revolans*: Quasi sine proprio Vestimento. For they were no longer to do the Eagle, which was the Ensign of the Legion: And it is in this sense that *Tacitus* saith, *Vexillum Vestimentum Auspex*.

m This

their General, amongst the Eagles and the Ensigns. In the mean time, *Germanicus* being gone to visit the Army on the *Upper Rhine*, the Second, the Thirteenth, and the Sixteenth Legion took the Oath of Fidelity without the least demurr; and the Fourteenth having paus'd a little on the Matter, he offer'd them the Money, and their Discharge, without their once demanding it³.

XXXII. But the Sedition was again renewing in the Country of the *Chauci*ⁿ, through the Malice of those Rebellious Veterans, who were there in Garison, if a timely Stop had not been put to the Beginnings by the Execution of two Soldiers, whom *Mennius*, the Marechal-de-Camp, caus'd to be suddenly put to Death: A daring Action, and of good Example, rather than of true Justice^o. Notwithstanding which, the Mutiny still gathering to a greater Head, he took flight, and hid himself; but being discover'd, he call'd his Courage to his Succour. *This Violence*, said he, *is not offer'd to me, but to Germanicus, your General; and to Tiberius, your*

lawful

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. It's Wisdom for a Man to do that of his own accord, which he sees that he shall be obliged to do by force. This Anticipation makes that received as a Favour, which a little later would pass for Constraint.

1. There are Occasions; in which a greater Regard is to be had to the publick Service, than to the Laws; the Necessity being some time so pressing, that there is no means to expect their Assistance, which is of-

ten retarded by Formalities. Besides, it is not to cross the Laws to procure the publick Good, in prospect of which all the Laws were made. *Salus Populi Suprema Lex esto*, says *Cicero*. 'Tis on these Occasions, said Cardinal *Richelieu* to the late King, in which your Authority ought to go beyond the Forms of Law to maintain Rule and Discipline; without which, a State is not able to subsist. *Part 1. of his Pol. Testament, sect. 2. ch. 3.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ Now *Frisland*.

^o Because it belonged only to the General to punish with Death.

*lawful Emperor*². Saying this, and seeing them amaz'd, he snatch'd their Ensign^p, and turning directly towards the *Rhine*, he cried out, that *he held him for a Deserter, who forsook his Rank*³; insomuch, that they all return'd to their Winter-Quarters much discontented, and without daring to proceed in their Attempt.

XXXIII. In the mean time, *Germanicus* being already on his return from the *Upper Germany*, the Deputies of the Senate, found him at the Altar of the *Ubians*^q, where

POLITICK REFLECTIONS:

2. The Affronts offered to Magistrates, are reputed as done to the Prince; for it is his Authority which they resist, and not the Person of him who exercises it. It was for this, that *Charles the Fifth* would never recal from *Naples* the Viceroy *Don Pedro de Toledo*, against whom the City had made an Insurrection, and even with some appearance of Justice. *Ullon, in his Life*. The Constable of *St. Pol* having given the Lie to the Lord *d'Himbercourt*, Ambassador from the Duke of *Burgundy*, he made him no other Answer, but, "That this Affront was not done to him, but to the King, under whose Protection he came thither as Ambassador; (*it was to the King in Picardy*;) and also to his Master, whose Person he represented, and to whom he would report it. *Memoirs of Commines, l. 3. ch. 11.* The greatest Kings, saith the same Cardinal *Richelieu*, cannot preserve their Authority inviolable, if they have not a great care to maintain it in the least of their Officers, whether near or distant from their Persons. For

these are Outworks which are attack'd first, the taking of which emboldens them to make an Effort against those within, and afterward against the Person of the Prince himself. *Pol. Testament, part 1. sect. 7. ch. ult.*

3. A Commander, who knows how to speak with Vigour, and to accompany his Words with fortè Action, wherein Resolution appears, will scarce ever fail of striking Terror into Seditious Persons, although they be numerous. The *German* Soldiers having made an Insurrection against *Alexander Farnese*, Governor and Captain-General of the *Low-Countries*, he went directly to these Mutineers, with his Sword in his Hand, and commanded the Colonel of the Regiment to send him immediately two Soldiers of each Company, which should be found most culpable, whom he caus'd to be hanged, to the number of Twenty, in the sight of his whole Army, without any Man, daring to speak a Word. *Strada's Hist. Decad. 2. lib. 5.*

HISTORICAL NOTES:

^p The Ensigns were so highly revered by the *Romans*, that the Seditious themselves durst not refuse to follow them.

^q Some are of Opinion, that this Altar stood where the City of *Bonn* is now, the ordinary place of Residence of the Arch-Bishop of *Cöllen*.

where the First and the Twentieth Legions, together with the *Veterans*, who were discharg'd, had their Winter Quarters, and were still retain'd under their Ensigns. A terrible Affright suddenly seiz'd those Soldiers, who felt the Stings of Conscience for the Crime they had committed. They suspected, that those Deputies had Orders to revoke the Grants, which they had extorted by their Mutiny. And as it is the common Practice of the Multitude to accuse one wrongfully, they make *Mucianus Plancus*, a Consular Man, and Chief of the Deputation, the Author of this Decree of the Senate¹. Towards Midnight they came to a Resolution among themselves to demand the Standard, which was kept in the Lodgings of *Germanicus*². Accordingly they ran thither in a Crowd, broke open the Doors, and dragging the³ Prince out of his Bed, they threaten'd him with Death, and constrain'd him to deliver up the Ensign³. Then running through the Camp, they met the Legats, who hearing the Uproar, were hastening to *Germanicus*; they resolve to murder them, and particularly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When once a Minister hath got the Reputation of a severe or violent Man, all rigorous Resolutions are imputed to him. The *Flemings* imputed all the Rigours of *Phillip* the Second to the Counsels of the Duke of *Alva*, because they knew that he had said to *Charles* the Fifth, (who loved them and treated them with Respect, as having been born and educated among them,) that he ought not to give them so much liberty, nor so great a share in publick Affairs, to the great Discontent of other Nations of his Empire, who deserved to be preferred before them *Cabrera's Hist. l. 5. c. 2.*
2. It hath been a Maxim of several Princes, never to lie twice successively in the same Chamber. *Henry* the Third, King of *England*, and the Usurper *Cromwel*, changed almost every Day.
3. Of two Evils, the least is to be chosen, and consequently, *Germanicus* did better in giving up the Colours to them, than to let them kill him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ It was a Scarlet Ensign, which was set up on the General's Pavilion when they were going to give Battel, and it never was out of his Quarters, whence it could not be taken without Sacrilege.

² Which

larly *Plancus*, whom regard of his Character would not permit to escape by flight; and therefore, having no other Refuge, he cast himself into the Quarter of the First Legion, and made Religion his Buckler, by embracing the Eagle and the Ensigns⁴. Which notwithstanding, the *Roman* Camp, and even the Altars of the Gods, were in danger of being profan'd by the Blood of a *Roman* Ambassador, (an unusual Crime even among our Enemies) if *Calpurnius*, who was Eagle-bearer⁵, had not prevented the Blow by his Resistance. When it was Day-light, and Men and Actions could be discern'd, *Germanicus* entering the Camp, caus'd *Plancus* to be brought before him, and seated him by his Side on his Tribunal; then reproaching them with their mad Behaviour, and exclaiming against their fatal Disobedience, which he chose to attribute to the Anger of the Gods⁵, rather than the Fury of the Soldiers, he openly declar'd the Occasion of that Embassy, and eloquently deplor'd the cruel Outrage done to *Plancus* without cause, and the Infamy

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. *Cicero*, in one of his Letters, saith, That the exterior Marks of Dignities and great Offices, are but Obstacles to the safety of the Persons who wear them, that is to say, in Seditions; for at all other Times they are necessary to draw Respect from the People. One Day when *Otho* entertained the greatest Men of *Rome* at Supper, the *Prætorian* Soldiers having taken a false Alarm, came to force open the Doors of the Palace. *Otho*, who knew not whether their Design was a-
- gainst him, or the Guests, dismissed the Company; and every one, for his safety, stripp'd himself of the Marks of his Dignity. *Tac. Hist. l. 1.*
5. The General of an Army, which hath mutinied, doth prudently to attribute part of the Soldiers Fault to higher Causes, which have drawn them, as it were, by force; to the end, that this handsom manner of excusing them, may make them more readily return to their Duty, in hopes of obtaining a General Pardon.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

⁴ Which were Sacred and Inviolable amongst the *Romans*, and which *Tacitus* calls, The particular Gods of the Legions, *Propria Legionum numina*. Ann. 2.

⁵ The Person who carried the Eagle of the Legion.

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¹¹ These

Infamy which the Legion had incur'd, by violating in his Person the sacred Character of Ambassadors⁶. After this Harangue, which rather astonish'd the Multitude, than appeas'd them, he licens'd the Deputies to depart, and caus'd them to be convoy'd by the Auxiliary Troops.

XXXIV. During this Consternation, Germanicus was generally blam'd, that he repair'd not to the Army on the Upper

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. The Person of an Ambassador is so Sacred, that it is more inviolable than even that of the Prince himself, who sends him, would be, were he in the Places where he represents him. For a Prince, who is in the Territories of another, is but under the Security of the Laws of Hospitality, which make but a part of the Laws of Nations: But his Ambassador is under the Protection of the Laws of Nations themselves, taken in the utmost Extent of their Signification, and of their Privileges, provided that he be not in a strange Country, nor for his Pleasure, nor for his own private Affairs, but for the common Good of the two States. The Rights of Ambassadors are even so great, that they efface those which a Prince hath over his Natural Subjects. That is to say, a French-man, who should be Ambassador from the King of Spain, or a Spaniard, who should be Ambassador from the King of France, would efface and abolish, by his Character, the Jurisdiction, and all the Rights of Sovereignty which his Natural Prince had before over his Person. Local Customs, which ought to give Place to the Law of Nations, which is the Universal and Common Law of all People, who have a Form of Civil Government, in like manner as the Interest of private Men gives Place without contradiction to the publick Interest. And this is so true, that the Marquis

du Guast, Governor of Milan, having caused to be assassinated on the Po, Anthony Rinco, a Spaniard, invested with the Quality of Ambassador from Francis the First, who sent him as such to Constantinople; Charles the Fifth loudly disowned this Action, and carefully avoided alledging amongst the Excuses, wherewith he coloured it, the Birth of Rinco, which he would not have failed to insist on, had he believed that it was his Right to have recalled him as his Subject, and to have punished him as a Deserter, who had been condemned for Contumacy in Spain. Don Juan Antonio de Vera, to justify this Action of the Governour of Milan, which the force of Truth makes him vindicate by halves, when he saith, *Strangers say so, and I am willing to believe it, because it was much of his Character: Porque fue obra muy suya*. This Author, I say, complains of John Bodin, who making mention of the Death of Rinco, cunningly dissembles, that this Ambassador was a Spaniard, that he might give a false Colour to this Action; adding, that if Bodin had spoken the whole Truth, it was evident and undoubted, that Charles the Fifth might judicially condemn and punish Rinco with Death, seeing that he was his natural Sovereign, and that no subsequent acquired Privilege could screen him from the Punishment of his antecedent Treason. But this

Reason

Upper Rhine, where he might have found both Obedience and Aid against the Rebels. Germanicus (said they) has discover'd his Weakness, and his Fear, in rewarding the Revolters¹. If he regarded not his own Safety, yet why should he abandon his Infant Son², and his Wife with Child, to the Fury of those Mutineers, to whom nothing is inviolable? He ought, at least, to have restor'd those Pledges to Tiberius, and to the Commonwealth. After long Consideration, he embrac'd his Wife and Son with many Tears, and order'd their departure: And though Agrippina, to avoid that mournful Separation, said, That the Grand-daughter of Augustus had too much Courage to fear Danger³, yet

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Reason doth not destroy those which I have alledged to the contrary. And the Example which Don Juan Antonio brings of Joab, whom Salomon caused to be slain at the Horns of the Altar, which he laid hold on, is not parallel to our Case, seeing that Joab was no Ambassador, as was Rinco; nor Rinco a willful Murderer; as Joab was, (1 King. 2.) To conclude, the Example of Joshua, who would not kill the Gibeonites; although they circumvented him in obtaining the League which they came to make with him, (Josh. ch. 9.) may serve as a proper Answer to all the Reasons of this Spanish Lord. See his Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth, and the first Dialogue of his Envoixador.

1. When Mildness in a General is not seasoned with Severity, it cures Mutineers of nothing but of Fear; whereas they ought to have Terror struck into them, to reduce them to Obedience. The Instructions which Philip the Second gave in Writing to Don Juan, his Brother, when he sent him to the War; expressly recommended to him in all his publick Actions to observe a Decorum suitable to his Birth, and to his Office of General, in appearing

grave with Sweetness, that he might be beloved; and modest with Authority, that he might be respected. Cabrera's History, l. 7. c. 23.

2. The first Thing which a General of an Army ought to do in a Sedition or a Revolt of Soldiers, is to put his Wife and Children in some place of Safety, for fear lest the Mutineers, or the Rebels, seizing on their Persons, so precious a Pledge might serve them as a Buckler against him, and constrain him to grant them Demands prejudicial to his own Reputation, and to the Authority of the Prince who employs him. In a word, every Thing must be taken from Soldiers that may augment or foment their Violence.

3. There is nothing which makes a Woman more courageous, than the ardent Love which she hath for her Husband. Dona Juana Calvo, the Wife of Anthony Perez, and Mary de Regelsberg, the Wife of the famous Hugo Grotius, are two great modern Examples: And when History shall speak of the Disgrace of Monsieur the Surintendant Fouquet, it will not, it may be, forget to parallel his Wife with those two Foreign Ladies.

yet at length she submitted to the Journey. It was a sad Spectacle, to see the Wife of a General, in the Equipage of a Fugitive, carrying a helpless Infant in her Arms, encompass'd with a Troop of other Women, all in Tears; and those who stay'd behind, as much afflicted, as those who went.

XXXV. These lamentable Outcries, which one would have thought had rather come from a sack'd City, than from the Camp of *Germanicus*, at that time in a flourishing Condition, excited the Curiosity of the Soldiers. They came forth from their Tents to learn the Cause. There they beheld so many Ladies of illustrious Birth, without any Convoy or Guard to attend them; *Agrippina*, without her ordinary Train, or any one remaining Sign to distinguish the Wife of their General from other Women: And informing themselves, that she was going for *Treves*, there to seek a Sanctuary among Strangers, they were equally mov'd with Shame and Pity, by the dear Remembrance of her Father *Agrippa*, of her Grand-father *Augustus*, and of her Father-in-Law *Drusus*; by the Honour of her Fruitfulness, and her inviolable Chastity; and more particularly, by their Regret they had to see her carry away, in a manner so unworthy of her, her Infant Son who was born within their Camp, nurs'd, as it were, in the Bosom of the Legions, and call'd *Caligula*, because he wore the common Boots^a of Soldiers, to gain their Affections in his very Childhood. But nothing was more grievous to them, than the Envy of that Honour, which was done to those of *Treves*. Some of them ran after her, and besought her to stay among them; others went to *Germanicus*, and importun'd him for her Return. But,

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HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a These Boots were trimmed with Nails, and were worn only by the common Soldiers. Wherefore, in Latin Authors, *Miles Caligatus* is synonymous to *Miles Grigarius*, or *Minigularis*.

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as he was yet in the first Ferment of his Grief and Choler, he answer'd them in this manner.

XXXVI. 'Believe not, that my Wife and Son are
'dearer to me than the Emperour, and the Empire¹.
'For my Father, his own Fortune will defend him;
'and the Empire² wants not other Armies, without this,
'for its Support. As I would freely sacrifice my Wife
'and Children for your Honour, so I remove them not
'at present from you, but to hinder you from becoming
'yet more guilty, by the Murder of *Augustus's* Grand-
'daughter, and the Grand-son of *Tiberius*; and to ex-
'piate by my Blood alone, the Crime which your Fury
'is about to perpetrate. For what is it you have not
'dar'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. They who have the Management of publick Affairs, ought to prefer their Country to their Wives and Children. *Cari sunt parentes, (saith Cicero) cari liberi, propinqui, familiares, sed omnes omnium caritates Patria una complexa est.* Lib. 1. de Off. There is, in *Mariana's* History, a famous Example of what Governors and publick Ministers owe to their Country, in preference to their own Children. The Infant Don Juan, Brother of *Smuck* the Fourth, King of *Castille*, having besieged the Fortress of *Tarifa*, in which Don *Alonso Perez de Gusman* commanded, this General's only Son fell into the Hands of the Infant, the General of the *Moors* Army. The Besieged making a vigorous Defence, and the Infant beginning to lose all Hopes of taking the Place, he thought fit to expose to their Sight the young *Perez*, as a Victim to be slain, if they did not surrender. At this sad Spectacle, saith *Mariana*, the Father, without any Discomposure, protested, That if he had a thousand Sons, he would abandon them all, rather than stain his Honour, by surrendering the Place. And, to make

good his Words, he threw over the Battlements of the Walls a Cuttle-Ax to the *Moors*, to make use of it against his Son, if their Design was such, and went away to Dinner. A little while after hearing the Outcries of the Soldiers, who saw their Master's Son executed before their Eyes, he ran at the Noise, and understanding what was the matter, he said with a Majestick Air, *I thought that the Enemies had entred the Town*; and returned to eat with his Wife, without discovering so much as any Alteration in his Countenance. So well did this Lord (worthy to be compared with the greatest Men of Antiquity) know how to master the impetuous Motions of Paternal Tenderness. From him are descended the Dukes of *Medina Sidonia*, *The History of Spain*, l. 14. c. 16.

2. These Words seem to contain a Sense, from which we may infer, that *Germanicus* did not refuse the Empire, but because it would have been dangerous to accept it, the other Armies and the other Provinces being faithful to *Tiberius*.

4. A

' dar'd to Enterprize of late? What is there so Sacred, which you have not presum'd to violate. By what Name can I call you, Soldiers? You who have besieg'd the Son of your Emperour, or Roman Citizens, who have, with so much Insolence, contemn'd the Authority of the Senate? You have profan'd even the sacred Laws of Nations, even the inviolable Persons of Ambassadors, even the common Rights observ'd by Enemies. The Divine *Julius* stifled a Sedition by one single Word, when he call'd his Soldiers (who were deserting his Service *) Rabble. The Divine

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POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. To affront Persons who represent Kings, saith Cardinal d'Osset, is to offend against the first Principles of the Policy, and Maintenance of Human Society. Letter 283.

4. A seasonable Reproach given by a Prince, or a General of an Army, to People who have some Sense of Honour, or who begin to feel some Pricks of Repentance, is sufficient quickly to reduce them to their Duty, and to make them also more affectionate than ever to his Service. The Prisoners of the Army of the League of Smalkald imploring the Mercy of Charles the Fifth, by calling him their Father :

Such pauntry Fellows as you, said he, are no Children of mine; and added, (pointing to his Camp) It is these, of whom I am the true Father. Words which equally augmented the Shame of the Rebels, and the Love of the Soldiers of his Army, and were the cause, that most of the Cities, which took part with the League, returned to their Obedience; and that a certain Count, who thought his Repentance was not equivalent to his Fault, kill'd himself with his Sword, to give an undoubted Testimony of his Fidelity. Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth, by Don Juan de Vera.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* *Tradite nostra vivis ignavi signa Quirites.* Whilst Caesar was preparing for the War of Africa, whither *Curio* and *Cato*, Signamed *Uticensis*, were retired; the Soldiers, who saw he stood in need of them, thought fit to demand their Dismission, not with a design to obtain it, but to oblige him, for fear of being left without an Army, to grant them whatsoever they pretended to. But he, without any Concern, discharged them from their Oath, and disbanded them with these Words of Contempt: *Etenim, O Quirites, laboribus & vulneribus exhausti estis; at which, they were so surprized, that they threw themselves at his Feet, to beg him to continue them in his Service. Dio, l. 42.* He did an Action of like Resolution at the Battle of *Munda*, in the Kingdom of *Granada*, where seeing the Victory inclining to the Enemy's side, he alighted off his Horse, and cried out to his Soldiers, who gave Ground, *That, as for himself, he would not give Ground*

on

Augustus made his Actian-Legions tremble only with a Look. And though I am unworthy to be nam'd with them, yet having the Honour to be descended from their Loins, I should think it strange, and even unjust, that the Armies of *Spain* and *Syria* should despise me: But what shall I say! they are the Fifth and the Twentieth Legion which have revolted! the one of them, inroll'd by the Hand of *Tiberius* himself; and the other, the constant Companion of his Victories, and enrich'd by his Bounties! And, to do you Right, you have both made him in return, a wonderful Acknowledgment of his Favours. Shall I be the Bearer of such News to him, who receives none but happy

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POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. The more illustrious Extraction a Person is of, the more the great Actions of his Ancestors give him confusion, if he doth not imitate them. As these Actions serve for Examples to others, they lay an indispensable Obligation upon him, who hath their Blood in his Veins, to tread in their Steps. He who boasts of their great Deeds without imitating them, is so far from doing himself Honour, that he makes the Difference that is between them and him taken notice of. Amongst the Romans, the Statues and Pictures of illustrious Persons were set up in the entrances of Houses, to put their

Posterity in mind, that they had a great void Space to fill up, and that as many Images as they saw, would be so many Censors and Syndics, which would brand them with Infamy, if they should degenerate. *Boleslaus* the Chast, Prince of *Poland*, wore a Gold Medal about his Neck, with his Father's Effigies engraved upon it, and every time he held a Council, or went upon an Expedition, he kissed it with Respect, saying to his Father, as if he had been present, *God forbid, that I should do any thing unworthy of your great Name.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

an Inch; that they should consider well what they were about to do; what a General they abandon'd, and in what Necessity. Infomuch, that being spur'd on by Shame, rather than by Honour, they rallied, and gain'd the Battle. *Patercul. Hist. c. 55.* It was in that Battle that he fought for his Life, whereas in others he fought but for the Victory.

After the Battle of *Actium*, *Augustus* having sent back most of the Veterans into Italy, without giving them any Rewards, these Soldiers being much discontented mutiny'd, whilst he was employ'd in *Asia* in observing the Steps of *Mark Anthony*: But after he was returned into Italy, his Presence brought such an Awe with it, that none durst stir. *Effestum est, saith Dio, ut nemini rem ullam tentare auderet.* Lib. 51.

z. He

‘ Tidings from all the other Provinces? Shall I tell him, that his Soldiers, as well the *Veterans*, as the new Recruits, are not to be quieted, either by their Discharge, or by their Pay? That ’tis here they kill Centurions; drive away Tribunes; imprison Legates: That the Camp and Rivers are overflow’d with Blood; and that his Son is at the Mercy of as many Enemies, as he has Soldiers? Ah, my once dear Fellow-Soldiers! why did you snatch away that Sword, which I was plunging into my Body? He, of your Number, was my best Friend, who presented me his own. I had now been dead; I had not been a Witness of so many Crimes, with which you have stain’d your Honour since that Day! You had chosen another General, who would have left my Death unpunish’d, but in return, would have reveng’d the Massacre of *Varus*, and his three Legions. For I should be sorry, (for your Honour) that the *Belgæ*, who make offer of their Service, should have the Glory of reducing the *Germans* to Obedience, and restoring the Reputation of the *Romans*. Oh! that thy Soul, Divine *Augustus*, now in Heaven, and thou, Oh my Father *Drusus*! whose Resemblance I behold in these Ensigns! Oh that the Remembrance of these Actions may inspire these very Soldiers, who now begin to feel the Stings of Shame, and Spurs of Glory, with a Resolution of blotting out that foul Disgrace, and of turning their Swords against our Enemies! And you, in whose alter’d Countenances I read another Heart, in sign, that you will pay your Emperour the Obedience which you owe to him; and to the Senate, to their Ambassadors, to your General, to his Wife, and to his Son; separate your selves from the Company of these Mutineers, as a Pledge of your Fidelity, and an authentick Testimony of your sincere Repentance.

XXXVII. At this, they threw themselves before his Feet; and confessing, that his Reproaches were all deserv’d and just, they besought him to punish the Offenders;

fenders; to pardon those, who had only err’d through Frailty; and to lead them on to Battle: As also, to recal his Wife, and not to give in Hostage to the *Gauls* the Nursling of the Legions. He excus’d himself as to what regarded *Agrippina*, by her being so near her Time of Childbed, and by the approach of Winter; as for his Son, he consented to recal him; adding, that he left them to finish what remain’d. From that moment they began to seize on the most Seditious, and brought them bound in Fetters to *Caius Cretinius*, who commanded the first Legion^a; and he caus’d immediate Justice to be done on them in this manner: The Legions encompass’d his Tribunal with their naked Swords; A Tribune^b from above shew’d the Soldier who was accus’d, to those below; if the Assembly pronounc’d him guilty, he was immediately cast down, in order to be executed; and every one took pleasure in killing his Camerade, as if thereby he clear’d his own Innocence^c. *Germanicus* was silent while this was passing; so that nothing being done by his Command, the whole Hatred of the Massacre fell upon the Actors. The *Veterans* follow’d this Example, and soon after were commanded into *Rhetia*, under colour of defending that Province from the Incursions of the *Suevæ*, but in reality, to remove them from a Camp, the very sight of which rais’d Horror in them, because it set the Image of their late Revolt before their Eyes. Then *Germanicus* made a strict Enquiry into the Conduct of the Centurions: He examin’d them one by one; each of them was oblig’d to

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a He was as a Brigadier in our Armies; for our Brigades of Foot much resemble the *Roman* Legions, and the Battalions, which compose them, their Cohorts, of which the Legions were composed. The *Roman* Cohorts consisted of betwixt 5 or 600 Men, when the Legion was well supplied; our Battalions are 800 Men. In every Legion, there were 10 Cohorts; in every Brigade, there are always 5 or 6 Battalions.

^b That is to say, a Colonel.

^c Every one thought to merit his Pardon, by killing his Companion.

^c *Ordo*

to tell his Name; his Country; what^c Company he commanded; how long he had serv'd; what Actions he had done in War; and they, who had been honour'd with any Military Presents, shew'd them. In short, if any Legion, or any Tribune, gave a good Account of their Probity and Diligence, they were continued in their Stations; and, on the contrary, he degraded those who were accus'd by common Fame, either of Covetousness, or of Cruelty: And in this manner the Sedition was appeas'd.

XXXVIII. But what was yet remaining on his Hands, in reference to the Fifth and Twenty-first Legion, was not of less Importance. Those Legions had their Winter Quarters Sixty Miles from thence, in a Place call'd *Vetera*^d. The Sedition was begun by them; there was no Crime so heinous, which they had not committed; and, to compleat their Villany, they were still for pushing on their Fury to the utmost; nothing frighted with the Punishment of some; nothing mov'd with Remorse, or with the Penitence of others. *Germanicus* therefore gave his Orders to prepare Vessels on the *Rhine*; resolving to terrifie them into Duty, in case they persisted in their Disobedience.

XXXIX. The News of this Revolt amongst the Legions being come to *Rome*, before the Event of the other in *Pannonia* was known, the City, struck with Fear, began to murmur against *Tiberius*; accusing him, that while he by his artificial Delays and Dissimulations was still imposing on the People and the Senate, which were both of them unarm'd, and without Power, in the mean time the Soldiers were raising a Rebellion: They said, that the two young Princes, for want of Knowledge and Authority, could not hold the Armies in Obedience:

HISTORICAL NOTES:

^c *Ordo in Vicibus.*

^d As much as to say, *Vetera Castra*, the old Camp.

dience: It was his Duty to go in Person thither, and oppose the Majesty of the Empire to the Mutineers; who would never dare to make Head against a Prince, of consummate Wisdom and Experience; and who alone had their Life and Death at his Dispose; that *Augustus*, in his declining Age, and languishing with Sickness, had taken many Journeys into *Germany*; and that *Tiberius*, now in the Vigour of his Years, led a sedentary Life at *Rome*, and employ'd his Time in cavilling at the Expressions of the Senators; that he very sufficiently provided for domestick Slavery; that it was now incumbent on him, to restrain the License of the Soldiers, and teach them how to behave themselves in Peace¹.

XL. *Tiberius* was unmov'd at these^e Discourses¹; having

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Soldiers cannot love Peace, because it confounds them with the Citizens, and subjects them to the Laws, from which they set themselves at liberty with Impunity in time of War. *Militares artes per otium ignote, industriosque ac ignavos pax in equo tenet.* Ann. 12. The Citizens, saith Sir W. Temple, pretend to live in safety under the Protection of the Laws, which the Soldiers would subject to their Sword, and to their Will. Chap. of his Remarks on the United Provinces.

1. An able Prince ought not to take his Measures from what the People say, who always speak by a Passion. *Non ex rumore statuendum.* Ann. 3. It is a good Commendation, which *Tacitus* gives *Tiberius*, that he was always a great Enemy to the Reports of the Town. *Tiberium speruendis Rumoribus valendum.* An. 3. So that *Paterculus* ought not to be suspected of Flattery, in saying, That he was an excellent Judge of what he ought to do, and that he embraced not what the Multitude

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e *Fabius Maximus*, whose Method was not to fight, slighted those envious Persons, who in a Jeer called him *The Temporiser*, and *Hannibal's* Pedagogue, saying, That it was greater Cowardice to fear the Judgments of the People, than to fear the Enemy. But all Captains (saith *Livy*, l. 4.) have not that strength of Mind which *Fabius* had, who would rather unjustly suffer the diminution of his Authority, than do otherwise than what was his Duty, to gain the Approbation of the People. *Seneca* saith, That there is nothing more ridiculous, than a Man who stands in fear of what others will say of him. *Nil stultius est homine verba metuente.* Contradiction, in stead of Shocking, doth but fortifie and harden a resolved Mind.

^f Through

having fix'd his Resolutions, not to leave the Seat of Empire², or put to hazard his own Life, or the Safety of the Commonwealth. His Mind was perplex'd with many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

itude did approve, but what they ought to approve: For, saith he, he was more concerned for his Duty, than for his Reputation; and the Army never directed the Counsels, and the Delights of the General, but the General always gave Laws to his Army. *Ch. 113, & 115. Ambrato* saith, That Princes who disquiet themselves with the judgments of the People, fall into the same Error with those who scruple certain Things which are not sinful; for as the scrupulous sin by the Opinion which they have of sinning, altho they have not sinn'd; so Princes, who are concerned to hear the People blame what they have done, or are doing with good Counsel, and thorough Information, shew that they have not acted upon certain Principles, but by false Prejudices. *Disc. 7. of l. 3.* A Baron of *Chevreau*, who served in *Flanders* under the Duke of *Alva*, perceiving that the Duke would not hazard a Battel, which the Officers judged convenient to fight, threw his Pistol in Anger on the Ground, saying, "The Duke will never fight. To whom the Duke (who had heard him) answered, *That he was pleased to see the Desire which the Soldiers had to fight the Enemy, because their Profession required it; but that a General ought to consider nothing but conquering.* It is ordinary for Soldiers, (saith the Author who furnishes me with this Example) to desire to fight, to get Reputation by shewing their Courage; but the Reputation of Generals depends upon knowing how to conquer without losing a Soldier, if it be possible; and, consequently, not to fight, unless they are invited to it by the Necessity of relieving a Place, or by a most cer-

tain Advantage. Thus they ought never to comply with the Will of the Soldiers, if Reason doth not absolutely require it; for a Captain hath never suffer'd himself to be prevail'd on by the Discourses and Importunities of his Army, but he hath been afterwards beaten by his Enemies. *Bernard de Mendoza's Memoirs, l. 3. c. 11.*

2. The capital City of a Kingdom, according to *Tacitus*, is the Centre and Helm of Affairs, *Caput Rerum*, and consequently, the Prince's Presence is most necessary there, especially in the beginning of a Reign. If the Great *Pompey* had not left *Rome*, where he was the strongest, *Cæsar* would have had a great Difficulty to have entred it. *Philip* the Second consulting in his Council, Whether he should go into *Flanders*, *Don John Muziqua de Lara* said wisely, That the War being in a remote Country, the King ought not to leave the Heart of his Kingdom, whence issued out the Strength and the Preservation of all the other Parts. *Gabrera's Philip the Second, l. 7. c. 7.* In the Year 1591, the City of *Saragossa* having made an Insurrection against him about the Privileges of the Tribunal, which they call *El Justitia*, he would never go thither, although the People of *Madrid*, and several Eves of the Gracidos aggravated the Danger; and when they had reported to him, what every one said of him on this Occasion, he answered, That it was not agreeable to the Grandeur of the Monarchy, that the Prince, for a rebellious City, should quit that, whence he gave Motion to his whole Empire. *Herrera's Second Part of his History, l. 7. c. 20.* No Reason of State, nor of War, saith *Gabrera*, requires, that a King should

many Cares, and contrary Thoughts. The German Army was the stronger, and the *Pannonian* nearer *Rome*; one was supported by the *Gauls*, and the other had an easie Passage into *Italy*^f. To which of these should he go first? For the Legions, which were last visited, would take Offence, and think themselves neglected. On the other side, by sending his two Sons, both Armies might be at once contented, and the Majesty of the Supreme Power preserved, which is always most respected at a distance. Besides, that *Germanicus* and *Drusus* might be held excus'd, if they sent extravagant Demands from the Legions to their Father, who would still be in condition either to appease, or punish the Rebellious, when ever they should transgress the Limits of Respect to the young Princes; but if they should once despise the Person of the Emperour, what other Remedy remain'd? In the mean time, he neglected not to prepare a Fleet to provide his Equipage, and set on foot an Army of choice Soldiers, as if they were to follow him to the Wars, and he just upon the March. But sometimes he excus'd his Journey by the approach of Winter, and at other Times by

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

should hazard his Person, because neither Vigilance nor Fortune are sufficient Guarantees for the Safety of Princes, who ought not to ground their Deliberations on the Weakness of others, but upon their own Strength: *l. 12. c. 29.* *Don Juan Antonio de Vera* saith on the contrary, That *Charles* the Fifth had never found a more effectual Remedy

against Seditions and Insurrections, than to go thither in Person; and that those who are of the other Opinion, upon the Maxim of *Tiberius*, don't consider the Difference that there is betwixt a Monarchy and a Commonwealth; [*i. e.* What is safe for a Commonwealth, is pernicious to a Monarchy.] *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f Through the Cities of *Newport* and *Tergesta*, now *Triest*, which border on *Pannonia*. *Italiam (saith Paterculus) junctam sibi Newporti ac Tergestis confinio.* *Hist. 2. c. 120.*

by the multiplicity of Business; which interven'd: By which Pretences he at first impos'd on the most Intelligent, then on the Vulgar, and for a long time kept the Provinces in suspense.

XLI. But *Germanicus*, though he had assembled his Forces, and was in a condition to punish the Offenders, yet thought it more expedient to give them leisure to Repent, and make Trial, if, by the Example of the two other Legions, they would prevent his Vengeance. In order to this, he wrote first to *Cecina*, and gave him notice, that he was already on his march with a powerful Army, fully determin'd to put all the Rebels to the Sword, without sparing the Life of any one, if they themselves did not Justice on the Criminals before his arrival. *Cecina* read these Letters privately to the Chief Com-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A Prince, who knows he is hated by his People, can never commit a greater Error, than in leaving his capital City; for if that once come to shake off the Yoke in his Absence, he immediately loses his whole State. The Complaints, which *Tacitus* saith, that the whole City of *Rome* made against *Tiberius*, sufficiently shew, how much his Presence there was a Burden to the Se-

nate and to the People, and consequently, he did very wisely not to remove thence. If *Henry Duke of Guise*, who hath so highly extoll'd his Capacity in the Memoirs which he hath left us of his Government of *Naples*, had read *Tacitus*, perhaps he would not have been guilty of the Folly of going out of this City to give a Meeting to a Lady, who sold him to the *Spaniards*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g *Philip* the Second, King of *Spain*, used the same Artifice, sending word to *Margaret* of *Parma*, Governess of the Low-Countries, that every thing was ready for his Voyage, and that nothing retarded him but a Tertian Ague, and for which also, he would not stay till he was cured, although he was ready to die of it. *Strada*, dec. 1. l. 5. He communicated the same Advice to all Princes, and demanded a Passport of the King of *France*, and Counsel of the Duke of *Savoy* what Road was best to take. The whole Sixth Book of *Strada's* History is full of these Feints, and Pretences which *Philip* made use of to elude his own Promises, and the Entreaties of the Governess, and his other Ministers. But there was this difference betwixt him and *Tiberius*, that this Emperor sent his Sons to his revolted Armies, and that *Philip* feared nothing more, than to hear any Discourse of sending his Son *Don Carlos* into *Flanders*, and repented much that he had sent thither *Don John* of *Austria*, his Natural Brother.

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Commanders^b, and to some others, who had no Hand in the Sedition, at the same time adjuring them to preserve themselves from Death, and save their Companions from the Infamy of that Punishment which attended them. Representing also to them, that Reason might be heard in Times of Peace, but in War the Innocent perish'd with the Guilty. Upon this, the Officers found the Intentions of those Soldiers whom they thought most proper for the Execution of their Design, and finding that the greater Number still continu'd Loyal, they agree with *Cecina*, on a Time appointed, to put to Death the most Seditious. The Signal being given, they fall at once upon the Factious, and execute them in their Tents, none but the Contrivers, and Assistants in the Action, knowing from whence began the Slaughter, nor when it would conclude.

XLII. Of all the Civil Wars which ever were, none resembled this. It was not in Battle, nor by the Hands of Enemies, that this Massacre was made; but by Men, who the same Day convers'd familiarly, and eat in Company, and at Night were lodg'd together in one Bed. On the sudden they are divided into Parties opposite; nothing but Outeries and Bloodshed, the rest was govern'd by blind Chance, and the cause of Enmity unknown by those who perish'd. Many fell who deserv'd not Death; for the Guilty had taken Arms in their own Defence, when once they found on whom the Slaughter was design'd. Neither *Cecina*, nor the Tribunes, gave them-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b *Tacitus* saith, *Aquiliferis signiferisque*, i. e. the Ensign-Colonels, who carried the Eagles of their Legions; and the Ensigns of the Cohorts, who carried Wolves, Vultures, Lions, Dragons, Centaurs, Minotaurs, and other Figures in Relief, of Copper, Cast Brass, or Silver.

There happen'd in my Time a like Adventure at *Venice* betwixt the *Spiri* and the Guards appointed for Entries, who having been condemned to Banishment for having shot with their Carbines at the *French* Ambassador's Watermen, endeavour'd to kill one another, that they might obtain their Pardon by bringing the Heads of their Companions.

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themselves the Trouble to stop their Fury; the common Soldiers had all manner of Freedom to exercise their Vengeance, till they were tir'd with killing. *Germanicus* soon after enter'd the Camp, and beholding so many Corps extended on the Ground, said with many Tears, That this was not a Remedy, nor the breathing of a Vein, but a Butchery; and commanded the Bodies to be burn'd. While their Minds were in this Ferment, the Soldiers cried out to be led against the Enemy, as if the *Manes* of those, whom they had slain, were to be appeas'd no other way, than by exposing their impious Breasts to honest Wounds. *Germanicus* gratifies their Desire, and having laid a Bridge across the *Rhine*, passes over Twelve thousand Legionary Soldiers, Twenty six Cohorts of the Allies, and Eight Regiments of Horse, all of try'd Valour, and of Proof against Sedition.

XLIII. The *Germans*, who were not far distant, pass'd their Time secure in Pleasure, while the War seem'd to sleep about them; and a Cessation of Arms ensu'd of course, from the Death of *Augustus*, and a Civil Discord amongst our selves. The *Romans*, by speedy Marches, cross'd the Forest of *Cefia*^k, and posted their Forces on a Rampart, which *Tiberius* had begun to raise in the time of *Augustus*; there they fortifi'd themselves, both before and behind, with a strong Palisade: Both their Wings were cover'd by huge Trunks of Trees which they had fell'd, and which serv'd them for a Barricade. From thence, traversing thick Forests, they held a Council, which way they should bend their March: The shortest, and most frequented; or that which was farthest about, and more difficult to pass; but where they thought the Enemy would not attend them. The Reasons for the longer Way prevail'd, but all the rest was perform'd with haste; for their Scouts brought back Intelligence, that

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^k In the Territories of *Monster*.

^l The

that the *Germans* solemniz'd a Feast that Night with publick Rejoycing. *Cecina* was commanded to advance with the Cohorts without their Baggage, and to free a Passage through the Forest, by cutting down and removing all Incumbrances. The Legions follow'd at some distance; the Night was clear and calm, and favourable to the March. They enter'd the Village of the *Marfi*, which they encompass'd with Corps-de-Guard. They found the *Germans*, either asleep in Bed, or laid along by their Tables sides, without Sentinels, or the least suspicion of an Enemy; so great was their Confidence, or their Neglect. They thought themselves secure of War, yet it was not properly a state of Peace, but rather a stupid Debauch, and a Lethargick Rest.

XLIV. To make the Waste yet greater, *Germanicus* divided his Forces into four Battalions, who breath'd nothing but Revenge^l, setting the Country on Fire for fifty Miles about, and putting all the Inhabitants to the Sword, neither sparing Age or Sex, or Sacred Places or Profane. The famous Temple call'd *Tanfane*^m, was raz'd to the Foundations; and all this perform'd by ours, without receiving any Wound, having met no opposition; no Enemies, but Men half asleep, disarm'd, or wandring about the Fields. This Massacre awaken'd the *Bructeri*ⁿ, the *Tubantes*^o, and the *Uspetes*^p, who incamp'd themselves in certain Forests, through which the Army, in their return, was of necessity to pass. The Auxiliary Cohorts, and one half of the Horse, compos'd the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^l The *Romans* had conceived a most deep Resentment against the *Marfi*, because they had contributed, more than all the rest, to the Defeat of *Varus*, who with his Legions was also buried amongst them, in the Forest of *Tentberg*.

^m This was the most magnificent Temple of all *Germany*, dedicated to the *Origine of Things*, which could be no other than the Supreme Being.

ⁿ People between the *Ems* and the *Rhine*, Neighbours of *Friseland*.

^o People of *Westphalia*, on the River *Ems*.

^p People, who inhabited along the *Lippe*. The *Tubantes*, and the *Marfi*, are now the Country of *Clèves* and *Gueland*.

the Van: The First Legion march'd after them, inclosing the Baggage in the midst; the Twenty first Legion march'd on the Left Wing; the Fifth on the Right; and the Twentieth in the Rear, with the rest of the Allies. The Enemy mov'd not, till they saw the main Body enter'd into the Wood; then they began a light Skirmish on the Front and Wings, pouring with their Grofs upon the Rear. The Cohorts, who were all Light-Horsemen, already bent before the clos Body of the Germans, not being able to sustain the Charge, when Germanicus spur-ring his Horse at speed, came up with the Twentieth Legion, and cry'd aloud, That now was the Time for them to wash away the Stain of their late Sedition; bid them haste to redeem their Honour, and turn their Offence into Merit, their Infamy to Glory. At these Words, their Courage was kindl'd to that height, that at the first Charge they broke the Enemy, drove them headlong back into the Plain, and there made a terrible Execution. At the same time, the Van-Guard got clear of the Forest, and hasted to Retrench. After this, the Way was free, and the Soldiers went into their Winter Quarters, highly pleas'd with their Expedition, and putting all that was past into Oblivion.

XLV. When Tiberius had Intelligence of this, it fill'd him with excess of Joy; but the Pleasure was not so sincere, as not to be mix'd with great Disturbance. He rejoyc'd that the Sedition was wholly quench'd, but it stung him that Germanicus had the Glory of it; and more, that he had entirely gain'd the Affections of the Sol-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Such is the nature of Envy, that out of Actions which deserve Praise and Reward, it contrives the Reine of the Authors; so that great Captains, and great Men, always run the risque of being blamed and despised for all Successes, or of being envy'd and suspected of a dan-

gerous Ambition on occasion of good Ones. Don Carlos Coloma, whose Reflection this is, saith, That the Duke of Guise having gained the Battel of Amieu in Bransse against the Reîtres and the Suiffe, who were sent as Succours to the Hugue-nots, Henry the Third pretended to

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Soldiers by his Bounty; and above all, by giving them their Discharge so soon. Yet he was not wanting to relate to the Senate his Exploits, and to give large Commendations to his Valour; but in Terms too much affected and labour'd, to be thought sincere. He spoke more sparingly of Drusus, and of the Success of his Voyage into Illyria; but it was with more Frankness, and more Love; and besides, he order'd the same Conditions to be made for the Legions in Pannonia, which Germanicus had granted to his own.

XLVI. In

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

be glad of this good Success, but by what followed, it was evident that it was not what he desired. L. 1. of his History of the Wars of Flanders. The Cardinal Mazarin rejoyced, that Monsieur the Prince had opened the Way for his return to Paris, upon which depended his Establishment in France; but his Joy was allay'd with jealousy of the great Actions of this Prince, to whom he offered the Command of the Army in Flanders, to remove so dangerous a Rival from Court. Memoirs of M. de la Rochef.

2. The Largesses which are given to the Soldiers, by a General who is hated by the Prince, and who hath Pretensions to the Crown, pass for so many Corruptions, and, by consequence, for so many Crimes; and, particularly, when the General hath a great Military Reputation. The Enemies of the Duke of Guise, (saith Coloma, *ibid.*) said, That the manner after which he had made the War, and the Money which he dispersed into all Hands, (which was

not the Custom of the French) sufficiently shew'd whence his Money came, and what were the Designs of him who sent it him; that he could never take a better Pretext, than that of Religion, to mount the Throne by the assistance of the King of Spain; that Hugh Capet ascended it, although his Right was less than that of the House of Guise, only because the Command of the Army was left to him; that Henry the Third nourished Vipers in his Bosom; that if he any longer deferred the Remedy of the Evils which threaten'd him, he would see his Fault, when it was too late. It is worth observing by the way, that Coloma himself believed, that the Duke of Guise had sold himself to the King of Spain, when he saith, That the Commander John Moris, who managed the Money which Philip the Second distributed in France, so entirely gained this Duke, that he became wholly Spanish. L. 3. of the same History.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

9 It was his Desire, that they should believe that he exceeded in the Praises of Germanicus, thereby to lessen all the great Things which he had said of him. *Pessimum inimicorum genus laudantes.*

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XLVI. In the same Year died *Julia*, the Daughter of *Augustus* ², whom, for her Incontinence, he had formerly confin'd to the Isle of *Pandataria* ³, and afterwards to *Rhegium*, near the Coast of *Sicily*. During the Life of *Caius*, and *Lucius Agrippa*, her Sons, she had been given in second Marriage to *Tiberius*, whom she despis'd, as a Man below her Quality ¹; and this was the principal Occasion of the Retirement of *Tiberius* to *Rhodes*. But when he succeeded to the Empire, not content to behold her banish'd, dishonour'd, and, by the Death of *Agrippa Posthumus*, depriv'd not only of all Hopes, but of all Support, he caus'd her to die in Want and Misery; imagining, that the distance of the Place to which she

was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Unequal Marriages are almost always unfortunate, especially those of Gentlemen with Princesses of the Royal Blood. For commonly these Princesses will make up this Inequality at the Expence of the Honour, or the Estate, of their Husbands: And it is of them, that it is truly said, That Majesty and Love never dwell together. Add hereto, that the infinite Respect which they exact upon the account of their Rank,

is insupportable to Husbands, who have reason to be highly displeased at Irregularities, which they dare not take notice of. We ought therefore to observe the Precept of the Wise Man of *Greece*, who advises not to marry a Wife of too great Riches, or too high a Birth, for fear of having a Master in stead of a Companion; or, as an old Poet said wittily, for fear of meeting with a Husband in stead of a Wife.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ *Julia* (saith *Paterculus*) utterly forgetting that she was *Augustus's* Daughter, and *Tiberius's* Wife, gave herself up to all manner of Debaucheries which a Woman was capable of, how shameful and infamous soever. She measured the Greatness of her Fortune by Licentiousness and Impunity. Her Adulterers were *Julius Antonius*, the Son of *Mark Anthony*, and Husband of *Marcella*, *Augustus's* Niece; *Quintus Crispinus*, *Appian Claudius*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Scipio*, besides some others of less Quality. *Hist. 2. c. 100.* She had four Children by *Agrippa*, her second Husband, three Sons, and one Daughter, who inherited her Name and her Manners. *Sueton* saith, That when she was the Wife of *Marcellus*, she had a great Passion for *Tiberius*; as it is the way of Coquets, and lewd Women, always to love another better than their own Husband. *Seneca* saith, That *Augustus* perceiving too late the Error he had committed in publishing the Infamy of his Daughter by banishing her, said with Grief, That all this would not have been better, if *Agrippa* or *Marcellus* had been alive.

² Now *Pinnafa*, in the Bay of *Peuzzeoli*.

³ Thése

was banish'd would hide the manner of her Death. *Sempronius Gracchus* was likewise slain on her Account. *Gracchus*, who was of a ready Wit and Eloquent, with Cunning and Insinuation had debauch'd *Julia*, during her Marriage with *Agrippa*; and his Gallantry with that Lady ended not with her first Husband's Death, for he continu'd her perpetual Adulterer even after her Marriage with *Tiberius*. He was continually provoking her against her Husband, and encourag'd her to Disobedience. It was also thought, that he was the Author of those Letters, which she writ to her Father against *Tiberius*, and which occasion'd his Disgrace. For these Reasons, he was confin'd to an *African* Island, call'd *Cercina*, where he remain'd in Exile 14 Years. He was found by the Soldiers, who were sent to kill him, on a Prominence at a little distance from the Shore; and presaging no Good from their Arrival. He desir'd some little Time to write his Last Will to his Wife *Alliaria*, after which, he freely offer'd them his Head. A Constancy, not unworthy of the *Sempronian* Name, though he had degenerated from it by the Voluptuousness of his Life ². Some have written, that those Soldiers were not sent from *Rome*, but from *Lucius Asprenas*, Proconsul of *Africa*, on whom *Tiberius* thought, in vain, to have cast the Odium of that Murder ³.

XLVII. This

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Men are never thoroughly known till their Deaths. All the Stains of a Voluptuous and Irregular Life, are effaced by a Generous Death. The Count de *Chalais* did himself as great Honour by his Death, at which he called upon God to the Twentieth Stroke, of the Thirty six that he received from the Executioner's Hand, (an extraordinary Thing) as the Disorders of his Life, and his Conspiracy against the King, had dishonoured him. *Letters of the 19th of August, 1626.*

Tome I. of the Memoirs of Cardinal Richelieu. Don *Rodrigo Calderon*, the Favourite of *Philip the Third*, King of *Spain*, by the Heroick Constancy of his Death, turned the Hatred under which he lay, into Esteem and Compassion. *Savandra*, Empr. 33. *Un bel morir (saith Petrarch) tutta la vita honora.*

3. How delirious soever Princes are to throw upon others the Hatred of the violent Resolutions, which are executed against Great Men, they are always believed to be the Authors

XLVII. This Year was also made Remarkable by the Institution of new Ceremonies; for there was establish'd at this time a College of Priests in Honour of *Augustus*, in imitation of the *Titian* Priests, formerly instituted by *Titus Tatius*¹, to preserve the Religion of the *Sabines*. Twenty one of the Principal Men among the *Romans* were drawn by Lot, of which Number were *Tiberius*, *Drusus*, *Claudius*, and *Germanicus*¹. Then it was that the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Authors thereof, when they let those Persons go unpunished, who have put them in execution. After that *Peter* the Cruel had secretly put to Death *John Nugnez de Prado*, Grand Master of *Calatrava*, this King (saith *Mariana*) expressed Grief for it, to avoid the Hatred and the Infamy which would be upon him by the unjust Death of a Lord, whose greatest Crime was his Friendship with a disgrac'd Favourite: But when he made no inquiry, and consequently inflicted no Punishment for so horrid a Fact, the whole Kingdom believed, that what all People before suspected of the King, was a Truth, which admitted of no Doubt. *History of Spain*, lib. 16. cap. 18.

1. The Orders of Knighthood are not esteemed, otherwise than they are confined to a small Number of Knights. This small Number ought also to consist of Persons illustrious

for their Birth, or for their Merit; for otherwise the Great Men look on themselves to be disgraced in being associated with them, and, consequently, the Prince deprives himself of an easy way of rewarding them. *Tacitus* saith, That the Generals of the Army perceiving that the Senate of *Rome* granted the Triumphal Ornaments for the least Exploits in War, believed, that it would be more Honourable for them to preserve the Peace, than to renew the War, which would equal to themselves all those, to whom the Prince's Favour should procure a Triumph to be decreed. *Ann.* 13. In *Portugal*, it was pleasant to behold the Taylor and the Shoemaker of King *Alphonso* the Sixth to wear the Habit of Christ, although in truth they were as worthy of it, as most of those, to whom the Count of *Castelmor* sold it.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ These Priests or Knights were instituted, in *Romulus*'s Reign, after the Union of the *Sabines* with the *Romans*, who received the *Sabines* as Fellow-Citizens and Companions, whom the Day before they had Enemies; as *Tacitus* saith, *Eodem die hostes, dein ciues habuerit*. *Ann.* 11. This *Tatius* was King of the *Sabines*, and was admitted a Partner in the Sovereignty of *Rome* by *Romulus*, who gave him the *Capitol* and the *Quirinal-Hill* for his Habitation. But his Death, which happen'd a little time after, reunited the Regal Power in the Person of *Romulus*, who thereby remained King of the *Romans* and of the *Sabines*.

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the *Augustinian* Games began to be disturb'd by the Contention of the Stage-Players, and different Factions arose concerning the Preference of this or that Actor^u. *Augustus* himself had been much addicted to these Diversions, out of his Complaisance to *Mæcenas*, who was desperately in love with the *Pantomine Bathyllus*: Besides, that he was himself no Enemy to those Entertainments, and knew it was becoming of a Gracious Prince, to enter into the² Pleasures of his People^x.

Tibe-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. As there are certain Days in the Year, which the Fathers of Families spend in Rejoycings with their Children, it is very reasonable, that there should be also some, on which the Prince should live as in a Family with his People. *Tacitus* saith, That *Nero*, who was otherwise a very bad Prince, made Feasts in the publick Places, and shewed himself through

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^u *Cabrera* well observes, that the Spectacles and the publick Games were the Cause, that the People of *Rome*, who were before contented to obey the Magistrates and the Laws, thought fit to desire to have a Share in the Government. For taking upon themselves licentiously to Applaud what gave them the greatest Pleasure, as if they had been capable of Judging prudently, they began to perceive, that the Players set a great Value on their Approbation, and that their Favour gave them Reputation. So that after they knew the Power which they had in the publick Feasts, they came to slight the Nobles and the Magistrates, and afterwards to create *Tribunes*, *Ediles*, and *Quæstors*. At last they introduced the *Plébeians* into the Consulship and the Dictatorship, and made them thereby equal to the *Patricians*. *L.* 10. c. 22. of his *History*. So that we have no Reason to wonder, if *Tiberius*, who was so well skilled in the Arts of Government, had an Aversion to Spectacles, and all popular Concourses.

^x *Strada* saith, That *Octavius Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, and Son-in-Law to *Charles* the Fifth, was a great Observer of this Maxim, and thereby was as much beloved by the People, as any Prince of his Time. *Laxamentis popularibus ipse se privato non dissimilem immiscuit, effecitque, ut inter principes ea tempestate populorum studiis ac benevolentia claros meritis haberetur*. *Lib.* 9. dec. 1. *Burnet* saith, That *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, was a perfect Mistress of the Art of insinuating herself into the Hearts of the People; and although she was suspected of being too much a Comedian, she succeeded notwithstanding in her Designs, and made herself more beloved by her People, by little Complaisances and Affectations to shew herself, and to regard the People as she passed the Streets, than many Princes have done by scattering Favours with both Hands. *History of the Reformation*, p. 2. l. 3.

a This

Tiberius was of a Temper wholly different, but he durst not yet subject a Multitude to more rigid Customs, which had so long been accusom'd to a soft, voluptuous way of Living.

The Year of Rome 768.

XLVIII. Under the Consulship of *Drusus* and *Norbanus*, a Triumph for *Germanicus* was decreed, though the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

through the whole City, as if all the City had been his House. *Ann. 15.* Wife Princes, saith *Cabrera*, assist at the publick Plays, to gain the Affection of their Subjects, and these Plays, or Spectacles, are assigned to certain Days, to mitigate the ordinary Discontents of the People by Diversions, which deceive their Trouble. *Cap. 1. lib. 9. of his History.* *Commines* saith, That Princes, who divide their Time according to their Age, sometimes in serious Matters and in Council, at other times in Feasts and Pleasures, are to be commended, and the Subjects are happy who have such a Prince. *His Memoirs, l. 6. c. 4.*

3. A Prince, upon his coming to the Throne, ought to make no alteration in Things, which he finds to have been of long Establishment, the People parting with old Customs with great difficulty. If the Memory of his Predecessor is dear to the People, he ought to conform himself to his manner of Government, at least until his Authority be well established. He must lead the People through long Turnings, and do it so, that they may go where he would have them, without perceiving whither they are going. *Lewis* the Eleventh had like to have lost all, by desiring to undo all that his Father had done. *When he came to the Crown, (saith Commines) he disappointed the best and most eminent*

Knights, who had faithfully served his Father in the recovery and settling of the Kingdom. But he oftentimes repented afterwards that he had treated them so, by acknowledging his Error, for thence sprang the War called 'The Publick Good, which was like to have taken from him his Crown. C. 3. of l. 1. and c. 11. of l. 6. of his Memoirs. When he died, he therefore advised his Son not to do as he had done. *Elizabeth* Queen of *England*, at her coming to the Crown, acted directly contrary to *Lewis* the Eleventh, for she employed most of the Ministers of her Sister Queen *Mary*, by whom she had been ill Treated; and although in her Heart she was already entirely a Protestant, she was notwithstanding Crowned by a Bishop of the Church of *Rome*, and ordered *Karn*, who was *Mary's* Ambassador at *Rome*, to make her Compliments to the Pope. *Burnet's History, Part 2. l. 3.* *Mariana* saith, That *Emmanuel*, King of *Portugal*, made some difficulty to recall the Duke of *Braganza's* Brother and Children, who were in Exile, that he might not in the beginning of his Reign shew, that he had a Design to change what *John* the Second, his Predecessor, had done; and that he might not make them his Enemies, to whom *John* had given their confiscated Estates. *Ch. 13. of his History.*

1. The

the War was yet in being. And though he had made great Preparations for the Summer following, yet he anticipated the Time, by a sudden Irruption in the beginning of the Spring into the Country of the *Catti*: For there were Grounds of Hope, that Factions would arise among them, some taking part with *Arminius*, others with *Segestes*; both of them very considerable to the Romans. one by his breach of Faith, the other by his Constancy. *Arminius* had disturb'd the Peace of *Germanicus*, and kindl'd the War against the Romans: *Segestes* had openly declar'd in the last solemn Festivals, and many times before they rose in Arms, that a Conspiracy was hatching to Revolt; at the same time advising *Varus* to secure *Arminius* and himself, and all the Leading Men of the Germans; the People not being in any capacity of Rebelling, when they were unfurnish'd of Commanders. And this once done, *Varus* would have sufficient

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The good Opinion which most Great Men have of their Ability, or of their Strength, makes them often neglect to search the bottom of the Cabals and Conspiracies which are formed against them. I never (saith *Commines*) knew a Prince, who was able to know the difference betwixt Men, until he came into Necessity, and into Trouble. They who act in Fear, provide well against Contingencies, and often succeed, than those who proceed with Pride. For which Reason, 'tis no Shame to be suspicious, but it is a great Shame to be deceived, and to be ruined by Negligence. *C. 12. of l. 1. the 4th of the 2d. and the 5th of the 3d.* About the middle of the last Age, there happened a Revolution at *Sienna*, which serves for a Lesson to Governments. A Spark of this general Conspiracy against the Emperour, saith *John Ant. de Vera*, flew from the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Sienna*,

where *Don Diego de Mendosa* then commanded; but this Spark entred so subtilly, that although *Don Diego* had Notice given him of it, he yet found somewhat in the outward Carriage of the People wherewith to flatter his Incredulity, which in the end cost him very dear; for the People of *Sienna* coming to cry out Liberty, drove the Spaniards and the Florentines out of their City, and received a French Garison in their stead. *Epitome of the Life of Charles the Fifth.* And this was the cause that *Don Diego*, who had been so great a Man in his Youth, was not employed in his old Age, so that his riper Years paid for the Faults of his younger. Thus *Le Dom Baltazar de Suringa* speaks of him in the Extract of his Life, which he hath prefixed to his History of the Wars of *Grænada*, in which he hath very much imitated the Style of *Tacitus*.

2. This

cient Leisure, to distinguish afterwards betwixt the Guilty and the Innocent². But *Varus* perish'd by his Destiny³, and by the Valour of *Arminius*². For *Segeſtes*, though

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. This is what all Governours ought to do, upon Notice given them of Conspiracies which are a forming against the Prince and the State; immediately to secure (saith a Politician) the Persons suspected, and the Places which they command, that they may afterwards at leisure inform themselves what there is in it, and finding them guilty, punish them according to the Exigence of the Case. For, in such Occurrences, Incredulity is perilous; all Delays are dangerous; the least Jealousie is reputed a Crime; and the slightest suspicions make room for Justice to take place, which cannot be too rigorous; Rigour in such a case passing for Clemency, and Favour for Rigour. Thus Princes and Ministers of State, in Treasonable Practices, ought in the first place to take the Buckler of Resolution, and afterwards to unsheath the Sword of Justice, either against the Heads only of the Conspiracy, for Example, or against all that are engaged in it, for the Offence. In the *Memoirs of Montesquieu*. The Cardinal de Richelieu strongly maintains this Maxim: In the course of ordinary Affairs, (saith he) Justice requires an authentick Proof, but it is not the same, in those which concern the State. For in such a case, that which appears by pressing Conjectures, ought sometimes to be held to be sufficiently proved; because Conspiracies, which are formed against the publick Safety, are commonly ma-

naged with so much Cunning and Secrecy, that there is never any evident Proof thereof, but by their Event, which admits of no Remedy. In these cases, we must sometimes begin with the Execution, whereas in all others, legal Evidence by Witnesses, or undeniable Papers, is preferable to all other Ways. *Pol. Test. p. 2. c. 5.*

3. The Power of the Destinies, saith *Paterculus*, is not to be surmounted, when they will destroy any one, they pervert his Counsels, and take away his Judgment. *Ch. 57. and 118.* *Commines* saith, *When God is so highly offended, that he will no longer endure a Person, but will shew his Power and his Divine Justice; then he first diminishes the Understanding [of Princes], so that they shun the Counsel of the Wise, &c.* *Cap. ult. of l. 5. of his Memoirs.* *Jerom Moron*, Chancellor of *Milvain*, was esteemed the greatest Politician that was in *Italy*, and yet he fell into the Nets of the Marquis of *Pesquera*, whom all his Friends advised him to beware of, as of a Man, who would infallibly sacrifice him to *Charles* the Fifth. A Thing which appeared so much the stranger to me, saith *Guichardin*, because I remember, that *Moron* often told me in the time of *Leo* the Tenth, That there was not a worse, nor a more perfidious Man in *Italy*, than the Marquis of *Pesquera*. *His History, l. 6.*

4. It is no small Question amongst Politicians and Soldiers, Whether it

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a This young Man, saith *Paterculus*, was of a robust Constitution, had a quick Apprehension, and a delicate and penetrating Wit, beyond what is

though he was drawn into the War by the general Consent of his Country-men, yet he liv'd in perpetual Discord with *Arminius*; and the bad Understanding betwixt them was increas'd by a particular Offence; for *Arminius* had taken away by force his Daughter *Thufelda*, betroth'd already to another. Thus the Father-in-Law, and Son, were equally hateful to each other; and those mutual Ties, which commonly beget Friendship, were

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

is better for a General of an Army to have great Courage with a moderate Understanding, or a great Understanding with moderate Courage. The Cardinal de Richelieu gives the Preference to great Courage, and afterwards adds: This Proposition will appear, it may be, surprising, it being contrary to what many have thought of this matter; but the Reason of it is evident. Men of great Courage are not put into a Consternation by danger: and consequently all the Understanding and Judgment, which God hath given them, is serviceable to them on such Occasions: On the contrary, Men of little Courage being easily put into a Consternation, find them-

selves so disordered at the least Danger, that how great an Understanding soever they have, it is utterly unserviceable to them, because their Fear deprives them of the Use of it. As a General of an Army should not have Courage that is void of Judgment; so neither ought he to have too much Flegm, or too much Speculation; because it is to be feared, that the foresight of many Inconveniencies which may happen, but which do not, may hinder him from attempting Things which would succeed in the Hands of others, who are less Speculative, and more Daring. *Political Test. par. 2. sect. 4. c. 9.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

to be imagined of a *Barbarian*. Considering, that nothing is more easie than to destroy those who fear nothing, and that overmuch Confidence is the most ordinary cause of great Misfortunes, he communicates his Design at first to very few People, but afterwards to many more: And this Resolution was so immediately followed with the Execution of it, that *Varus* having neglected the first Advice of *Segeſtes*, had not time to receive a second from him: *Ch. 118.* *Charles*, Duke of *Burgundy*, committed the same Error that *Varus* did, and perished like him, by refusing to give Audience to a Country Gentleman named *Cifron*, who came to discover to him the Treason of the Count de *Campobasso*; and by not crediting the Intelligence which *Lewis* the Eleventh sent him by the Lord de *Contay*, his Ambassador in *France*, that this Count was selling his Life. *Whereby you see, saith Commines, that God insinuated him on this occasion.* *Memoirs, l. 4. c. ult. & l. 3. c. 6, & 8.*

were now the Provocations to the most bitter Enmity ^s.

XLIX. *Germanicus*, on this Account, commanded out *Cecina* with Four Legions, Five thousand Auxiliary Soldiers, and some Companies of *Germans* rais'd in haste from some Places on this side the *Rhine*: He himself conducted a like Number of Legions, but double the Number of Allies; and having built a Fortrefs. on the old Foundations, which his Father had laid, and which were yet standing, he march'd with great speed against the *Catti*, leaving behind him *Lucius Apronius*, with Order to take care, that if the Rivers should overflow by any sudden fall of Rains, yet the Ways might be kept in repair, and continue passable. For in setting forward, he found the Waters so very low, and the Ways so dry, (a Thing uncommon in that Climate,) that he found no difficulty in his March; but he feared in his return it might be otherwise. He came so suddenly upon the *Catti*, that the old Men, the Women, and the Children, were either kill'd at first, or taken Prisoners, and the young Men forc'd to swim the River of *Adrana* ^b; who attempting afterwards to obstruct the *Romans* in

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

^s. As Princes seldom marry but by Interest, not for Love, Alliance is so far from being a Band of Friendship betwixt them, that it opens a Gap to new Pretensions, which grow into Quarrels, and afterwards into Wars. The last Duke of *Burgundy* hated *Edward* King of *England*, and the whole House of *York*, against which he assisted the House of *Lancaster*, whence came his Grandmother by the Mother's side; and yet at last he married *Margaret*, Sister

to *Edward*, only to strengthen himself against King *Lewis* the Eleventh. But as this Alliance was not made but by State-Interest, and that both of them might gain their Ends, the Duke notwithstanding hated *Edward*, on whom he made biting Jests; and *Edward* offer'd *Lewis* to joyn with him, and to bear part of the Charges, if he would continue the War against the Duke. *Commines*, l. 1. c. 5. l. 3. c. 4. l. 4. c. 8, & 11. of his *Memoirs*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b Now the *Eder*.

^c Now

in the building of a Bridge over it, were repuls'd by their Arrows, and their Engines. These Hopes failing, and their Propositions for Peace being also rejected, some of them came over, and submitted to *Germanicus*; the rest forsaking their *Cantons*, retir'd into the Fastnesses of their Woods. *Germanicus* having burn'd *Martium* ^c, their Capital Town, ravag'd all the Low-lands, and took his March backwards to the *Rhine*; the Enemy not daring to attack his Rear, as their Custom is when they feign to fly, rather through Stratagem, than Fear. The *Cheerusci* ^d were desirous to have succour'd their Friends the *Catti*, but they were apprehensive of *Cecina*, who carry'd far and near the Terror of his Arms. On the contrary, the *Marfi*, having presum'd to charge him, were vigorously repuls'd, and entirely routed.

L. Some time afterwards, there came Deputies from *Segestes*, to desire his Assistance against his Country-men who had besieg'd him, for *Arminius* had there the stronger Party, because he had advis'd the War ^e; it being the common Practice of *Barbarians*, only to love and esteem those Persons who are Fierce and Daring, and more especially in unquiet Times. *Segestes* had added to the Deputies his Son *Segimond*, though the Mind of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. As there is nothing subject to greater Jealousie, nor more difficult to preserve amongst powerful Neighbours than Liberty, they who advise War, appear to have a greater Affection for their Country, than those who advise Peace, and consequently have more Credit amongst their Fellow-Citizens. It was by this Method that *Maurice*, Prince of *Orange*, who looked on

the Treaty of 1609. as the Ruine of his Authority in *Holland*, where he aimed at the Sovereignty, found means to destroy *John Barneveldt*, who had been the principal Promoter of this Treaty, by persuading the People by Pamphlets, that this great Man was corrupted by the *Spanish* Gold, and held Intelligence with this King, for the reduction of the United Provinces to his Obedience.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^c Now *Marburg*, the Capital City of *Hesse*.

^d The People of *Brunswick*, and of *Thuring*.

^e

^f These

of the young Man was wholly averſe to that Employment²; for the Year, in which all Germany revolted, being created *Prieſt of the Altar of the Ubians*, he tore in pieces his Sacred Fillets³, and went over to the Party of the Rebels. Nevertheleſs, conſiding in the Clemency of the Romans, he undertook the Commiſſion enjoyn'd him by his Father, and was well received³; and ſent afterward under Guard to the Conſines of the Gauls. Germanicus loſt not his Labour by this Return, for after ſome Encounters, he diſingag'd *Segeſtes* from the Hands of his Enemies, with many of his Relations and his Vaſſals. There were alſo ſome Ladies of Quality, and, among the reſt, the Daughter of *Segeſtes*, who ſhew'd by her Countenance, that he ſhad more of her Husband's Courage, than of her Father's Temper⁴. She walk'd with her

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When a Subject is conſcious that he is guilty of Treafon, he ought not to truſt to the Prince's Clemency, if he hath not good Security of it. If my Mother was my Judge, ſaid *Alcibiades*, I would not truſt her; with much greater Reaſon, they who have the Prince for Judge and Party, ought to take good Security before they ſurrender themſelves into his Hands. The Cardinal *Alphonſo Petrucci* was no ſooner come to Rome but *Leo* the Tenth cauſed him to be arreſted, and afterwards ſtrangled in Priſon, altho he came thither under the Security of the Pope's ſafe Conduct, whereof the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador was Guarantee. The Landgrave of *Heſſe* was cheated by the Confidence he repoſed in *Charles* the Fifth, with whom he had two Eleétors, and ſeveral other Princes of the Empire, for Interceſſors.

3. Sometimes Princes, who value themſelves upon Gratitude, pardon the Children in conſideration of Services dono by the Fathers, or by the Anceſtors. *Charles* the Fifth pardon'd Don *Pedro Laſo*, (who brought him the Meſſage from the Rebels of *Toledo*,) becauſe he was the Son of a Gentleman, whoſe Memory was dear to him. *Philip II.* perceiving, whiſt he was conſulting about an Affair with *Mat. Vaſquez*, his Secretary of State, that a certain Gentleman of his Chamber obſerved them both with ſome Curioſity: "Go tell that Man, ſaid he, That if I do not take off his Head, he is beholden for it to his Uncle *Señor ſtan de Santoio*, who gave him to me." *Cabrera's Hiſtory*, l. 12. c. 3.

4. It was much more glorious for *Thiſtielda* to eſpouſe the Intereſt of *Arminius*, who was the Deliverer of Germany, than that of *Segeſtes*, who was

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e Theſe were peculiar Ornaments of the Prieſts.

^f *Phil*

her Hands folded on her Boſom, and ſeem'd to look downward on the Fruit of her Body, with which ſhe was now big, without ſhedding one Tear, or ſaying one ſingle Word, or doing one Action which had any thing of a Suppliant. There were alſo carried, the Spoils which the Enemies had taken at the Deſeat of *Varus*, and which had been ſhar'd by many of thoſe who were now Priſoners. At laſt appear'd *Segeſtes*, of a Stature higher than any of the reſt, with an aſſur'd Countenance, as having been always in the Roman Intereſt: And accordingly he beſpoke them in theſe Terms.

LI. *This Day, O Romans, is not the firſt, wherein I have begun to give you the Proofs of an inviolable Faith. Since the time that the Divine Auguſtus made me Citizen of Rome, I have had neither Friends nor Enemies, but yours¹; neither have I ſteer'd this Courſe out of any Hatred to my Country, (for Traitors are odious, even to them whoſe Cauſe they have eſpous'd²;) but only becauſe I preferr'd Peace to War;*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

was a Traitor to it. Traitors have this Miſfortune, That they are oftentimes hated and contemned by their own Children.

1. He obliquely reproached the Infidelity of *Arminius*, his Rival, who having been formerly in the Service of the Romans, had obtained,

as well as himſelf, the Privileges of a Citizen, and the Quality of a Roman Knight. *Aſſiduis militiæ noſtræ prioris comes, & civitatis Romanæ juſs, equeſtremque conſecutus gradum, ſignitia ducis innocentem ſcleris uſus eſt.* *Paterc. Hiſt.* 2. c. 118.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f *Philip* of Macedon being asked, whom he hated or loved moſt: *I love thoſe very much, ſaith he, who will be Traitors to ſerve me, but I as much hate thoſe who have been ſo.* The Count de *Campobache*, ſaith *Commines*, made an Offer to the King, (*Lewis XI.*) by a Phyſician, called *Mr. Simon of Pavia*, that if he would perform ſome Things which he demanded, viz. the Payment of 400 Lances, 20000 Crowns in ready Money, and a good County, he engaged to deliver the Duke of *Burgundy* into his Hands, or to kill him. The King had this Man's Wickedneſs in great Abhorrence, and acquainted the Duke of *Burgundy* with the whole Matter. *Memoirs*, l. 4. c. ult. & l. 5. c. 6. Upon the Count de *Campobache's* Arrival to the Duke of *Lorrain*, to whom he had ſacrificed his Maſter the Duke of *Burgundy*, the Germans gave him to underſtand, that he ſhould retire, and that they would have no Traitors amongſt them,

War², and was convinc'd, that Peace was the common Interest of both Nations. On this Account it was, that I accus'd Arminius to Varus, who then commanded the Roman Army; Arminius, I say, the Ravisher of my Daughter, and Infringer of the Alliance made with you³. Tir'd with the Delays and Irresolution of your General⁴, and beside, despairing

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Traitors never want Pretexts to colour over their Treason, nor specious Reasons to defend it. All their Remonstrances are full of those, which Tacitus puts in the Mouth of Segestes. There is scarce any Cause so bad, which a good Advocate can't colour over.

3. It is common with great Men to revenge their private Quarrel under the Name of the publick Quarrel. Segestes accus'd Arminius to Varus, as a Man who hated the Romans, and who rendred their Alliance suspected to the Germans: The Accusation was true, and the Defeat of Varus's Legions confirm'd it; but the Motive of this Accusation, the Merit of which he so extols to Germanicus, was not so much an Effect of his Love and his Concern for the Romans, as an Effect of the Hatred which he bore to the Ravisher of his Daughter, and of the Jealousie which he had to see Arminius more Powerful and more Esteemed than himself in his Country. Thus we may apply to Segestes what Paterculus saith of the Consul Opimius, That he sacrificed

the Son of the Consul Fulvius Flaccus (who besides his tender Age was innocent) to the Hatred that he had born to his Father, rather than to the publick Vengeance. *Visa ultio privato odio magis, quam publicæ vindictæ datur.* Hist. l. 2. c. 7.

4. Irresolution is the greatest Fault that can be in a General, or in any other Man who hath the Management of publick Affairs. What Advantage can be taken of Opportunities, where Execution is more necessary than Deliberation, by a Minister, who knows not what to resolve on, who fears every thing, and who is equally fruitless in Doubts, and barren in Expedients? Princes have but one good Remedy against Conspiracies, which is to prevent the Conspirators; and all Princes, who have not done it, have been overtaken by them. In a word, Whether in War, or in Peace, Irresolution is the Ruine of Affairs, and oftentimes even worse than a bad Resolution; because there is sometimes a Remedy for this, whereas the other renders the least Evils incurable, or lets slip all Occasions.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

them. *L. 5. c. 8.* I ought not to pass over in Silence the Praises which are due to Elizabeth of England, for the handsome Answer which she made to that Graveyson, who gave her an Account of a Treacherous Act done to the Spaniards at Berg-op-zoom. After having giv'd him a Thousand Crowns for his Pains, and his Voyage, Return home, said she, and if I should ever stand in need of a Man, who knows how to be a Traitor in perfection, I will make use of you. Colonna, l. 1. of his History of the Wars of Flanders.

g d.

ing of Protection from the Laws, I desir'd of Varus to make me Prisoner, together with Arminius and his Accomplices. I call that Night to witness of this Truth, which I wish to Heaven had been my last. What since has happen'd, may be Deplor'd better than Excus'd. For what remains, I have formerly detain'd Arminius in Fetters, and he and his Faction in their Turn have given me the same Treatment. Ever since, I have had the Opportunity of making my Addresses to you, O Cæsar, I have constantly retain'd my old Inclinations, and I preferr'd Repose to Trouble: And this not in prospect of any Recompence which I pretend, but to clear my Innocence from Suspicion of Perjury; and to put my self the better in condition to make Terms with Rome for my Compatriots, whenever they consult their Safety by Repentance. I implore your Clemency in my Son's behalf, desiring that his Youth may excuse his Error. I confess, my Daughter is brought hither against her Consent; I leave it to your Judgment, whether you will consider her as the Wife of Arminius, or as the Daughter of Segestes.

LII. To this, Germanicus graciously answer'd, That his Children and Relations had no cause of Fear; that for himself, he had provided an honourable Retreat in an ancient Roman Province, where he might live secure from Danger. This Affair being thus ended, he brought back his Army, and receiv'd the Title of Imperator by the Command of Tiberius. The Wife of Arminius was deliver'd of a Son, who had his Breeding at Ravenna. What contumelious Usage he receiv'd when he was grown to Age¹, shall be related in due place.

LIII. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is fatal to great Men to be unfortunate Fathers, and to behold Fortune a Step-mother to their Children. If Arminius espoused the Interest of his Father and Mother, as it is to be presumed, he could not expect better Treatment from the Romans than what they gave him,

it being the Maxim of all Princes, to revenge upon the Children the Injuries which they have received from the Parents. It may be also observed here, that great Men are often punished by the same Evils which they have inflicted on others. Arminius had taken away from Segestes,

LIII. The News of the good Entertainment given to *Segeſtes*, was diverſly received; by ſome with Pleaſure by others with Regret; as they either fear'd, or wiſh'd the War. *Arminius*, beſides the Violence of his Nature, being inflam'd with the Outrage done to him in the Feiſon of his Wife, whom his Enemies had ſeiz'd, and of his Child unborn, yet already deſtin'd for a Slave, took a rapid Courſe through the Country of the *Cheruſci*, ſolliciting that People to riſe in Arms againſt *Germanicus*, and ſparing no opprobrious Language againſt *Segeſtes*. 'Behold, ſaid he, a pious Father in *Segeſtes*! Behold a doughty Warriour in *Germanicus*! A wonderful Exploit, for a whole Army to take a Woman Priſoner! I, on the other ſide, have deſtroy'd three Legions of theirs, and three Lieutenant-Generals. The Wars I make are without Surprize, or Treachery; I fight fairly, and in the open Field; not with Women big with Child, but with Arm'd Soldiers. There are yet to be ſeen, in our Sacred Woods, the *Roman* Eagles, and their Enſigns, which I have hung in Triumph on the Altars of our Gods. Let *Segeſtes* pleaſe himſelf with his ſecure Abode in a conquer'd Country; let him reſtore to his Son the Prieſthood of the *Ubians*; the *Germans* never can forgive him, for having brought betwixt the *Elb* and the *Rhine* the Conſulary Falces, and

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geſtes, his Daughter, who was promiſed to another; and *Germanicus*, by a juſt return, took away from him his Wife, and his Son, whereby *Segeſtes* was doubly revenged. *Germanicus* makes many Reflections of this kind, whereof this is the moſt Inſtructive. Although, ſaid he, the Duke of *Burgundy* had juſt cauſe to hate the Conſtable *S. Pol*, and to procure his Death, yet all the Reaſons that can be alledged in this Matter, cannot juſtify what he did, in ſelling him to the King out of

Covetouſneſs, in order to have him put to Death, after he had given him a good and authentic Safe-conduct. And as this was at the firſt Siege of *Nancy*, that he committed this Crime in diſpatching the Order to deliver the Conſtable to the King's Men; God permitted, that at the ſecond Siege of this City, he was betrayed by him in whom he put the greateſt confidence, and juſtly paid for his Perfidioſity to the Conſtable. His *Memoirs*, l. 5. c. 6.

s. When

' and Axes of the *Romans*, with all other the Marks of their Dominion. The reſt of the Nations, who are free from their Subjection, know not yet the Names of Punishment and Taxes. After having ſhaken off the Yoke, and made vain the Attempts of that *Augustus*, to whom they have given the Title of a God; and of that *Tiberius*, whom they have choſen in his ſtead, to inflave our Country; ſhall we fear a Boy, a Novice in the War, and an Army made up of Mutineers? If then you have more Affection for your Native Country, your Families, and your ancient Laws, than for Tyrants and new Colonies, rather follow *Arminius*, the Defender of your Freedom and your Honour, than the infamous *Segeſtes*, who would betray you into Slavery.

LIV. Not only the *Cheruſci*, but all the Neighbouring Nations, were ſet on fire by this Oration. He alſo drew *Inguiomer* into his Party, who was his Uncle by the Father's ſide, and of great Reputation among the *Romans*; which increas'd the Trouble of *Germanicus*, who apprehended, leſt with their United Forces they ſhould come pouring upon him. To make ſome Diverſion, he ſent *Cecina* with Forty *Roman* Cohorts through the Country of the *Brueterians*; *Pedo* led the Cavalry by the Confines of *Friſia*, and he himſelf embarking with Four Legions, paſſ'd the Lakes; the Foot, the Horſe, and his Navy, arriving at the ſame time on the Banks of *Amiſia*^b, which was the Place appointed for the Rendezvous. The *Cauci*, who had offer'd their Aſſiſtance, were receiv'd as Companions of the War. The *Brueterians*, who had ſet fire on all their open Towns, were defeated by *Lucius Stertinius*, whom *Germanicus* had ſent forth with

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a *Alphonſo*, King of *Naples*, ſaid, That there was no ſucceeding in War but by Diligence and Diverſion. *Guiccardin's Hiſt.* l. 1.

^b This River is now called *Emr*, whence the City of *Embsen* takes its Name.

with some Troops of Light-Horsemen to encounter them. Amidst the Dead, and amongst the Spoils, he found the Eagle of the Nineteenth Legion, which was lost at the Overthrow of *Varus*ⁱ. Our Army thereupon advanc'd to the farthest Limits of the *Bructerian* Country, waiting all Things in their way, betwixt the Rivers of *Amisia* and *Lippa*^k.

L.V. The Army being now within a small march of the Forest of *Tutburg*, where it was told *Germanicus*, that the Bones of the Legions, which were slain with *Varus*, lay yet unbury'd^l, he was seiz'd with a violent Desire of rendering their last Dues to those sad Relicks. The whole Army approv'd their General's Design, whether mov'd with Pity for their Friends and Relations, or by a Natural Reflection on the Chance of War, and the wretched Condition of Mankind. *Cecina* was sent before to discover the Fastnesses of the Woods, prepare Bridges, and lay Causeways, where the Footing was unsure, and the Ground treacherous, by reason of the Bogs^m. Entering into these mournful Places, which were dreadful to their Sight, and irksome to their Remembrance, the first Object presented to their view, was the Camp of *Varus*, remarkable by its large Compass, and by the three

Voids,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁱ *Piaski* saith, That in the Defeat of *Varus*'s Legions, there were lost two Eagles, one White, and the other Black; that the White fell to the *Auxiliary Sarmatians*, and the other to the *Germans*; whence came the Arms of the Empire, which bears an Eagle Sable, in a Field Or; and of *Poland* which bears an Eagle Argent, in a Field Gules. In his Chronicle.

^k The *Lippe*.

^l The Field, in which *Varus* was slain with his Legions, is called at this day *Wisseld*, i. e. in High-Dutch, the Field of Victory. *Bernardin de Mendoza* saith, That there remains also to this Day in the Bishoprick of *Munster*, a place called *Urendorp*, that is to say, the Borough of *Varus*, which was built by the People of the Country, to preserve the Memory of the Defeat of the *Romans*. His Memoirs of the Low-Country Wars, l. 3. c. 3.

^m *Facit* saith, *Fallacibus Campis*. The same *Mendoza* saith, That *Enlages Campi* are Lakes and Marshes of 30 Leagues extent, and make the Country almost a Desert. *Ibid*.

ⁿ *Prin-*

Voidsⁿ, which separated the three Legions. A little farther might be seen, the Retrenchments half in Ruine, inclos'd with a Ditch, now choak'd up, and almost fill'd; in which it was believ'd, that the shatter'd Remnants of the Army had been rally'd for their last Refuge. The middle of the Field was strew'd with Carcasses, and white dry Bones, some scatter'd here and there, and others pil'd on heaps; by which might be observ'd, whether they receiv'd their Death in flight, or fell together in manly Resistance to the last. Every where were found their broken Pikes, and Javelins; the Limbs of Horses, and their Jaw-bones; and the Heads of Men, which were fix'd to the Trunks, or hung on the Branches of the Trees. In the Woods about the Field were seen the Altars, where those *Barbarians* had executed the Tribunes and Captains of the first Orders^o. They who had escap'd from this Battel, or afterwards from their Captivity, related many Particulars of that dreadful Day. On this Place, said they, were slain the Commanders of the Legions; and there it was we lost our Eagles. Here *Varus* receiv'd his first Wound, and a little farther he fell upon his Sword, and perish'd by his own unhappy Hand. Behold the Eminence from whence *Arminius* harangu'd his Soldiers; and yonder he rais'd Gibbets for the Prisoners, or sunk Ditches^p, to behead and bury them according to the *Roman* Fashion. While the Proud Conquerour forgot not to drag along the Ground, with Scorn, our Ensigns and our Eagles.

LVI. In this manner, the *Roman* Army, six Years after the Defeat, interr'd the Bones of the three Legions, it

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ *Principia* was a void Place, where the Eagles and the Colours were set. As each Legion had its Eagle, it had also its *Principium*; so that by these three *Principia*, it was known that there had been three Legions.

^o That is to say, three Cohorts. For they rise from Cohort to Cohort, according to their Merit, or the time of their Service.

^p These Ditches served for Burying-places for Malefactors, whom they covered with the Earth soak'd with their Blood.

q Doⁿ

it being impossible for any Man to distinguish those of his Relations from the rest: Every one performing his Duty to all in general, as to so many Friends and Brothers, with Hearts equally divided betwixt Sorrow, and desire of Vengeance. *Germanicus* partaking in their Grief, laid the first Turf on the common Sepulchre¹: But this pious Office to the Slain was nothing pleasing to *Tiberius*; whether he took in the worst sense all the Actions of *Germanicus*¹; or that he thought, so sad a Spectacle as that was, of unbury'd Bodies, would slacken the Courage of his Soldiers², and make their Enemies appear more formidable. Besides, that the General of any Army vested with the Augural Priesthood, and design'd for the Ministry of Religious Rites, ought not to have put his Hand to Ceremonies belonging to the Dead.

LVII. In

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a great Man begins to displease the Prince, a sinister Interpretation is put upon all his Actions. The Memoirs of Queen *Margaret* are full of Examples of this, and particularly the Second Book, in which are to be seen, all the Ombrages that *Henry* the Third took at the least Actions of the Duke of *Alençon*, his Brother.

2. Whereas *Germanicus* ought to have roused the Courage of his Soldiers, he ran the hazard of wholly sinking it, by letting them see that, which he should have carefully hid from them. The frightful Dream of *Cecina*, of which *Tacitus* speaks in one of the following Chapters,

plainly shews the Effect, which this Spectacle was capable of producing in the Soldiers Imaginations. For,

*Somnia fallaci ludunt temeraria nocte,
Et pavidas mentes falsa timere jubent.*
Tibul. Epigr. l. 3.

So that although *Tiberius* was angry to see the Care which *Germanicus* took to gain the Affections of the Soldiers, he had yet most just cause to blame a General, who let his Army see, just as they were going to fight, the Remains of the Butchery of the Roman Legions.

HISTORICAL NOTES,

¹ Don *Diego de Mendoza* hath finely imitated this whole Funeral Description, in his History of the Wars of *Grenada*, l. 4. c. 9. in his relating the Circumstances of the Defeat and the Death of Don *Alphonso d'Aquila*, Brother to him whom in Spain they call the Great Captain. Which I have taken notice of here for the sake of those, who love to read Works written on the Model of *Tacitus*, whom Don *Diego* had much studied.

r. It

LVII. In the mean time, *Germanicus* pursu'd *Arminius*, who retir'd into Places unfrequented, and inaccessible; when at length he had join'd the Enemy, he commanded his Cavalry to advance, and dislodge him from the Post he had possess'd. *Arminius*, with his Forces drawn up in close Order, march'd along the Forest, and suddenly wheeling, fac'd the Romans, giving the Signal to those Soldiers, whom he had laid in Ambush in the Wood. The Roman Horse, amaz'd at the sight of these new Enemies, was put into disorder; and the Cohorts coming up to their Assistance, being incumber'd with a Croud of those who fled from the Germans, and press'd upon their Ranks, were forc'd to open as they could, and make a Passage for them: In this Confusion, and general Affright, the Enemy, who knew the Country, were driving our Men headlong on the Morass, from whence it was impossible to disengage themselves, if *Germanicus* had not with timely foresight drawn up the Legions in Battalia: This gave Terror to the Germans, and restor'd the Courage of our Soldiers, so that both Sides retir'd without Advantage. Soon after this, *Germanicus* march'd back his Army to *Amisæ*, where he embark'd the Legions, to return in the same manner as they came. One part of the Cavalry were order'd to draw towards the *Rhine*, still coasting the Ocean in their March. *Cecina*, who led back his Cohorts, was advis'd, That though he was well acquainted with the Way which he had taken, yet he should make all imaginable Haste to get over the long Bridges¹. That way is narrow, inclos'd on either hand with Marshes, over which these Bridges, or rather Causeways, were formerly laid by *Lucius Domitius*. The rest is all either miry Ground,

or

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ It is a Causeway, made upon Piles with a great deal of Sand, above a League long. The *Hollanders* have made a Fort, by which they pass as they go into *Brifeland*.

: Co.

or glewy Clay, cumberfom to the Feet, or uncertain, with fcattering Rivulets; round about are rifing Woods, which, with a gentle Defcent, reach even to the Plain. In this place, *Arminius* had lodg'd a great Number of his Soldiers, having by long Marches, and by fhorter Ways, got before our Men, who were loaden with their Arms and Baggage. *Cecina*, not knowing how to repair the Caufway, now decay'd, and at the fame time to repulfè the Enemy, took a Refolution to incamp in the fame place; that while one part of his Army was employ'd in repairing the ruin'd Paffage, the other might be in a readinefs to fight.

LVIII. The *Barbarians* made a ftrong Effort to push our Corps-de-Garde, and afterwards to have pour'd upon the Workmen; they charg'd our Men, fometimes on one fide, and fometimes on the other, haraffing them with continual Attempts, and endeavouring to break in upon them. The Cries of thofe who were employ'd in working, were confus'dly mix'd with theirs who fought: All Things conspir'd againft the *Romans*, the depth of the Morafs, the flipperinefs of the Ground, on which they could neither march, nor fcarcely fet a Foot, without danger of falling; the weight of their Armour; and the height of the Waters, which diminish'd their force in lanching their Javelins. On the other fide, the *Cheerufci* were accustom'd to engage in marfhy Ground, where the height of their Stature gave them a manifefit Advantage, as alfo their long Pikes, with which they push'd to a great diftance. The Night alone was the apparent Safety of our Legions, which began already to give Ground before the Enemy. But the *Germans*, by their good Fortune made indefatigable*, without allowing themfelves the leaft Repofe, cut a Paffage through the Mountains, round about, for the Waters to

descend

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* *Ceriolanus* faid, That Victory took away Wearinefs.

† Two

defcend on the *Roman* Camp, thereby to float the Works they had already made, and increafe the Difficulties of their new Labours. *Cecina*, who for the fpace of Forty Years had exercis'd the Trade of War, either as a private Soldier, or a Leader, had made Trial both of prosperous and adverfe Fortune¹, and by Experience was become intrepid, confidering all which might poffibly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. To be a great Man, it is neceffary to have had the Trial of both Fortunes. He, that hath never had any but Good, knows but one fide of Nature, and cannot be expert, becaufe he hath had no occafion to exercife his Induftry. He, that hath always lived in Adverfity, and in Troubles, runs a great Hazard of being corrupted by Profperity, which, according to *Tacitus*, hath fharper Goads than Mifery. *Secunde res acriteribus ftimulis animum explorant, quia miferie tolerantur, felicitate corrumpimur.* Hift. 1. Which made one of the Ancients fay, That he had rather Fortune fhould attack him with Adverfity, than cherifh him with her Delicacies. It is neceffary therefore, that a Man employed in, or defigned for the Administration of publick Affairs, fhould tafte of good and bad Fortune, that he may be well acquainted with its Strength. *Anthony Perez*, who had had his Share of Adverfity, faid very judiciously, That Nature hath two Carvers, which labour in polifhing the Matter of Man, viz. Good, and bad Fortune; that one of them is employed in polifhing the courfeft Part, whilst the others cuts and chifels that which is moft excellent, to make a moft accomplifh'd Work thereof. In my Opinion, faith *Commynes*, fpeaking of *Lewis XI.* the Hardfhips which he met with in his Youth, when he fled from his Father, were of

great Advantage to him; for he was forced to pleafe thofe whom he flood in need of; and this Good, which was not inconfiderable, he learned from Adverfity. And in another place, I dare give him this Commendation, That I never knew a Man fo wife in Adverfity, nor who was more dextrous in winding himfelf out of Difficulties. *Memoirs*, l. 1. c. 10. l. 3. c. 12. Laftly, it hath been often obferved, that of all Princes and Captains, thofe have proved the Bravelt, and the moft Able, who have had the leaft Share of good Fortune. And *Don Juan Antonio de Vera* faith very judiciously, That when *Cæfar* feeing himfelf taken with a furious Tempeft, faid to his Pilot: *Fear not, thou carrielt Cæfar, and his Fortune*; He did not mean his good Fortune, but rather his invincible Courage; becaufe, in fuch a Danger, it is certain, that he relied lefs on his Fortune, though that had never abandon'd him, than on his undaunted Spirit, and on his Experience, which he had acquired amidft the Labours, and the Hazards of War, which had never put him into any Confternation. *His Embax. Dial. 2.* The Cardinal *d'Oftat* fpeaking of *Henry IV.* I have obferved, faith he, in the courfe of his Life, that of the many crofs and troublefom Events, which he hath had in Peace and in War, God hath drawn out Good and Profperity for him. *Letter 339.*

2. As

bly arrive, could find no other Expedient, than to shut up the Enemy in their Woods, till he had pass'd over his Baggage, and his wounded Men. For betwixt the Hilly Ground, and the Morass, there was a narrow Plain, only capable of receiving a small Army. He therefore gave the Right Wing to the Fifth Legion; the Left to the Twenty first; the Van to the First Legion; and the Rear to the Twentieth.

LIX. The Night pass'd without Repose on either side; for the *Barbarians*, who were in debauch, made the Valleys and the Woods resound, sometimes with the Noise of their Drunken Songs, and otherwhile with Shouts and Outcries, rais'd on purpose to terrifie the *Romans*. On the contrary, there was a deep sad Silence among our Troops, unless sometimes interrupted by casual Words; our Fires were languishing; some of our Soldiers leaning on the Palisade; others walking round the Tents, rather like People wanting Sleep, than quite awake. The General himself had a dreadful dream: It seem'd to him that he beheld *Quintilius Varus* arising from the bottom of those Marshes, and cover'd over with his Blood; who holding forth his Hand to him¹, implor'd his

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. As we ought not to regard Dreams too much, so neither ought we wholly to slight them, especially when they nearly relate to the present State of Affairs, for the Contempt of them is the cause that we neglect to apply Remedies to those Evils, whereof they are the Fore-runners. There is a prudent Mean betwixt Superstition and Incredulity, which commonly proceeds from Self Love, which always flatters us, rather than from a true Solidity of Spirit. The Queen *Margaret* makes a Reflection which is of great weight. Some (saith she) hold, That God doth in an especial manner protect the

Great, and that to Minds, in which there shines some uncommon Excellency, he gives by good Genius's some secret Warnings of Accidents that are like to happen to them, either of Good or Evil, as to the Queen, my Mother, who the Night before the unfortunate Race dream'd, That she saw the late King, my Father, wounded in the Eye, as it happen'd; and after she awaked, desired him several times not to run that Day... Being dangerously sick at Metz, and having about her Bed the King *Charles* my Brother, my Sister, and my Brother of *Lorraine*, and many Ladies and Princesses, she cried out as if she had seen the Battel of *Jar-*

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his Assistance^e; but that he, far from answering his Request, had push'd him backward. At break of Day, the Legions plac'd on the Wings, forsook their Post, whether through Fear, or Disobedience, is uncertain, and precipitately rang'd themselves in Battel beyond the *Morass*. *Arminius* did not immediately charge them, though nothing hinder'd; but when he saw their Baggage fasten'd in the Mire, and sticking in the Ditches, the Soldiers out of their Ranks, and only solicitous how to save themselves, (as commonly it happens on such

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POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

nac; See how they ran away, my Son hath the Victory! behold in this Lane the Prince of Conde dead! All that were there, believed that she raved: But the Night after, Monsieur de *Loffer* bringing her the News of it, I knew it well enough, said she, did I not see it yesterday? Then they perceived, that it was not the raving of a Fever, but a particular Notice, which God gives to illu-

strious and extraordinary Persons. And for my self, I own, that I was never near any signal Accident, either Unfortunate or Prosperous, of which I had not some Advertisement, either by Dream or otherwise; and may well say this Verse,

*Of my Good, or my Evil,
My Mind is my Oracle.*

L. 1. of her Memoirs.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e Two or three Months before the Death of *Henry* the Fourth, the Queen, his Wife, being in Bed with him, saw in a Dream a Man who stabb'd him to Death with a Knife. The News of his Death flew to *Lisle* in *Flanders*, to *Antwerp*, to *Bois-le-Duc*, and to *Mastrich*, ten Days before it happen'd. For it often comes to pass, that the News precedes the Accident. On the Eve of his Death, as he assisted at the Coronation of the Queen, a Maid, named *Jane Arnaud*, seeing him, said to her Sisters, Behold a dead Man, who resembles the King, who are buried here! The Day that he was slain, several Billets were thrown into his Chamber, which all gave him warning of his Fate. But he neglected all this as *Caesar* did, and perished like him. *Homer* saith, That as the Dreams of common People are to be slighted, because of the Weakness of their Brain; on the contrary, there ought to be a great Regard had to those of Persons who have the Management of State Affairs, because they arise from their Experience, and the continual Reflection, which they make upon the great Events of Civil Life. L. 2. of the *Iliads*. *Cabrera* saith, That *Joan* of *Austria*, Mother of *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, being with Child of him, thought that one Night she saw enter into her Chamber a great many *Moors*, clad in Habits of divers Colours. The first Preface of what was to befall this Prince at the Battel of *Alcazar* in *Africk*. His *Philip II.* l. 11. c. 10.

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Occasions, when the Commanders are ill obey'd;) he encourag'd the *Germans* to the Charge, calling to them with repeated Cries: "Behold *Varus* and his Legions, who are offering themselves to be once more vanquish'd. Having said this, he forc'd through our Battalions with the flower of his Troops, and charg'd impetuously on our Horse; who sliding on their own Blood, and floundring in the Mud of the *Morats*, cast their Riders to the Ground; and then running furiously through the Ranks, crush'd those to Death who were already fallen, and threw down others whom they met. That which gave us the greatest Trouble, was the defence of our Eagles, which could not be carried into the Combat, because of the multitude of Darts, which were continually lanc'd against the Bearers; nor yet fasten'd in the Ground, by reason of the Marshes. While *Cecina* with great Courage sustain'd this unequal Fight, his Horse was kill'd under him, and himself upon the point of being taken, if the First Legion had not hasten'd to his Succour. On the other side, the Enemy was so greedy of the Spoil, that they intermitted the Slaughter, to seize the Prey. This Covetousness of theirs, was the safety of the Legions; for it gave them the opportunity of making their Retreat², at the close of Day, into a Plain, where the Footing was firm, and the Ground solid. But the end of their Miseries was not yet come. They were of necessity to make new Palisades, and new Retrenchments, though they had lost the greatest part of their Instruments, which were to be employ'd in casting up the Earth, and cutting of the Turfs. They wanted Tents to receive the weary Soldiers, and Salves

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The greediness of Soldiers, who are commonly more intent upon Enriching themselves, than upon Fighting, is the cause that there is scarce ever a compleat Victory. This is an Evil that seems to be without Remedy, seeing, that after so many Ages, the Prudence and Severity of Princes and Generals have not been able to put a stop to it.

3. Re-

Salves to dress the Wounded. Their Food, which they divided into Portions, was soak'd in Mire and Blood; and they deplor'd that fatal Night, which only hid them till the approach of Day, which was to be the last to so many Thousands of valiant Men³.

LX. By chance a Horse, who was broken loose from his Standing, and terrifi'd with the Cries of his Pursuers, bore down those whom he encounter'd in his way. The whole Camp possess'd with a panick Fear, took the Alarm; every one believing, that the *Germans* were breaking in upon them, they rush together to the Gates, and chiefly to the *Decumane*⁴, which was the farthest from the Enemy, and consequently the most secure. *Cecina* found it was a false Alarm; but not being able to retain the Soldiers, either by Authority, or Prayer², though he took hold upon their Arms to stop them, he laid himself across the Gate, and block'd up the Issue³, through

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Reflections of this kind do Soldiers no good, because they serve only to abate their Courage; witness the false Alarm, spoken of in the following Chapter.

1. When an Army hath been beaten, it is very subject to take false Alarms: And it is on these Occasions, saith *Xenophon*, that a General is much perplex'd, for the more he encourages his Soldiers, the greater they imagin is the Danger. *Quanto magis jubeat illos bono esse animo, tanto existimabunt in majore se esse discrimine.* Lib. 5. Cyropæd.

2. When Foresight and Counsel have preceded the Danger, Fear is easily overcome; but when Fear hath prevented Foresight and Counsel, Advice and Exhortations will hardly find Place.

3. If it happens, saith *Onofander*, that a vain Terrour, or even a reasonable Fear, hath seized the Spirits, it is then that a General ought to shew the Soldiers an assured Countenance, and unshaken Courage. *Stratag. cap. 11.* There is nothing that more perplexes the Prudence of a General, than these kind of false Alarms, in which the disorder'd Minds of an ignorant Multitude are

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HISTORICAL NOTES.

" The Camp, which was always of a square Figure, had four Gates, the greatest of which was called the *Decumane*, and served for a Postern, through which the Soldiers passed, who were carried to Punishment. It was opposite to the *Prætorium*, so called from the *Prætorium*, or the General's

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through the Horrour which they had to pass over the Body of their General*: And at the same time, the Tribunes made it evident to them, that their Fear was groundless.

LXI. After this, being assembled in the *Place of Arms*, *Cecina* desir'd them to hear him with Silence and Attention, and to consider well the present Juncture of Affairs. He told them, there was no other Hope of Safety remaining, but in their Courage, which also they were oblig'd to manage with Prudence; that their Safety was to continue in their Camp, till the *Germans* should approach near it, being allur'd with the hope of Victory; then all at once to fall upon them from every Side: This Onset, said he, will open you a Passage to the *Rhine*; whereas if you should fly, you have to cross many other Forests, and to pass over many Morasses, more deep than these; and, after all, remain expos'd to the Fury of your Enemies: When on the other side, if you are Victorious in the Battle, you shall not only assure your Safety, but obtain Immortal Honour. In fine, he set before their Eyes whatsoever they held dearest in the World, their present Friends, their absent Relations, and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

not easily recovered of their Surprise. I observe in the Memoirs of *Commines*, that a Squib which fell on a Window, where *Charles* of France, the Duke of Berry, and *Charles* Count of *Charolois*, were talking together, was like to have confounded and disorder'd all the

Princes and Lords who were in League against *Lewis* the Eleventh, if *Mr. John Bouteven*, who threw it, had not come and declared that it was he, and had not thrown three or four more in their Presence, to take away the Suspicion which they had of one another. L. 1. c. 5.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ral's Tent, which always stood towards the Enemy. The other two Gates, which were on the two Sides, were called *Principales*.

* Don Juan Antonio de Vera relates an Action exactly like this done by *Fredrique Enriquez*, Admiral of Castille, at the Battel fought betwixt the French and the Spaniards near Pampelune. In the Epitome of the Life of *Charles* the Fifth.

† Tacitus calls this place *Principia*.

‡ The

and the Reputation they had gain'd in Arms; but pass'd over in silence the Miseries they had already suffer'd, and those which they were yet to suffer. After this, he distributed amongst the bravest Soldiers, without Partiality, the Horses of the Tribunes and Lieutenants, and amongst the rest, his own; with Order to those Horsemen to begin the Charge, and for the Infantry to sustain them.

LXII. Neither were the *Germans* less inquiet, betwixt their Hopes of Victory, and their Desire of Booty; they were also divided in their Councils: For *Arminius* was of Opinion, to leave the Passage open to the *Romans*, that marching thence, they might oppress them afterwards in other Marshes which lay before them, and involve them yet in greater Difficulties. *Inguomer*, on the other side, advis'd to besiege them in their present Camp, which they should be able to force suddenly, and with ease; that they should take more Prisoners, and lose nothing of the Plunder: And this Advice, as the more daring, was most to the humour of the *Barbarians*. At break of Day they issued out of their Forests, and being arriv'd at the *Roman* Camp, they cast Faggots into the Ditch, and throw in Earth upon them to facilitate their Passage to the Rampart; then attack the Pallade,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is rare, for two Generals to agree well together in one and the same Army, especially when they are both Men of great Parts and Experience, as *Arminius* and his Uncle were. The Protestants, who were in League against *Charles* the Fifth, lost the Battel of *Meissen*, because *John Frederick* Elector of Saxony, and *Philip* the Landgrave of *Hesse*, who commanded in conjunction the Army of this League, were both too great Captains, and besides, of too different a Humour, to yield to one another. This Battel was

fought the 24th of April, ann. 1547. The *Turks* had not failed of taking *Malta*, ann. 1565, if *Piali*, the General at Sea, would have held good Correspondence with *Mustafa*, the General at Land.

2. Amongst barbarous People, the most violent and rashest Persons have always the greatest Credit; for Delays seem to them a sort of Slavery. *Barbaris, quanto quis audacia promptus, tanto magis fidus*. Ann. 1. *Barbaris cunctatio servilis; statim exequi, regium videtur*. Ann. 6.

ade², where there appear'd but few Defendants, as if our Soldiers had been seiz'd with Fear. But when the Germans were just upon the Rampart, Cecina gave the Signal, and sounded to the Charge: The Romans rally'd out with a dreadful Clamour, and attack'd the Germans; crying out, They had them now without their Woods, and on stable Ground, unprotected by their Marshes; that the Gods would do Justice to their Valour, by giving them an equal Field of Combat, for the decision of their Quarrel. The Enemies, who expected an easie Conquest over a handful of Men, and those too half disarm'd, and quite dishearten'd, were terrifi'd with the sound of Trumpets, and the clattering of Arms, and slain almost without Resistance³, wanting Moderation in their good Fortune, and Courage in their bad. Arminius and Inguomer retir'd out of the Battle, the first untouch'd, the last desperately wounded. The Slaughter lasted all the Day, and, at the shutting of Evening, the Legions return'd into their Camp, many of them being hurt, and all without Victuals, yet well contented, finding in their Victory, Health and Vigour, and large Provision of whatsoever they desir'd.

LXIII. In the mean time, a Report was spread, that the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. It seldom happens, that an Army which is commanded by two Generals comes off Victorious. The Roman Armies were almost always defeated by Hannibal, when he had to do with two Consuls; whereas he was always beaten, or, at least, hindered from being Victorious, when a Dictator was at the Head of the Roman Army. As long as the Com-

mand of the Army was divided betwixt Monsieur de Turenne, and the Marechal de la Ferte-Senclercq, their Jealousie rendred the fairest Enterprises abortive; but from the time that the former was got rid of his Companion, who put every thing to hazard, Fortune always favoured him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

² The Outworks of the Camp had three Things, viz. a Ditch, (*Fossus*) a Rampart of Earth, (*Agger*) and a Palisade all round made of great Stakes, (*Palium*.)

a In

the Romans were defeated, and that the Germans were descending upon Gaul: And they were on the point of breaking down the Bridge upon the Rhine, if Agrippina had not oppos'd her Courage, to the Cowardise of those who had advis'd so infamous an Action. During the time of that Consternation, she discharg'd all Duties of a General^a; she reliev'd the poor Soldiers, she supply'd the Sick with Remedies¹, and provided Clothes for those who were perishing with Cold. Caius Plinius, who has written the History of these Wars, says, That she stood on the entry of the Bridge to praise and thank

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is not one of the least Praises of a General, to take care of the Health and Lives of his Soldiers. As there is nothing so Valuable as Life, so there is no Benefit, whereof Men have a more grateful Sense, than of it; especially Soldiers, who are exposed to more Dangers, than all the rest of Mankind. The Spanish Commentator on Commynes saith, That the Soldiers set upon the Tomb of

a certain Captain, who died at Milan, the Words of the Creed: *Qui propter nos, & propter nostram salutem, descendit ad inferos*. The Spaniards, adds he, gave not this Praise to the Prince of Parma in Flanders; for whilst his Army was in want of every thing, he must not want Mules to fetch Spaw-Waters for his Baths. Ch. 9. 46.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a In the Siege of Tournay, ann. 1581, Mary of Lalaing, Princess of Epimoy, being not contented incessantly to exhort the Soldiers and the Burghers to a vigorous defence against the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards, she so valiantly exposed herself, that she had her Arm broken by the Shot of an Arquebuss, of which she died the Year following. Thus this Lady made good the Character which Commynes gives of her Family. Messire Philip de Lalaing, saith he, was of a Race, of which there have been few who have not been valiant, and have almost all died in serving their Princes in War. *Memoirs*, l. 1. c. 2. Ann. 1595, the Lady De Baligny, Wife of the Lord of Cambray, performed the Duty of a Captain, and of a private Soldier, in the defence of this Town against the Spaniards. Night and Day she went to visit the Sentinels, and to observe the Battery; she wrought on the Fortifications; she discharged the Cannon; with her Pike in her Hand, she exposed herself to all Dangers, and braved the Spaniards, and would not hear of a Capitulation. Which might have succeeded, if her Husband had not been so odious to the City, over which he tyrannized without Pity. *Herrera* calls this Lady, another *Bedana*, another *Firulana*. *Hist. part 3. l. 11. c. 16.* & Don Carlos Coloma, l. 8. of his Wars of Flanders.

K 3

b The

thank the Legions, as they pass'd along. All which Proceedings made a deep Impression of Discontent and Melancholy on the Soul of *Tiberius*. He strongly suspected, that this Over-Diligence and Care could not possibly be innocent ² at the bottom; that it was not against Foreigners, that *Agrippina* thus fortifi'd herself with the Favour of the Soldiers; that the Generals might now securely take their Ease, when a Woman could perform their Office, take Reviews of the Legions, march amidst the Roman Ensigns and their Eagles, and make Donatives to the Soldiers. How could it be without Design, that her little Son was carried round the Camp in the plain habit of a private Soldier; that she caus'd him to be Sirnam'd *Caligula*: That she had already more Authority in the Army than all the Generals ³, since she had

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. In the Opinion of *Livy*, Civility and Liberty are never free in a great Fortune. The Prince can't look upon a great Man, who studies to gain the People's Affections, but as a Rival, who would steal from him the Hearts of his Subjects, that he may afterwards deprive him of their Obedience. *Henry* the Third, saith a Politick Spaniard, one Day ask'd his Confidants this Question: What doth the Duke of *Guise* do, thus to charm the People's Hearts? Sir, (said a cunning Courtier,) he gives with both Hands, and when it is not in his Power to grant what they desire, he supplies it with Words: Let them invite him to a Wedding, he goes; to a Funeral, he assists at it; to be Godfather to a Child, he accepts it. He is affable, caressing, and liberal; he carries it fair to all People, and speaks ill of none; in short, he reigns in their Hearts, as your Majesty doth in your Territories. *Gracian's Heroes*, ch. 12. Of all that Don *Pedro Giron*, Duke of *Ossea*, did to continue himself in the Viceroyship of *Naples*, and to

hinder the Cardinal *Gaspar Borgia* from taking Possession of it, nothing rendred him more suspected, or rather more criminal, than what he did after the arrival of the Cardinal to *Prochira*, an Isle near *Naples*. Having assembled the common People, he threw among them abundance of Money, and when he had no more left, he pull'd off the Gold Buttons which he had on his Clothes, and a Girdle of Diamonds; and after that, by an extravagant Liberality, he also threw his Hat and his Cloke to them, imploring the Assistance of this Multitude against a Priest, who, he said, was not fit to govern a Kingdom, of which the Pope had a desire to possess himself. *Conjuratio Ossimiana* 1612, & 1620.

3. *Tiberius* transgressed through Distrust and Jealousie, but *Agrippina* through Imprudence; for the better remembered whence she descended, and whose Wife she was, than whose Subject. The same Commentator on *Comminius* saith, That Distrust is wont to take away the Judgment of Women, but that on the

had appear'd a Mutiny, where the Name of the Emperor had been of no Consideration. *Sejanus*, who was well acquainted with the suspicious Temper of *Tiberius*, was not wanting to foment these Discontents,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

the contrary it gives Judgment to Princes, and improves it; that it is a Passion that absolutely masters Ladies; whereas it is a Quality that is absolutely necessary to Kings. Witness *Edward* the Fourth, King of *England*, who, according to *Commines*, was driven out of his Kingdom by the Earl of *Warwick*, because he always lived without Suspicion. Chap. 1. of the Commentary, let. E. and ch. 5. of l. 1. of the Memoirs.

4. Great Services draw Calamities on those who perform them, especially when they are Men, whose Birth, Courage, or Merit, gives Jealousie to the Prince. The younger *Pliny* saith, That it is seldom seen, that a Prince loves those, to whom he believes himself most obliged; and, according to the Testimony of *Commines*, *Lewis* the Eleventh was of the same Opinion. The Reason of this is, because Men do that more heartily which comes purely from Free-will, than that which they are obliged to do by a Motive of Gratitude. *Anthony Perez* saith, That it fares with the great Obligations which a Prince hath to his Subject, as with those Fruit-Trees, whose Boughs are broken by being overladen; and that to have performed extraordinary Services to his King, is a sort of Obligation, which ruins the Favourite.

5. There is nothing, which a Favourite, or a chief Minister, ought to take more Pains about, than thoroughly to know his Prince's Humour; for without this it is impossible, that his Favour should last long, or that he should not fall a

Victim to his Enemies. *Cabrera* saith, That the Prince of *Eboli* was not so great a Statesman as the Duke of *Alva*, his Rival; but withal, that he far better understood his Master's Humour. And it is to this Knowledge, that he attributes the good Fortune of this Prince, to keep the Favour of *Philip* the Second, to the last moment of his Life. He preserved it, saith he, because he kept him company without being troublesome to him, and without importuning him when he was inclin'd to Solitude. He always bore him a great Respect, and this Respect always increas'd as his Favour, and the Obligations which he received. He discharged the Duties of his Place, without Artifice, and without Constraint. He digested and prepared with care what he had to Negotiate, and spoke his Opinion with a natural Modesty, and hearkened with Attention to his Master's Answer, without ever dilating in impertinent Discourses. He spoke advantageously of those whom the King loved, and, by a handsom and prudent Dissimulation, he seem'd to understand no more, than what the King was willing to tell him. He kept every thing secret which the King said to him, and if others spoke of it, he was the last that did it himself. When he went to Court, he moderated his Train, and never clothed his Domesticks in richer Liveries than the King's; and when he reprimanded any one in the King's Name, he avoided speaking with Heat, and keeping a wise Mean, he inveighed against the Fault, and not against the Person.

tents⁶, but bury'd the Seeds of them deep under Ground⁷, and remov'd from sight, (that they might shoot up in their appointed time, and produce the Fruits which he desir'd.

LXIV. *Germanicus*, who was embark'd already with his Legions, intrusted *Publius Vitellius* with the Command of the Second and the Fourteenth, that he might bring them back by Land, thereby to lighten his Transport Vessels, lest they should knock upon the Sands, or lie a-Ground, the Water during the Ebbs, being extremely shoely upon those Seas. At the beginning, *Vitellius*, who coasted the Shores, found no Inconvenience in his March, because the Soil was dry, and the Tide moderate. But after the Breeze began to blow, and the Sun was in the Equinox¹, (at which time the Seas begin to swell,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

His History, l. 7. c. 7. & l. 10. c. 1. *John Perez* saith, That the Duke of *Alva* one Day speaking to him of this Favourite, expressed his Opinion of him in these words: The Lord *Puy Comte*, of whose Party you are so great a Favourer, is not one of the ablest Statesmen that we have had; but as for the Art of understanding the Nature of Kings, I acknowledge he hath been so great a Master, that how great soever all that are here are, we meet with the like where we think to have the best. In a Letter to a great Favourite. The Result of all which is, that a Favourite, or a Minister, who is only beloved by his Prince, is better establish'd, than he, who is highly esteem'd by him.

6. A prudent Minister, and who loves the Reputation of his Prince, ought to avoid nothing more, than to nourish his Discontents, and his Jealousies. This is so dangerous a Fault in Princes, and carries them to such troublesome Resolutions, and often times so unjust, that there can't be too great a Care taken, to

calm the Agitation of their Minds. Happy are the Kings, who have Ministers of such a Temper, as was Don *Antonio de Toledo*, Grand Prior of *Leon*, who having received an Order to bring a Cassette, in which were the Letters and secret Papers of Don *Carlos*, tore all those, which might prejudice this young Prince, and his Friends, before he put them into the Hands of *Philip* the Second. *Cabrera's History*, l. 7. c. 22.

7. When Princes dissemble their Resentment, it is a sign that they are meditating a cruel Revenge. The Constable of *St. Pol*, who had so much Wit, was so weak as to believe *Lewis* the Eleventh reconciled to him after the Interview at *Noion*; for if the Hatred was so great before, it was still greater on the King's side, who was ashamed that he had spoken with his Servant, with a Bar betwixt them. *Commynes's Memoirs*, l. 5. c. 11, & 12.

1. According to *Onofander*, Generals of Armies ought to understand Astronomy. *Intermittunt per noctem*

supra

swell, and grow tempestuous,) all the Campaign was floated on the sudden, and the two Legions in apparent danger of being lost. The Sea and Land bore the same Figure; the firm Earth was not to be distinguish'd from the moving Sands, nor the fordable Passages from the Deep. The Billows bore away the Soldiers, and devour'd them; dead Bodies of Men, and Horses, were seen floating confusedly with the Baggage on the Waves. The Brigades were mix'd with one another; some of the Soldiers were wading up to the Waste in Water; others to their Shoulders; and always one or other their Footing failing, were carried to the bottom. Their Cries, and mutual Encouragements, avail'd them nothing against the Fury of the Waves, which suck'd them in, and swallow'd them; no distinction was to be found betwixt the Cowards and the Brave, the Prudent and the Fools, the Cautious and the Bold; all were equally overpower'd by the violence of the Seas and Winds. At length, *Vitellius* having sav'd himself on a rising Ground, shew'd the way of Safety to the remains of his wreck'd Legions. They pass'd the following Night without Fires, without Provisions, and without Tents, the greatest part of them all bruised and naked, and more miserable than those who are surrounded by their Enemies, because their Death was without Honour; whereas the others were in a capacity of selling their Lives at a dear Rate, and dying not ingloriously, The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

supra terras siderum Imperatori peritiam aliquam inesse oportet. Strategici, c. 39. And *Polybius*, as great a Politician as an Historian, saith, That a General of an Army cannot take just Measures neither by Sea nor Land, if he doth not well understand the Summer Solstice, and the Equinoxes. *Debet perspicue cognoscere solstitium æstivale & æquinoctium, & intermediis dierum &*

noctium tam aëstiones, quam dimittutiones; sic enim duntaxat secundum rationem commensurare potest, quæ tam mari, quam terra perscienda sunt. Lib. 9. *Christopher Columbus* saved his Army, which was perishing by Famine, by the Prediction which he made of an Eclipse to an *Indian* King, who refused to furnish him with Provisions. *Pagliari Observation* 74.

The return of Day restor'd them to dry Land, and afforded them the means of retiring to the *Rhine*^b, whether *Germanicus* had already brought his Forces. The two Legions reimbark'd with him, while the Rumour yet continu'd, that they were lost; which was obstinately believ'd, till all the World had seen the return of *Germanicus* with his Army.

LXV. During this Interval, *Sertinius* was gone to receive *Segimer*, the Brother of *Segestes*, and brought him, together with his Son, into the City of the *Ubians*. A Pardon was granted to both of them; to the Father without any difficulty, because he had surrender'd himself of his own free motion; but more hardly to his Son, because he was accus'd to have insulted the dead Body of *Varus*. As for the rest, *Spain*, *Gaul*, and *Italy*, seem'd to vie with each other, in sending Horses, Arms, and Silver, to *Germanicus*, to repair the Losses which his Army had sustain'd. But he, with high Praises of their Zeal, accepted only of the Arms and Horses, which he wanted to carry on the War, being resolv'd to supply the Soldiers with his own Money. And to efface wholly from their Memory, the Thoughts of their late Suffering by his Kindness, he visited the Wounded, desir'd to see their Hurts, commended every one in particular, according to the Merits of his Service^c; some he inflam'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Caresses and Praises are in stead of all Rewards to brave Men. Cardinal *de Richelieu* saith, That *Henry the Fourth* being under an extream Necessity, paid his Servants

with good Words, and made them do Things with his Caresses, upon which his Weakness permitted him not to put them by other ways. *Pol. Test. part 1. c. 6.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b The *Latin* hath the *Weser*, but it ought there to have the *Rhine*, where was the Winter Quarters of the Legions. For *Vitellius* carried the two Legions into the *Gauls*, whereas to have gained the *Weser*, which was beyond the *Eme*, had been to have carried them into *Germany*. There is more reason to conclude, that the word *Visurgim* is slip'd in for *Vidrum*, called now

flam'd with desire of Honour, others with the hopes of Riches. In short, whether by his Affability, or the Care which he took of them, he won them all to be at his Devotion, and ready to follow him in any Danger.

LXVI. In the same Year, the Triumphal Ornaments were decreed to his Lieutenants, *Aulus Cecina*, *Lucius Apronius*, and *Caius Silius*. *Tiberius* refus'd the Title of Father of his Country^c, which the People were often desirous to have given him; nor even would permit, that they should take their Oaths upon his Acts^d, many times repeating these words, That there was nothing stable in this Life; and that the more he was exalted, the more in danger of a Fall^e. But this affected Modesty of his, gain'd him not a better Opinion with the People; for he had lately revived the Law of High-Treason for

Offen-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is no Prince so wise, saith *Commynes*, who doth not sometimes fail, and very often if he lives long; and thus would it be found in their Actions, if Truth had been always spoken of them. *Lib. 5. cap. 13.*

2. This Doctrine can never be too much inculcated on Princes, who, for the most part, presume much on

their Power. Would to God, that each Prince, in the course of his Reign, might only meet with such a Minister, or a Confident, as he was, who said to *Philip the Second*, Sir, Be moderate, acknowledge God on Earth, as well as in Heaven, lest he grow weary of Monarchies, and provoked by the Abuse which Kings make of their Power, in usurping

HISTORICAL NOTES.

now the *Weser*, which is one of the Mouths of the *Rhine*, than to attribute this Error to *Tacitus*, who always places the *Weser* where it is at this Day.

^c *Sueton* saith, That he resolutely refused the Title of Father of the Country, and the Senates swearing to his Acts, for fear lest one Day they should think him unworthy of two so great Honours. *Ne mox majore dedecore impar tantis honoribus inveniretur.*

^d It was an Oath which the Magistrates took, to hold for well done whatsoever the Prince should do during his Reign. They renewed it every Year, on the First of *January*. It was by this Oath, that the *Romans* open'd the Gap to Slavery; for to ratify and to hold for Authentick whatsoever the Prince should please to ordain, was to put an Arbitrary Power into his Hands, and to banish Liberty. *Lewis the Eleventh* seem'd to exact a like Oath, when he said, That none ought ever to withstand the Prince's Will, no not when he was out of his Wits.

^e He

Offences committed against the Person or Dignity of the Prince; which 'tis granted had the same Name in the Times of our Fore-Fathers, but was not of the same Extent 3. If any one had betray'd his General in War, or rais'd Sedition, or dishonour'd the Majesty of the Roman People in the publick Exercises of his Function, he was attainted for a Crime of State. Actions were punishable, but Words were free. *Augustus* was the first, who comprehended Libels within the Cognizance of the Law; being provok'd by the Petulancy of *Cassius Severus*, who had defam'd, in his Writing, Men and Women of the highest Quality 4. *Tiberius* afterwards had answer'd the *Prætor Pompeius Macer*, who had consulted him concerning this very Law, That his Pleasure was, it should be observ'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

usurping his, he give another form of Government to the World. *Anthony Perez*, in one of his Spanish Letters. It was very strange Discourse in the Mouth of a Pope, (*Paul* the Fourth,) who told the Cardinals, That he would make his Memory immortal by the Dominions which he would give his Family, according to the Grandeur of the Pontificate, by virtue of which, he had Emperours and Kings at his Feet. *Cabrera's Hist.* l. 2. c. 2.

3. Bad Princes turn all Offences into new Articles of Treason; to render them unpardonable, under a pretence of not going against Reason of State.

4. A wise Prince ought not to suffer those Satyrical Writers to go unpunished, who make a Trade to bespatter the Reputation of great Men, of Magistrates, and of private Persons. The Prince, who suffers them, draws upon himself the Hatred of those, who find themselves injured by these Verses, Portraits, and secret Histories, where-with they feed, or rather poison the Publick:

----- *Jam sevens apartam
In rabiem verti capiti jocus, & per ho-
lra domos impune minas.* (nestas
Hor. Ep. l. 2. ep. 1.

It was, perhaps, none of the least of the good Actions of Pope *Sixtus* the Fifth, in punishing that Poet, whom he sent to the Gallies; for a Sonnet which he made on an Advocate's Wife, wherein, whose Name he made, to rhyme with the word *Putana*, notwithstanding she was of an unblemished Life, A Punishment, to which this Pope condemned him for rhiming likewise with his Name, which was, *Matera*. *Leti's Life of this Pope*, part 2. l. 3. If the Prince is the Protector and the Preserver of the Lives and Estates of his Subjects, with much more Reason ought he to defend their Honour, which is the most valuable Thing they possess. *Charles* the Fifth did one day an Action, in which it is not ealie to say, whether he discovered more his good Nature, or his Merit. Desiring to give one of those Divertisements, which they call in Spain, *Juiga de cosas*, i. e.

observ'd; being piqu'd himself likewise by certain Verses of conceal'd Authors, which had reproach'd him for his Cruelty, his Pride, and his Ingratitude to his Mother 5.

LXVII. 'Tis not from the purpose, in this place, to relate the Accusations which were carry'd on against *Falanus* and *Rubrius*, two Roman Knights, but both of very moderate Estates, to shew the Birth and Rise of that pernicious Invention, and with what Cunning *Tiberius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

tilting with Canes or Reeds, he commanded the Grandees to divide themselves into Troops. Each Lord took care to make up his own Troop of the most considerable Gentlemen of his Acquaintance, but not one of them thought fit to take a certain Cavalier, a Man of Merit and Importance, because he had some sort of Blemish in his Birth. A Gentleman of the Emperour's Chamber speaking to the Emperour of the Mortification which this Cavalier was under upon this account, who was at that time also in the Antichamber; the Emperour, without seeming to know any thing of it, appearing at his Chamber Door, said to the Lords who attended at the Entrance; Sirs, Let none take Don N.... because he is to be of my Troop. *Epitome of his Life by the Commander of Vera*. *Cabrera* saith, That *Philip* the Second turned his Back on those whom he heard speaking ill of others, and particularly if it was of his Ministers. *His History*, l. 5. c. 17. He answered a Canon's Letter in these Words: I am informed of what you say concerning your Bishop, and you ought to take care to be more reserved in speaking of such Persons. L. 11. c. 11.

5. Nothing offends a Prince more, than to attribute his Fortune, or his Exaltation, to those, whom it is not his Interest to acknowledge as the Authors of it. If the point of Honour is the most tender part of private Persons, how sensible must Princes be of it? *Ferdinand* the Catholick, who owed the whole Acquisition of the Kingdom of *Naples* to *Gonzalo Hernandez*, discover'd how uneasy he was under this Obligation, when he said; I do not see that I have reason to rejoyce for having acquired this Kingdom, seeing that there is no return of Profit to me from it; and that he, who hath conquered it in my Name, seems not to have had a Design to have acquired it for me, but only for himself and those, among whom he hath distributed the Lands and Revenues. *Paulus Jovius*, l. 5. of the Life of the Grand Capitaine. *Maurice*, Prince of Orange, could not endure to be told, That he owed his rise to *John* of *Barneveld*, who, by his Authority, made him leave the College, and put himself at the Head of the Armies of *Holland* in his Father's stead.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c. He owed the Empire to her.

f. For

rius fomented it: How the Growth of it was stopp'd for a certain time, and how afterwards it was renew'd, and increas'd so much in Strength, that it set the whole Empire in a Flame. He who inform'd against *Falanus*, accus'd him to have admitted into the Society of those, who were the Adorers of *Augustus*, and were divided into several Fraternities a certain Buffoon¹, call'd *Cassius*, who had prostituted his Body; and that he had sold, together with his Gardens, a Statue of that Emperour, which was erected there. *Rubrius*, in like manner, was accus'd for violating the Divinity of *Augustus* by Perjury. *Tiberius*, having Information of these Procedures, writ to the Consuls thus concerning them: That Heaven had not been decreed to his Father, with intention that his Worship should serve for a Pretence, to the Ruine of Roman Citizens²; That *Cassius* had been accus'd to assist with those of his Profession at the Plays, which *Livia* had consecrated to the Memory of *Augustus*; That to leave his Images, with those of other Gods, in Houses and Gardens which were sold, had not the least reference to Religion; That the Perjury of *Rubrius* ought not to be held a more enormous Crime, than that of Forswearing himself by the Name of *Jupiter*³.

LXVIII. Shortly after, *Granius Marcellus*, Prætor of *Bithynia*, was accus'd of High-Treason by *Cæpio Crispinus*, his

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. An Instance, how Scandalous the Profession of Players is accounted, as who have always been excluded from the Rites and Ceremonies of Religion, not only among Christians, but among Heathens likewise. In the Year 1687, the *Italian* Actors being desirous to offer up publick Prayers for the King's Recovery, had, under the Character of *Italian* Gentlemen, obtain'd Leave to perform their Devotions in the Church of the *Great Augustin's* at *Paris*; but the Arch-Bishop dis-

cerning the Cheat, recalls his Licence, and would not permit it. *Impias preces, deridenda vota.*

2. Religion ought never to be made use of, either as a colour, or instrument of Cruelty.

3. 'Tis for this Reason, that Crimes against Princes are punished with a greater Severity, than Blasphemy, and many other Offences against God, because the Prince hath no other way to make himself feared, than by present Punishment. In *Ireland*, where Oaths and Perju-

his Treasurer, with the corroborating Evidence of *Romanus Hispo*. This *Hispo*, who was of an unquiet Spirit, had taken up a kind of Life, which the Iniquity of the Times, and the Wickedness of Men, turn'd afterwards into a common Practice¹; for from a poor, unknown, and despicable Fellow², as he was, he accommodated himself so well to the Cruelty of *Tiberius*, at first by secret Memoirs which he gave him, and afterwards by open Accusations, which he brought against the greatest Men of *Rome*, that becoming as powerful with the Prince, as hated by the People, he serv'd for an Example to many others; who, like him, rising from Poverty to Riches, and from Contempt to formidable Greatness, split at length upon that Rock to which they had driven others. He accus'd *Marcellus* to have spoken with too great Licence of *Tiberius*. An inevitable Crime! because the Informer picking out all the infamous Actions of the Prince, the Person accus'd was believ'd guilty of saying that, which was notoriously true. He added, That a Statue of *Marcellus* had been plac'd higher than any of the *Cæsars*; and that he had taken off the Head from an Image of *Augustus*, and plac'd in the room of it the Effi-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ry are too usual, they who swear falsely by the Hand of the Governor, or Lord of the Place, are bound by the Payment of an heavy Mulct to repair the Injury done to his Name, whereas they who swear upon the Bible, upon the Altar, upon the Image of *St. Patrick*, their Apostle, or of any other Saint, are pass'd by without any other Censure, than that of being declar'd Forsworn.

1. For bad Examples, saith *Paterculus*, seldom or never stop at the first Author, who begins them; but when once a Gap is opened to them, how small soever, they soon spread themselves far and near.

2. In matters of Report and Calumny, poor People, as living most in Obscurity, are more to be feared than others. Inasmuch as such Men are neither by Birth nor Merit qualified for any share in Business, nor yet honest enough to consider the publick Good, they stick not to set every place on fire, out of hopes to make their Fortunes in the confusion. They are sure to forget nothing, that lies in their power, to disturb, by flattering some, and libelling others, that order of Government, which hinders their Advancement to Offices and Honours. Ch. 8. of the Second Part of the *Pol. Testament*.

3. When

Effigies of *Tiberius* 3. At these Words, *Tiberius*, without breaking into Choler, cried aloud, That he would deliver his Opinion in open Senate concerning this Affair, and that with a solemn Obtestation ^f of *Jupiter*, to oblige the rest to the same Sentence 4. As there were yet some small Remainders of the ancient Liberty, tho now

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When the Witness depos'd all the Ill that was either said or believ'd of himself, he shew'd no Displeasure at it, lest he should be thought to confirm the Truth of those Reports, if he had appeared concerned at them; but as soon as any mention was made of an Injury done to *Augustus*, he immediately vents his Anger against *Marcellus*, thus, under pretence of what had been done to the Statue of his Father, revenging the Affront, which he took to be offered to himself. *Pro Augusto conquerens suum dolorem proferebat*. Further, a great many People use the Images and Pictures of Princes to the same purpose, to which Signs or Buthes are hung out at Taverns: and I remember, I my self have heard it said, That *Orosio Camaiuno*, President of the Apostolical Chamber, treated with great Respect the Portraiture of *Pius* the Fifth, his Friend and Benefactor, as long as that Pope lived; but as soon as he was dead, he orders the Head to be craz'd, and that of his Successors to be put in its place. *Obs. 162.* I doubt not many have observed oftner than I, what happened a few years since upon the Death of a great

Minister, whose Portraitsures gave place to those of his Collegue in a great many Houses in *Paris*, but after this they were changed.

4. A Prince, who desires to be well advised, must take care not to give his own Opinion first, because none will dare to contradict that. If he speaks first, it is a sign he expects Approbation, and not Counsel; and therefore it is dangerous for him to declare his own Judgment. Upon this account, *Philip* the Second seldom assisted at his Council of State, because (saith he to *Antonio Perez*) the Presence of the Prince intimidates the Spirits, restrains the Passions, and makes the Counsellors speak by Form, like Preachers from the Pulpit; whereas being by themselves, they Dispute, they Heat and Provoke one another, and shew without reserve their real Tempers and Interests. This serves much for the Information of the Prince, who, on the contrary, if he be present, is in hazard to disclose his Sentiments, and to argue with his Subjects as with Equals. A thing incompatible with Majesty, which is supported by outward Respects, in the same manner, as the Pontifical Ornaments procure

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f For, in Matters of great Importance, the Judges were wont to swear, That they judg'd according to their Conscience; using this Form, *Ex animi sententia*; or else this, *Si scien fallam, ita me Diespiter vox ejiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem*; The Oath was made on the Altar of *Jupiter Lapis*.

g With

now expiring, *Cneius Piso* demanded of him, In what Place he would give his Suffrage? For if you speak first, (added he) I have no more to do, than to follow your Sentence; but if you deliver your Opinion last of all, my Vote by misfortune may have been opposite to yours. *Tiberius* amaz'd at this unexpected Boldness, and suddenly mollified, out of shame to have been surpriz'd in that Transport of his Passion, suffer'd the Accus'd to be acquitted from the Charge of High-Treason ⁵, and remitted him to the common Magistrates to be try'd, for his Management of the publick Treasure.

LXIX. Not satisfi'd to assist only at the Judiciary Proceedings of the Senate, he frequented also the Inferior Court ^g, where he sat on one side of the Tribunal;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

to Prelates the Veneration of the People. *Perez*, in his first Spanish Letter. A certain Italian Prince said, That when a Prince knows not what to resolve upon, he must hearken to the Advice of his Council, and speak his own Sense last; but that, on the contrary, if his Resolutions be fully fixed, he should give his own Opinion first, that so none may presume to oppose it.

5. It happens but too often, that Princes suffer for over-talking themselves. *Commines*, chap. 10. of the First Book, and ch. 10. of the Fourth Book of his Memoirs. When a Sovereign falls into Passion, (says a Spanish Cavalier,) he should call to mind that Emperour, whom his Confessor oblig'd to promise, never to have any Command put in Execu-

tion so hastily, as not first to allow himself time to say over all the Letters of the Greek Alphabet. *Don Carlos Coloma*, in his Tenth Book of the Wars of Flanders. Another speaking of *Charles* the Fifth, who, contrary to his Oath, granted a Pardon to the Duke of Clever, says, That he never broke his Word, but when it had relation to something of Cruelty. *Don Juan Ant. de Vera*, in the Abridgment of his Life. Moreover, Prince *Ruy Gomez de Silva* had reason to say, That Words uttered in heat of Dispute, and unpremeditated, are more regarded by Princes, than all Remonitances whatever. *Chinas y varillas arrojadas al descauydo ob ran mas que linsus*. *Ant. Perez*, in a Letter, entitled, To a Grand Privado.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^g With what Gravity, saith *Paterculus*, did *Tiberius* assist at the Tryals of Causes, not as a Prince, but as if he had been a meer Senator or Judge. Ch. 129. of his Second Book.

L

h That

nal¹, because he would not displace the Judge from the Seat of Justice; and occasion'd by his Presence, that many good Regulations were made concerning the Partial Recommendations of the Great. But while he kept so strict a Hand on Justice, he extinguish'd Liberty. About this time it was, that *Pius Aurelius*, a Senator, petition'd the Senate to be consider'd for the Loss he had sustain'd in the Ruine of his House, which was demolish'd for the Convenience of Publick Ways, and the Structure of Aqueducts. *Tiberius*, who was always pleas'd to exercise his Liberality in those Things which might do him Honour, (a Virtue which he retain'd a long time after he had divested himself of all the rest,) order'd, That the Price of his House should be refunded to him: though the Prætors, who were at that time Commissioners of the Treasury, were against the Grant. *Proper-tius Celer*, who had formerly been Prætor, and who desir'd Leave to lay down the Dignity of a Senator, because of his Poverty², receiv'd a Thousand great Sesterces^h, to support his Quality; *Tiberius* being given to under-

stand,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Those Princes very much deceive themselves, saith *Pliny* the younger, in his Panegyrick, who think they cease to be Princes, if at any time they condescend to do the Office of a Counsellor or Judge. There are some, says *Pagliari*, who blame Pope *Clement* the Eighth, for going in Person to visit the Courts of Judicature, the Parish-Churches, Convents, and even the very Cells of the Monks, as if so much Diligence and Concern were beneath the Dignity of the Supreme Bishop. As for my self, I believ it was a matter of great trouble to this Pope,

whose sole Study it was, to perform the full Duty of his Station, that he could not inspect all the Churches and Monasteries in *Christendom*; so thoroughly was he perswaded, that, for the discharge of his Conscience, he ought not to leave to the Care of others, the Administration of Things so material to the Salvation of Souls. *Observ.* 474. O! would all Bishops were effectually convinc'd of this momentous Truth, which that faithful Monitor within is always ready to exhort them to the Practice of.

2. Wealth is a mighty Ornament to Greatness, and Men in Wealth,

who

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^h That is to say, 25000 Crowns.

ⁱ These

stand, that his Father had left him much in Debt. Some others endeavour'd to obtain the same Favour from *Tiberius*, but he order'd them to address to the Senate³, affecting to be thought severe, and hard⁴, even in those very Things which were but Acts of Justice. Which was the cause, that all the rest sat down content with silent Poverty, rather than endure the Shame of owning it unprofitably⁵.

LXX. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

who receive such Advantage from outward Splendour, that of two Persons equal in Merit, it may without scruple be affirmed, that the richer is the better, for a poor Magistrate must have a Soul of a very resolute and virtuous Inclination, if he doth not suffer himself to act sometimes by Considerations of Interest. Besides, Experience assures us, that the Rich are under less Temptation to Extortion, than others. *Señ. 1. Ch. 4. of the First Part of the Polit. Testament of Card. Rich.* The Counsellor *Broussel*, whose Integrity the Parliament and People of *Paris* did so highly Extol, having been promis'd the Government of the *Bastille* for one of his Sons, became from that time, of a furious Bigot for the Faction of Slingers, a great Royalist, and wholly in the Service of *Mazarine*. *Memoirs of L. R.* However, the Chancellor of the Hospital, a Person the most considerable for Estate and Probity of any of his Age, affirm'd, He prefer'd the Poverty of the President *de la Paquerie*, before the Riches of the Chancellor *Raullin*; (the one was first President of *Paris*, and the other Chancellor to the Duke of *Burgundy*. It is he who founded the Hospital of *Beaune*.)

3. Those who, to obtain their Suits, address themselves directly to the Prince, desire rather a present Denial, than to be referred to his Ministers, who commonly are little respected

for the Kindnesses they do, whether because in truth they are not the proper Donors, or because the number of Petitioners being almost infinite, the Discontented are a thousand times more than the others. Besides, the more Hands the Petition passes through, the less Share has the Prince in the acknowledgment of the Favour; whereas, indeed, 'tis all his Due. To give immediate Dispatch, and without reference to Officers, says a *Spanish* Gentleman, is to Reign more, and Disoblige less. That is to say, when a Prince can, without Inconvenience, give a decisive Answer. Don *Enrique Moles*, in his *Audiencia de Principes*. *Hortalus* laid open the State and Reasons of his Poverty before a full Senate, and yet *Tiberius* made him a very rough and angry Reply. See *Articles the 37th and 38th, of the Second Book of Annals*.

4. The Denials of a Prince, should be temper'd with Sweetness, and Courtesie of Behaviour. 'Tis not the refusal, but the manner, which occasions the Hatred and Ill-will; for nothing more affronts, than Rudeness. *Nihil est tam deformē, quam ad summum imperium etiam acerbitatem naturę adjungere.* Cicero, Ep. 1. ad Quint. frat.

5. According to *Seneca*, Favours that must be extorted by the force of Cringes and Intreaties, are as Bread made of stony Gravel. I had rather buy, than ask, says *Cicero*,
L 2 speaking

LXX. The same Year, the *Tiber* being swell'd by the continual fall of Rains, overflow'd the nether Parts of the Town, and carried off both Houses and Men in its Retreat. *Asinius Gallus* propos'd in Senate to consult the Sibils' Books; which *Tiberius* withstood¹; who was as careful to conceal the Mysteries of Religion, as those of State. But the care of restraining those Inundations, was committed to *Ateius Capito*, and *Lucius Arruntius*. On occasion of Complaints, which were made by *Greece* and *Macedonia*, it was order'd, That they should be dis-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

speaking of those, who are forc'd to ask and beseech over and over again. *Pliny* the younger commends *Trajan*, for that he never put any to the trouble of attending, either for Audience or Courties in his Power to grant. *Audiuntur statim, dimituntur statim*. Another says, silence is the best Cloke of Poverty.

1. A Prince newly advanced to the Throne, ought carefully to avoid the Introduction of Novelties among the People, especially in Matters pertaining to Religion. If *Tiberius* had given leave to make publick the Sibylline Books, the People, having no fondness for one of his Humour, would have been sure to expound reflectingly the ambiguous Oracles, as also the vain and fallacious

Predictions, though, perhaps, they were never meant for a Prophecy of his Government. The Books of *Numa* having been found in his Grave, the Senate voted them to the Flames, being informed by the Prætor *Rutilius*, who by their Order had inspected them, that they contained Points contrary to the Religion then in Vogue with the People. The *Areopagus* condemned *Socrates*, because he endeavoured to make the People believe, there was but one God, when yet at the same time many of the Senators were verily perswaded, that it was true. Witness the Altar dedicated to the Unknown God, whom *St. Paul* affirmed to be the God whom they worshipped. *Acts* 17.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

i These Books were kept in a private Apartment of the Capitol, as an Instrument of Policy, to awe the *Populace* and *Soldiery* during the Calamities of the City and State. The People of *Rome* were always very inquisitive, to know what was contain'd in these and some other Books, which were in the custody of the Priests; witness the Reward one *Flavius* received, the Son of a Freeman, who was created Tribune, Senator, and Edile, for having given to the People a Register of the Ceremonies, which he had purloin'd from the Censor *Appius Claudius*, under whom he serv'd as a Clerk.

k For

discharg'd, at present², from the Government of Proconsuls, and rul'd by the Emperour^k. *Drusus*, in the Name of *Germanicus*, and in his own, gave the Spectacle of Gladiators, at which himself presid'd, taking, as was thought, too great a Pleasure in the sight of Bloodshed, though it was only the Blood of Inferiour Men. And his

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is not fitting, a Prince should bestow all that a People may desire, because there will be no end of this; but when the Requests they sue for are reasonable, it then becomes him in Civility and Prudence to yield something, lest otherwise their Minds be exasperated. If a Country happen to be poor and barren, or hath been ruined by a long War, as it often befalls Frontier Towns and Provinces, it is most equitable it

should be Exempt, and Tax-free, not for ever, but for some very short time; I say, very short, for when the Time shall expire, if the Necessities of the Place still continue, the People will be obliged to crave a further Forbearance, and by this means an opportunity will be afforded for a second Favour, which will be esteemed greater than the first.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k For every Proconsul had three Lieutenants, which was an Oppression to the Provinces, whose Government was Proconsular; whereas those in the Emperour's Division were under the Government but of one Lieutenant, called a President, from whence they were called Presidial Provinces. The Proconsuls were Annual, but the Presidents continued in their Provinces, till the Emperour sent a Successor. The Proconsuls exercised more Authority than the Presidents, but sometimes the Emperour would advance these to a Power equal to that of others, by giving them a Commission for Consular Authority. The Presidents were sometimes only of the Order of Knights, whereas the Proconsuls were always of the Senatorial Body, and the Consular Rank. *Legatus Caesaris*, and *Præses*, signifie the same in the Latin Historians. There are also Provinces called *Prætorian*, or *Publicæ Provincie*, according to *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 13. because the People disposed of the Governments; but when these Assemblies of the People were put down by *Tiberius*, these Provinces became annexed to the Jurisdiction of the Senate, and were held by Lot as the Proconsular. It may be useful to observe by the way, That *Augustus*, who would assume no Title, but that popular one of *Prince of the Senate*, yet made no scruple to over-reach them in the distribution of these Provinces; for he took to his own Share all those, where the Legions were in Garrison, under colour they were expos'd more to danger, as lying nearer to the Enemy; but the true Reason was, That he might make himself Master of all the Roman Militia: *Ut in manus res omnis militaris esset*, says *Dion*. So that *Tacitus* had good Reason to say, *Patres & plebem invalida & inermia*. *Ann.* 1. And in another place, *Speciosa Senatus populique Romani nomina*. *Flit.* 1.

L 3

l Taci-

his Father, as it was reported, gave him a severe Reprehension for it, because it had given the People an Occasion to murmur, who were apprehensive of his Cruelty, when it should be his Turn to Reign. It was diversly interpreted, why *Tiberius* refrain'd from that Spectacle. Some conjectur'd, that he lov'd not great Assemblies; others, that being of a sullen and melancholick Humour, he fear'd that an odious Comparison would be made betwixt him and *Augustus* 3, who was always present at these publick Entertainments, behaving himself with great Familiarity and Complaisance 4. I cannot think, that it was to put his Son into the ill Opinion of the People 5, by shewing his Cruel and Sanguinary Temper, though there were some of that Belief.

LXXI. The License of the Theatre, which began the Year before, was now grown excessive. Many Murders were committed, not only on Men of common Rank, but even on some Soldiers, and one Centurion, who would have restrain'd the Quarrels of the Populace, and repress'd the Insults, which they made on

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. A Prince, who knows he is hated, as *Tiberius* did, must industriously decline the giving any occasion of Comparison between himself and a Predecessor, that was popular; for the People, whose only Rule is: Judging is wont to be their present Humour, will never do him Right, no not even in Things wherein he excels his Predecessor. *Inviso semel principe, seu bene, seu male facta prestant.* Tac. Hist. I. I will add on this Occasion to the two Reasons, which Tacitus here assigns, Why *Tiberius* declin'd appearing at the publick Shews; another, which was, That he might not be constrained either to grant or refuse the People the Demands they were wont to make to the Prince in full Theatre.

4. A new Prince, as was *Augustus*, has no better way to keep quiet the People, whose Liberties he has invaded, than by Sights and publick Plays, especially if he seems to take Delight to be at them himself; for then the People, who mind only the outside and appearances of Things, receive it as a piece of Complaisance and Courtship to them; when it is in truth the main Instrument by which they are enslaved.

5. It was *Tiberius's* Interest to have his Son *Drusus* better beloved than *Germanicus*. Therefore, it is not probable, he ever intended to render his own Son odious, considering the terrible Jealousie he had of *Germanicus*, his adoptive Son.

1. In

on the Persons of the Magistrates: And the Tribune of a Prætorian Cohort was also wounded. A Decree of Senate being made, which impower'd the Prætor, to cause the Actors of those Farces to be scourg'd; *Haterius Agrippa*, Tribune of the People, oppos'd this Order; and *Gallus Asinius* sharply reproving him, *Tiberius* did not interrupt him 1; for he was willing to sooth the Senate with that vain appearance of their Power, and publick Liberty. Nevertheless, the Opposition had the wish'd Effect, because *Augustus* had declar'd the Farcers to be exempt from the servile Punishment of the Whip; and *Tiberius* seem'd very scrupulous, in breaking any of his Edicts 2. Many other Ordinances were made concerning the Stipends of Comedians 1, and against the License of their Favourers 3; and the most Remarkable are

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is sometimes an Advantage to the Prince, to say nothing during the Contest and Disputes his Ministers and Counsellors fall into one with another, for he may benefit himself at their Cost. In the heat of Opposition, something always happens to be said, which both Parties would been unwilling to have spoken in their sober Senses. *Tiberius*, who bore a mortal spight towards *Gallus Asinius*, for the Reasons alledged by Tacitus in the beginning of this Book, took, it may be, more Pleasure, to see him contending with so much earnestness and fury, than *Asi-*

nus did in insulting his Colleagues.

2. A Prince, who would establish his Government, must not venture to alter the Laws of his immediate Predecessor, but to be sure not, if this Predecessor is one much lamented; for such is the way of the People, that they constantly admit kinder Thoughts of a good Prince who is gone, than of him they have at present, though no less deserving. What hath been settled by Princes, whose Management hath been esteemed judicious, must not reasonably be changed, unless an inconvenience

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 Tacitus says, *De modo lucris*, which, according to Turnebius, is *Merces Histriorum*.

2 For every Comedian had his certain Followers, whose Employment it was to set the Spectators a clapping in his Favour, and to decry all others; whence came frequent Quarrellings and Tumults, in which every one took the Side he most fancied; and 'tis for this Reason, that Tacitus styles them, *Opæ Theatrales*, *Histrionale Studium*, *Certamen Histrionum*, in several places of this very Book of Annals.

L 4

n Cor.

are these: That the Senators should return no Visits to the *Pantomimes*ⁿ; That the *Roman* Knights should not accompany them in the Streets; That those Farcers should not be permitted to Play, unless only on the Theatres; And that, for the future, the Prætors should have Power to send into Banishment those Spectators, who behav'd themselves with Insolence.

LXXII. Spain had leave to build a Temple to *Augustus* *Cæsar*, in the Colony of *Terragona*; and this serv'd for an Example to all the Provinces. The People desiring to be discharg'd from the Impost laid on the Hundredth part of¹ the Gains by Commerce, *Tiberius* declar'd, the Fund for War^o subsisted chiefly by that Income; and also, that the whole Revenue of the Commonwealth

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

convenience be by Experience found to follow from it, or it evidently appear, that it may be altered for the better. *Sect. 1. ch. 4. of the First Part of the Pol. Testament.* As for the Regard *Tiberius* paid to all the Laws and Edicts of *Augustus*, it is not amiss to observe, That it proceeded as much at least from Policy and Precaution, as Gratitude, for he could not do otherwise, without weakening the Authority of all that *Augustus* had enacted in his Favour, for preferring him before *Germanicus*.

1. Reason does not allow People to be excus'd from all Charges or Burdens, for if this Badge of their Subjection be wanting, they will be

apt to forget their Condition, and by consequence, the Obedience they owe. Many Princes have lost their Kingdoms for want of maintaining Forces sufficient for their Defence, out of fear to burden their Subjects, And some People have become the Slaves of their Enemies, by aspiring to too much Liberty under their Natural Prince. But there is a stated Measure, which cannot be exceeded without Injustice, common Sense being able to inform every one, that a Proportion ought to be observed between the Burthen and the Strength of those who are to bear it. *Sect. 5. ch. 4. of the First Part of the Pol. Testament.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ Comedians, who play'd by Imitation and Posture, and counterfeited all sorts of Persons.

^e It was somewhat like the *Trium*, or the Extraordinary in France, in time of War. This Revenue had three Funds to maintain it; The Twentieth part of all Estates by Inheritance, and of Legacies; a Twentieth part in the Sale of Slaves; and an Hundredth part of all Goods imported in Trade. *Augustus* first laid this Duty.

p Now

wealth would not satisfy for the Payment of the Forces, if the *Veterans* were dismiss'd before they had serv'd the term of 20 Years. By which, the Promise made for their Discharge at the end of 16 Years was *virtually* revok'd, which the Seditious Legions had extorted² from *Germanicus* and *Drusus* not long before.

LXXIII. *Aruntius* and *Capito* consulted the Senate, concerning the Inundations of the *Tiber*, whether they thought fitting to have them stopp'd, by diverting the Course of the Lakes and Rivers, which discharg'd themselves into it. But before the Debate pass'd farther, they were to hear the Reasons which were offer'd by the Towns and Colonies, which were interest'd in that Affair. It was remonstrated by those of *Florence*, that their Country was lost, if the *Clane* should disburthen it self into the *Arn*: The *Interamnates* p alledg'd, that the most fruitful Parts of *Italy* would be turn'd to marish Ground, if the *Nar* should be sluic'd out into many Rivulets, which they were ready to have done. The *Reatinæ* would not consent, that the Passage should be stopp'd, by which the Lake *Velinus* runs into the *Nar*; declaring, That it would overflow the Neighbouring Country; That Nature

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Sooner or, later Princes are sure to revoke the Priviledges and Acts of Grace, which were at first granted by Constraint. After *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* had brought the City of *Liege* to Terms, he pass'd the Law to the Citizens of *Gant*, who, the very next day after his entry, mutini'd against him, forcing him to restore all Duke *Philip*, his Father, had taken from them, and to give them whatever Immunities they desired. But being returned to *Brussels*, he

orders the 72 Banners of the Inhabitants of *Gant* to be fetched away, with all the Letters Patents signed in their Favour: The Banners he sent to *Boislogne*, null'd the Priviledge called that of the Law, which was, That of the Twenty six Sheriffs, the Duke should have power to create but Four; and condemned their City to an Amercement of 36000 Florins. *Commines, chap. 4. book 2. of his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p Now the Inhabitants of *Terni*.

q Under

ture had made the best Provision, for the Convenience of Mankind, in disposing the Course of Rivers, ordaining their Outlets, and their Bounds, as she had appointed, where their Springs should rise; That they ought to have regard to the Religion of their Allies, who had consecrated Woods, and Altars, and Priests, to the Rivers of their Country. That even the *Tiber* would creep along, diminish'd of his Glory, if he were robb'd of the Income, which was paid him by his Tributary Rivers. At length, whether deterr'd by Superstition, or yielding to the Request of the Colonies, or forc'd by the difficulty of the Undertaking, they decreed, That no Alteration should be made, as *Piso* from the beginning had advis'd.

LXXIV. *Poppeius Sabinus* was continu'd in the Government of *Mesia*, to which were added, *Achaia* and *Macedonia*. For it was a Maxim of *Tiberius*, To let the Governours grow old in the Provinces which they commanded, and many of them died in the Possession of those Places they held, whether Military or Civil.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In *France*, where the Offices are for Life, the Maxim of *Tiberius* hath the Approbation of all the great Men, inasmuch as it favours their Interests; but it is it may be against that of the Prince, who, in some sort, ties up his own Hands, in giving what he cannot take away; and likewise against that of the Publick, where more Persons would be gratified and requited, if Places were Triennial, as in *Spain*. The Fable of the Fox, which being fallen into a Pit, where the Flies sorely stung and tormented him, refused the assistance of the Hedgehog, who proffered to drive them away; Because (saith he) if you drive away these, others will come half starv'd, and exhaust all the Blood I have left. This Fable, I say, which *Tiberius* alledged as a Reason on which

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¶ Under the Popedom of *Sixtus V.* there was a Proposal to enlarge the Channel of the River *Tyber*, thereby to render it more commodious for Navigation; but the Pope changed his Mind, upon an Intimation that this would be a means to facilitate the passage of this River to the *Turks*, and other Enemies of the *Roman Church*.

¶ *Cato*

vil. Various Reasons are assign'd for this: Some affirm, That, to spare himself the Care and Trouble of a second Choice, he kept constant to the first; Others say,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

his Maxim was founded, concludes nothing in favour of Governments for Life; because the Fear of being no more employed, and the hope of rising from one Post to another more considerable, will serve as a Curb and Restraint to Triennial Officers. Besides, such a frequent Removal, inclines People to bear the more patiently with the Governours they dislike, in hopes of better ere long. Cardinal *Richelieu* contends for the Custom of *France*, that is to say, for Governments during Life; but I may say, that in this matter he was influenced by the consideration, rather of the Ministry he was invested withal, than of the Publick; for seeing the Governments were disposed of absolutely at his Pleasure, 'twas his Interest they should be Perpetual, because his Relatives and Dependants, on whom he bestowed the most Valuable, might then render him more puissant and favourable in the Provinces where they commanded, than they possibly could do, in case their Administration had been only Triennial. And this is so true, that if we compare the Arguments he offers for one and the other, (in the Second Section of the Fifth Chapter in the First Part of his

Politick Testament.) it will be ealie to discern, that the practice of *Spain*, in changing Governours so often, did not to himself appear altogether so pernicious for *France*, as he was willing to have it thought in this place. Inasmuch, that had he remained Bishop of *Luson*, or Secretary of State, he had been able as well to defend the contrary Opinion, which he in part inclines to towards the close of the same Paragraph, where he thus speaks: *I am not afraid to say, it is better in this particular to keep to the Usage of France, than to imitate that of Spain, which nevertheless is grounded on such Policy and Reason, with respect to the largeness of its Territories, that although it cannot be conveniently reduced to Practice in this Realm, yet, in my judgment, it would do well to be observed in such parts of Lorraine and Italy, as shall continue under the Dominion of France. I conclude therefore agreeably with him, That since Countries remote from the Residence of their Princes require change of Governours, because continuance for Life may make them have a mind to throw off the relation of Subjects or Subordinates, and set up*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¶ *Cato* the Censor's saying was, That to continue the same Persons long in Offices, did demonstrate, either that the Commonwealth afforded few that were fit, or that they made small account of Magistracies.

¶ These

say, That it was to advance as few as possible he could ². Some have believ'd, that as he had a quick and piercing Wit, so his Judgment was always in suspense; for as he could not suffer the Extremities of Vice, so neither did he love extraordinary and shining Virtues: Being jealous of his Authority, he fear'd great Men ³; and as he was jealous of his own Reputation, and of the publick Honour, he rejected those who pass'd for Scandalous, or Insufficient. In short, his Irresolution was so great, that he

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

for Supream, and Masters of themselves; the Custom of Spain will become absolutely necessary to France, if she go on to extend her Frontiers.

2. A bad Policy this: For a Prince, who prefers few of his Subjects, hath not only few Dependents, but always many Enemies, that is to say, as many as deserve to be intrusted or considered, and are not. Thus plurality of Places is as opposite to the true Interest of the Prince, as plurality of Benefices is to that of the Church. I shall here remark by the way, That the principal Support of the Regal Authority in France is the great number of its Officers. And Augustus of old had never multiplied Offices, but the better to secure his Authority by a multitude of Magistrates and Expectants. *Commines* speaking of the last Duke of Burgundy, says, his Favours were not well placed, because he was willing every one should share in them. Chap. 9. lib. 5. of his Memoirs.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

These three Reasons, says *Scipio Amirato*, preceeded from his Vices: The first, from Laziness; the second, from Malice; and the third, from a mixture

3. A Person of ordinary Parts, and a moderate Capacity, is more likely to make his Fortunes with Princes, than one of a sublime and great Wit. For all Superiority being ungrateful to them, and they being ambitious to be accounted Chief and Best at every Thing, will never love, nor consequently prefer a Man, whose Understanding seems larger, and more penetrating, than their own. The Letters of *Anthony Perez* contain a great deal to this purpose. Among others, there is one directed to a *Grand Privado*, wherein he thus speaks, when the Holy Spirit says, *Seems not wise in the Presence of a King*; he meant not to say, *Be not wise*, but, *Seem not to be so*; as if he had used these Words, *Conceal thy Parts, and thy Prudence, shew not thy Intellectuals*. Prince *Rui Gomez de Silva*, the greatest Master in this Art that has appeared for these many Ages, told me, he learned this Rule from a mighty Favourite of the Kings of Portugal;

he gave Governments to some such Persons, as he had absolutely determin'd, should never leave the Town to take possession of them.

LXXV. As to the Assemblies which were held for the Election of Consuls, I have nothing to affirm for certain, either in the time of *Tiberius*, or after it. So great is the Difference which is found, not only in the Relations of Historians, but also in his own Speeches. Some-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Portugal; and that in all the Advices he gave, and in all the Consultations he at any time had with his Prince, he took care to carry himself with all the Wariness and Circumspection he possibly could. He further added, That he so contrived the Matter, that the good Success of his Counsels might seem to be only the effect of Chance, and not the return of any Care he had to please him, or of an intent Application to his Business, but he seem'd to carry himself like those Game-

sters, who in Play depend more on the favour of Fortune, than on their Skill. On this Subject, continued he, the same Prince related to me, what pass'd one day between *Emanuel King of Portugal*, and Count *Lewis de Silveira*. The King having received a Dispatch from the Pope, compos'd with great exactness, sends for the Count, and commands him to draw up an Answer, whilst he himself was making another, for he had a strong inclination to be an Orator, and indeed

HISTORICAL NOTES.

mixture of Laziness and Folly. For, if he liked not to employ debauched Persons, he should have concern'd himself to find out those that were good; and if he was afraid of virtuous and great Men, let him have but changed often, and he had been secure. In the last Discourse of the First Book of his Commentaries. *Commines* says, All crafty Princes are jealous, that all great Princes are so, and particularly, wise ones, and such as have made many Enemies, and injured many, as *Tiberius* had done. Ch. 7. l. 6. of his Memoirs. Yet Jealousies are to be admitted with Slowness and Deliberation, for to be too much addicted to Jealousie, is not well. L. 3. ch. 5.

Sometimes, without naming the Candidates for the Consulship, he describ'd them by their Birth; by their Manners, and by the number of Years which they had serv'd in War. Sometimes, omitting even those Descriptions, he desir'd the Pretenders not to trouble the Assemblies with their Intrigues, promising his own particular Care in their Concerns. And sometimes he said, That no Competitors had presented themselves to him, but only they, whose Names he had deliver'd to the Consuls; yet that others were not debarr'd^t from pretending to that Dignity, who either confided in their own Merits, or in the Favour of the Senate. Specious Words¹, but either void of Meaning, or full of Cunning; and couch'd under a flattering shew of Freedom, to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

indeed was so. The Count obeys, but first declares his Reluctancy to enter Competition with his Master, and the next day he brings his Paper to the King, who, after he had heard it, was loth to read his own; but when the Count had prevailed with him to read it, the King acknowledging the Count's Answer to be the better, would have that sent to the Pope, and not his own. The Count, at his return home, orders two Horses to be saddled for his two Sons, and went immediately with them. And when he was in the Fields, he

saith to them: "My Children, seek ye your Livelihood, and I mine, there is no farther means of living here; for the King knows, that I am wiser than himself. Don Juan Antonio de Vera, who relates the same thing in the First Discourse of his Ambassador, seems to say and believe, that it is a Fable; but be it so or no, it is still very Instructive.

1. The Words of Princes seldom agree with their Actions; and most frequently they act directly contrary to what they say.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^t Tacitus saith, *Posse profiteri*. *Profiteri* therefore was what we call, to stand for an Office, or to get his Name put into the List. *Quæsturam petentes*, (saith *Poterculus*) *quos indignis judicavit, profiteri vitare*. Hist. 2. cap. 92. That is to say, the Consul forbid some of

to break out afterwards with greater danger of a worse Servitude.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

of those, who pretended to the Questorship, to give in their Names, because he believed them unworthy of it.

THE

THE
ANNALS
OF

Cornelius Tacitus,
From the Death of Augustus.

Book II. Vol. I.

IN the Consulship of *Sisenna Statilius Taurus* and of *Lucius Scribonius Libo*, a War began in the Kingdoms of the East and the Roman Provinces on that side, whereof the *Parthians* were the occasion, who having

POLITICK REFLECTIONS,

1. As soon as a Powerful Prince hath taken Arms, the War spreads it self as it were by contagion, into all the Neighbouring States. Some arm for their own safety; others for the defence of the weaker side; others follow the fortune of the Stronger, either that they may have a share in the Spoils of the Conquered, or that they might not themselves fall a Prey to the Conqueror. Thus there needs but one unquiet Prince to trouble a whole World. For, saith *Commynes*, although in the beginning there are but two or three Princes or inferior persons, before the Feast hath lasted two years, all the Neighbours are invited to it. *Cap. 8. Lib. 3.*

having desir'd, and received *Vonones* from Rome for their King, afterwards despis'd him as a Foreigner, although he was of the Family of the *Arfacidae*^a. He had been given as an Hostage to *Augustus*, by *Phraates*^b, who, notwithstanding he had repuls'd the Roman Armies and Generals, paid all the respect and submission imaginable to *Augustus*^c, and sent some of his Children^d as a Pledge of his Friendship, not so much out of fear of us, as because he distrusted the Fidelity of his own Subjects^e.

II. After

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The People look upon those Princes as Strangers, who have had a Foreign Education. Indeed Education is a second Birth. The first forms the Body, but the second forms the Manners. It is of little Importance to Subjects, that the Body of the Prince is Foreign, but it is of great Importance to them that his Manners be not so; forasmuch as it is not the Body but the Mind that governs. *Cicero* saith, That the Romans freely tolerated Sacrifices after the Gracian fashion, provided that the Ceremonies thereof were performed by a Roman Citizen, *ut Deos immortales scientia peregrina & externa, mente domestica & civili precarentur.* *Pro. Corn. Balbo.* The Dutch would never permit *Philip-William* of Nassau, Prince of Orange, the Eldest Son of their Deliverer, to reside in their Countrey, till after the Truce was made with the Spaniards, for he having been almost thirty

years a Prisoner in Spain, they believed his humour to be Spanish. For the same reason Princes ought not to absent themselves any long time from their Dominions, because it is believed at their return, that they bring Outlandish humours with them.

3. A Prince who is not beloved by his Subjects, ought to avoid as much as possibly he can, engaging in War, or having any misunderstanding with his Neighbours. *Lewis XI.* saith *Commynes*, would put nothing to hazard, and he did so not only for fear of the Duke of Burgundy, but also out of an apprehension of Seditions that might break out in France if he should happen to lose a Battel; for he knew that he was not much beloved by his Subjects; and particularly by the Great Men. And he hath often said to me, that he should find it, if his affairs went ill. *Ch. I. Lib. 2. of his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a Which is as much as to say of the Royal Family of the Parthians, which began with two Brothers, named *Arshes* and *Tridates*, who threw off the Yoke of the *Selucidae*.

^b *Justin* saith, That when *Vonones* was put into the hands of *Augustus*, this Prince said, that the Kingdom of the Parthians would in time become a Part of the Roman Empire, if the Romans gave Kings to the Parthians. *Juris Romanorum futuram Parthiam affirmant, si ejus regnum munus ejus fuisset.* *Lib. 42.*

^c In the interview, which *Caius Caesar* and *Phraates* had on the *Euphrates*, this King passed over first to the Bank on which *Caius* was, and afterwards *Caius* to the Bank on which the King was. *Paterc. Hist. 2. Cap. 101.*

^d Four Sons, and four Grandsons.

e He

II. After the Death of *Phraates* and the [two] succeeding Kings, the Principal Men amongst them, being weary of domestick slaughters¹, sent Ambassadors to Rome to demand *Vonones*, the Eldest of his Sons. *Tiberius* looking on this to be much for his honour², sent him away with rich presents, and the Barbarous People receiv'd him with joy, as they usually do new Kings³. But they soon began to be ashamed⁴, that they had so far degenerated, as to go to another World for a King that had been trained up in the Arts of their Enemies, and that the Kingdom of the *Arfacidae* was thereby esteem'd, and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. To preserve Peace in a Monarchical State, it is necessary that the Great Men intermeddle not with the Administration of Affairs; for their ambition never suffers them to agree together. The weaker desiring an Equality, and the more powerful not being contented with that, they perpetually bandy into Factions one against another; so that the State is torn with their quarrels, until a Prince comes, who hath the Courage and the Skill to resume all the Authority which both sides have usurped.

2. The greatest Honour that a Foreign Nation can do to a Prince is to be willing to receive a King from his hands, especially, when it is a Nation equal, or very near equal in power, as the Parthians were to the Romans. *Sociis virium annulis,* saith *Tacitus*, *cedentibusque per revocantiam.* *Ann. 12. i. e.* The Parthians who do not give place to the Romans, but out of Respect and Friendship.

3. A new Reign, saith *Cabrera*, or a new Minister, always pleaseth the People best, who in this cross the Custom that is almost Universal, to praise the past and condemn the present. As the Successor differs from his Predecessor, either in Age or Manners, how good qualities soever

the Predecessor had, he that succeeds is always more acceptable. People grow weary of, and in time disrelish every thing, and particularly every thing that is Uniform; the same kind of Dish served up two days successively, becomes insipid; a way that is all even and alike, tires if it be long. *Lib. 7. Cap. ult.* Cardinal *Delfin* laid one day to me, that at Rome no Popes were hated more than those who reigned long, and that *la longhezza del dominare* (it was the Expression he used) made a good Pope as insupportable as a Bad one.

4. *Tacitus* saith, that the *Parthians* regretted their Princes, when they were absent, and disliked them when they were present. *Parthos absentium aequos, presentibus mobiles.* *Ann. 6.* By the first, *Vonones*, who had been so long absent, ought to have been very agreeable to them at his return; but by the second, he could not fail of soon experiencing their Inconstancy. Besides, it is common for Men to have a good Opinion of the Absent, *majora credi de absentibus.* *Hist. 2.* and to find themselves deceived when they see them, because it is much easier to form a great Idea of those whom we love, before we know them, than it is to answer a great Expectation, when we are known.

M 2

5 Accord

and dispos'd of as a Roman Province. *Where, said they, is the Glory of those that slew Crassus^e, and put Anthony^f to flight, if the Parthians are to be govern'd by one, that hath been so many years a Slave to the Roman Emperor?* He himself heightened their Indignation and Contempt, by differing so much from the Manners of his Ancestors, loving neither Hunting^g, nor Horses^h; passing thro' the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. According to *Xenophon*, Hunting is the truest Image of War, for there is nothing to be seen in War, which is not seen in Hunting; and consequently Hunting is the most profitable Diversion that a Prince can take, who designs to be a great Captain. *David* offering himself to *Saul* to fight with *Goliath*, alledges, as a Proof of his Courage, and of his Experience, that he had pursued the Lion and the Bear, and that he had strangled and slew them, in stopping their mouths with his hands; (*1. Sam. 17.*) An instance of the Resemblance that there is betwixt Hunting and War. *Commynes* saith, that of all Divisions *Lewis XI.* took the greatest Delight in Hunting; but that he

scarce returned from it, but he was angry with somebody. *For it is a thing, saith he, that is not always manag'd to please those, who are the Principal Persons in the Field.* An Observation for Princes, who love this Diversion, and for those who accompany them at it. *Chap. 13. Book 6. of his Memoirs.*

6. In a Nation, such as the *Parthians*, whose whole strength lay in Cavalry, a King cannot have a greater Fault, than not to be a good Horseman. The *Polanders*, who much resemble the *Parthians*, could never endure a King that was not a good Horseman. It is well known, how much they contemn'd their King *Michael Wisniowceki.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e He was slain with the greatest part of the Roman Army, by the Cavalry of King *Orodes*, the Father of *Phraates*; and the *Parthians* were going to possess themselves of *Syriz*, whereof he was Governor, if *Calus Cassius*, who served in the Roman Army in the Quality of Quæstor, had not prevented them. *Paterc. Cap. 46. Lib. 2.*

^f Having entered *Armenia* with 16 Legions, he marched through *Media*, in order to attack the *Parthians*. But as he advanced in the Enemy's Country, he met *Phraates* King of the *Parthians*, and *Artavasdes* King of *Media*, who hinder'd him from passing the *Euphrates*, and defeated his Lieutenant *Oppius Sutorius* with two Legions, and all the Cavalry, which he had under his Command. Afterwards, he was forced to raise the Siege of *Prasaspes*, the Capital City of *Media*, and to send to beg Peace of *Phraates*, who gave it him on such Conditions as used to be impos'd on the Conquer'd. *Justin. Lib. 42.* *Anthony*, saith *Paterculus*, stuck not to call his flight a Victory, because he had escap'd out of the hands of his Enemies with his Life, although he had lost the fourth part of his Army, all his Baggage and Artillery. *Chap. 82.*

^g *Silius* in the Preface to his *Cataline*, reckons Hunting amongst servile Arts and Exercises, *Non fuit consilium discordia atque desidia bonum otium* conterere;

the Cities in a Litter, and contemning the *Parthian Feasts*. They made a Jest of the *Græcians* which he had in his Train, and at the sealing of the Meanest Utensils of his House. But his easie access, and his affable way, being Virtues, that the *Parthians* were unacquainted with, pall'd for new Vices, and they equally hated what was good, as what was bad in him, because it was contrary to their Customs⁷.

III. Wherefore they call in *Artabanus*, one of the Blood of the *Arsacidae*, educated amongst the *Dabæ*, who having

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

7. A Prince who comes to govern a Foreign Country, will never be agreeable to his New Subjects, if he doth not conform himself to their Manners, at least in the beginning of his Reign. Those Virtues, with which they are unacquainted, will appear Vices to them, if he hath not the address to accommodate himself, for a while to their Vices, as if they were Virtues. *Italus* King of the *Cherasci*, gain'd the Affection of his people, in making a Debauch sometimes, although he was born at *Rome*, and had been trained up in *Maxims* directly opposite to those of the Barbarians. *Charles V.* according to the report of *Strada*, had such a Command of his temper, that

he changed his Manners, as easily as his Residence, living after the German fashion in *Germany*; after the Italian in *Italy*; after the Spanish in *Spain*; and every where as much belov'd as he was in *Flanders*, the Country where he was born. On the contrary *Philip II.* by so much affecting to be and appear Spanish to the whole World, render'd himself intolerable to the English and odious to the Netherlands, who had been a long time accustomed to the Affable and Popular humour of *Charles V.* *Commynes* saith, that a Prince who goes into a strange Country, had need be wise, to guard every side. *Ch. 3. lib. 6.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

conterere; neque vero agrum colendo, aut venando, servilibus officiis intentum, atatem agere. Reasoning in this like a Roman, for in his time the Romans did not hunt; and it is taken notice of by *Suetonius*, that *Tiberius* branded a Commander of a Legion with infamy, for sending some Soldiers a Hunting. Here we ought to observe, that Republicans have never been great Hunters, because they are always taken up with affairs of Government. So we are not to wonder, if the Noble Venetians, are neither Hunters nor Soldiers. They don't so much as understand how to sit a Horse; for besides that they have no Horses in their City, they don't care to be Horsemen, because they don't make War but by Sea, all their Military Land-Offices being given to Strangers. *Cabrera* saith Hunting a Royal Exercise, *Real exercicio de la caza*; and saith, that *Philip II.* took great delight in it. *Chap. of his History.*

having been defeated in the first Battel, raiseth new Forces, and Dispossesseth *Vonones*, who fled into *Armenia*, where he found an empty Throne, and a Nation fluctuating betwixt the Parthian and the Roman Power^a, ever since the Perfidious Act of *Anthony*, who after he had under colour of Friendship, invited *Artavasdes*, King of *Armenia*, to come to him, put him in Chains^b, and at last to Death^c, whose Son *Artaxias*, resenting our base Usage of his Father, enter'd into an Alliance with the *Aracidae* against us, with whose assistance he defended himself and his Kingdom, until he was assassinated by the Treachery of his own Kindred. After which, *Augustus* gave this Kingdom to *Tigranes*ⁱ, who was put in possession of it by *Tiberius Nero*. But he had no long reign, nor his Children after him, although they, according

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Prince whose Dominions are situated betwixt two Neighbours stronger than himself, is always forc'd to side with the most Powerful, or the most Successful of them. Now as the Romans and the Parthians were almost equal in strength, as I have before observ'd; and because Fortune favoured sometimes one and sometimes the other; *multa Romanis secunda, quædam Parthis evenisse*--- *damnis mutuis. Armenia*, which equally depended on each of them, (for the Romans had the Sovereignty of it in Right, but the Parthians in possession) espous'd the Interests of That of these two Empires which it feared most, being perpetually di-

vided betwixt Obedience and Revolt. 2. It is, saith *Commynes*, a great Folly in a Prince to put himself in the Power of another; especially when they are in War, or there is any quarrel betwixt them: and it is a great Advantage to Princes to have read Histories, where there are instances of such Interviews, and of the great Treachery that some of the Ancients have used towards one another, having seized and Assassinated those, who have trusted to such a security.--- The Example of one is sufficient to make many Wise by it, and to take care of themselves. *Chap. 6. Lib. 2. of his Memoirs.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a But in chains of Gold, saith *Paterculus*, to do the greater Honour to the Royal Character. *Regem Armenia Artavastem, fraude deceptum, catenis, sed ne quid honori deesset, aureis vinxit*, Hist. 2. *Argenteis catenis vinxit*, saith *Dio*; *quia nil mirum turpe erat Regem ferreis in catenis haberi*, Lib. 49. This King had contributed much to the ill success of *Anthony's* Expedition against the Parthians.

ⁱ Brother to *Artaxias*.

^k In

cording to their Custom^k, were united by Enter-marriages, and Partnership in Government. *Artavasdes* succeeded next, by the appointment of *Augustus*, and was afterwards dispossest^d, but it cost us dear.

IV. Hereupon, the settling of the Affairs of *Armenia*, was committed to *Caius Caesar*^l, who plac'd on the Throne *Ariobarzanes* of Medish extraction, the Armenians consenting to it, he being a Person of a Majestick Presence^m, and of great Endowments of Mind; but he dying suddenly, they would not admit his Children to succeed him, but were for trying the Government of a Woman, named *Erato*, whom they soon laid asideⁿ, and thus

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A good Meen and fine Shape, are not always indications of the Merits of the Persons, but they serve at least to impose on the People, all whose Judgment lies in their Eyes. So that it is not without reason, that Princes take so much care to have a good outside; for every one sees their Bodies, and very few their Minds. *Cabrera* saith, that the first time that the Queens *Mary* and *Eleonor*, Sisters to *Charles V.* saw *Philip* Prince of *Spain*, he appeared of small stature in their Eyes, which had been accustomed to the sight of Germans. As if Man's Body, saith he, were a Cage, which by being too little or too strait, could not lodge the Soul for which the whole Earth is not a Quarry large enough. *Ch. 3. Lib. 1. of his History.* Don *John Antonio de Vera*, mentions a Law of King *Don Alonso el Sabio* (the same who compiled the Customary which they call *las Partidas*) by which he recommended to the Kings of *Castile* to marry none but handsome well-shap'd Women; that their Children might be handsome and well-shap'd, which is of great importance to the Sons of Kings. The same Author adds, that the Ambassadors of *Poland*, who brought to the Duke of *Anjou* the Decree of his Election, told him, that he was obliged for it in part to his Good Presence, and his Charming Meen. In the second Discourse of his Ambassador. His Sister, Queen *Margaret* said, that Beauty which gives a Grace to every action, did shine in him to that Degree, that it seemed to vie with his good Fortune, which of the two should make him most glorious. *Lib. 1. of his Memoirs.*

2. *Gynocracy* is the Worst of all Governments. For this Sex, saith *Tacitus*, is not only weak and voluptuous, and consequently unfit for the Management of Affairs of State; but besides, is Cruel, Untractable, and desirous infinitely to extend its Power, if its Ambition be not restrain'd.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^k In the East the Brother and Sister marry'd together, and reign'd in common. There are several Examples in the Families of the *Ptolomy's* of *Egypt*. *Dio* saith, that *Cleopatra* was marry'd to her Eldest Brother *Ptolemy*, and *Arfinoe* to another *Ptolomy* her Younger Brother.

^l The Son of *Agrippa*.

^m 4

ⁿ Philip

thus being in an unsettled and confus'd Condition³, and rather without a Master than in Liberty, they offer the Crown to exil'd *Vonones*⁴. But as soon as *Artabanus* threatened him, and it appeared that there was little reliance on the Armenians, and as little expectation of assistance from the Romans, who could not defend him, unless they would engage in a War against the Parthians, he retires to *Creticus Silanus*, the Governor of *Syria*, who, although he had invited him, set a Guard upon him as soon as he came, leaving him, however, the Title and the State of a King¹. How he endeavour'd to escape from

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Assign'd. The Prophet *Isaiah*, (Ch. 3.) threatens the Jews with the Government of Children, and with that of Women, as with two equal Curses. So that we are not to wonder, if Synecracy is so odious in those very States, where Women have right of Succession, nor why divers Nations have for ever excluded them from the Throne.

1. Anarchy is the most miserable Condition that a Kingdom or a Common-Wealth can fall into; and it is the only plague that can make the loss of a Female Government regretted: For it is impossible for Civil Society to subsist without a Master, and without Laws. And this is the reason that Anarchy hath been always of short duration.

4. A State, however it changes the Form of its Government, sooner or later, will return to that which it had in its Original. The first Government to a Body-Politick, is what the Natural Air is to a Humane Body.

5. It is not the Royal Title or Ensigns, that make a King, but the Authority; The Majesty is in the Functions, nor in the Ornaments; and it is for this reason, that the Title of Majesty sh'd not belong to the Senate or *Regne*, although it had all

the exterior Marks of it, as the Rods, the Purple Robe, the Ivory-Chair, &c. but to the People, in whom the Supreme Power resided. Witness the Form of Words which was pronounced with a loud voice at the opening of all the Assemblies, *Valitis, Jubentis, Quirites*, which is the Appellation they gave the People in their Assemblies. *Cabrera* saith, that *Philip II.* having marry'd *Mary Queen of England*, and received from his Father the Renunciation of the Kingdom of *Naples* on the score of this Marriage, took it very ill, that his Father kept the Administration and the Revenues of it, and the more because he was hereby King of *Naples* and of *England*, only in Title and Name. There were also some Englishmen, who gave him no other Title but that of the Queens Husband, *Chap. 5. and 7. Lib. 1. of his History*. The Earls of *Esmond* and *Horn* having been arrested by the Duke of *Alva*, without the privacy of the Dutchess of *Parma*, Governess of the Low-Countries, this Princess who saw that the Duke, besides his large power, had secret Orders, which left her no more than the Name of Governess, desir'd leave of *Philip II.* to retire out of these Provinces, saying, that

from this Pageant-Royalty, we will relate in its proper place⁶.

V. But these troubles in the East were no unwelcome News to *Tiberius*, since they gave him a fair Pretence to draw off *Germanicus* from the Legions that had been accustomed to his command^m, and to expose him at once to Hazards and Treachery in Provinces where he was a Stranger. But the more he was hated by his Uncle and loved

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

that it was neither for his Service, nor her Honour, whom he was pleas'd to call his Sister, to continue there with a Title without Authority. *Strada Lib. 6. of Hist. 1. Decad.*

6. A Prince who is dispossest of his Dominions, doth not willingly continue in the hands of him who hath got possession of them, how well soever he is treated by him. For this is to adorn with his presence the Conqueror's or the Usurper's Triumph. *Ferdinand* the Catholick assigned Lands and Revenues to *Boabdiles*, whose Kingdom of *Granada* he had Conquered, or Usurped; but this Prince soon passed into *Africk*. For, saith *Mariana*, those who have seen themselves Kings, have not constancy or patience enough to lead a Private Life, *Ch. 18. Book 25. of his History of Spain*.

1. How great soever the Fidelity of a Subject appears to be, to whom an Army or a Province hath offered the Sovereignty, it is prudence in a Prince, under some specious pre-

tence, to remove him from that Army or Province, for fear lest the Infidelity of others, and opportunity may at last inspire him with a desire to accept what may be again offer'd him. The Mutineers of *Germanicus*'s Legions, had offer'd *Germanicus* their service being resolved to follow his Fortune, if he would seize the Empire, (*Ann. 1.*) and consequently *Tiberius* had reason to be jealous of the Fidelity of *Germanicus*, and of the Affection which these Legions had for him, and *Agrippina*, who was continually giving them largesses. The Satisfaction which the Neapolitans had in the Government of *Gonjalo Hernandez*, whom they styled by way of Eminence the Great Captain, was the principal Cause of the Resolution that *Ferdinand* the Catholick took to make him return into *Spain*, with hopes of being rewarded with the Office of Grand Master of the Order of *St. James*, which was the highest Honour in the Kingdom.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^m *Philip II.* dealt with his Nephew *Alexander Farnese* almost after the same manner. He sent him into *France* to the assistance of the League, whilst his presence was absolutely necessary in the Low-Countries, where he had begun to re-establish the Royal Authority, having obliged the Arch-Duke *Matthias* to return into *Germany*; the Duke of *Alanson* into *France*; the Earl of *Liceester* into *England*, and the Prince of *Orange* into *Holland*. For his absence gave the Rebels new strength, and was the Cause, that they recovered a great part of what they had lost. So that *Don Carlos Coloma*, had good reason to say, that *Philip II.* acted herein against all the Rules of Policy, *Lib. 2. and 3. of his Wars of Flanders*.

n *Holland.*

loved by the Soldiers, the more he endeavoured to put an end to this War by a Decisive Battel, in order to which, he consider'd well with himself the Methods of Fighting, and what had succeeded well or ill with him, after three years War in this Country. He found that the Germans were always beaten in pitch'd Battels, and on even Ground; that their advantages lay in Woods and Marshes, in short Summers and early Winters; That his Soldiers were more troubled at their long marches and the loss of their Arms, than for the Wounds they had receiv'd; That the Gauls were weary of furnishing Horses; That his long train of Carriages, was much exposed to the Enemy, and not easily defended. Whereas if they went by Sea, where they were Masters, and the Enemy Strangers, they would be Earlier in the Field; the Legions together with their Provisions, the Horsemen and their Horses, would be all safely carry'd through the Mouths and the Channels of the Rivers, into the very Heart of Germany.

VI. He resolves therefore on this Method, and whilst he dispatcheth *P. Vitellius*, and *C. Antius*, to receive the Tribute from the Gauls, he appoints *Silius Antei*, and *Cecinna*, to provide a Fleet. A thousand Ships were judg'd sufficient, and they were soon Equipp'd; some of them were short with a narrow Poop and Stern, and a wide Belly, that they might better endure the Waves; others with flat Bottoms, for the conveniency of landing in shallow places; several with Sterns at both ends, that with only changing the stroak of the Oars, without turning the Vessel, they might advance or retire; many were cover'd with Bridges for the carrying of their Artillery, with conveniencies also for Horses and Provisions, and all of them were made both for Sailing and Rowing, and the eagerness and shoutings of the Soldiers, added much to both to the shew and the terror of the Fleet. The Isle of *Batavia*ⁿ was appointed for the place of their

ren-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ Holland.

• Now

rendezvous, because it had good Landings, and lay convenient for receiving the Forces, and for their passage thence to the Seat of the War. For the Rhine keeps one Channel, or at most makes but little Islands till it enters the Country of *Batavia*, where it divides it self as it were into two Rivers; whereof, that which runs through Germany retains its Name and rapid Course, till it discharges its self into the Ocean; the other which washes Gaul, runs with a broader and a gentler Stream, and is by the People of the Country call'd, the *Wabal*^o, which name it afterwards changes into that of the *Meuse*, through whose wide mouth it falls into the same Ocean.

VII. Whilst they were launching the Ships, *Germanicus* order'd his Lieutenant, *Silius*, with a Flying Army to invade the Country of the *Chatti*; and hearing that a Fort which stood on the River *Lippe* was besieg'd by the Enemy, he march'd himself with six Legions to its relief. *Silius*, by reason of a sudden fall of Rains, did nothing more than bring away the Wife and Daughter of *Arpus*, Prince of the *Chatti*, with a little Plunder. Nor did the Besiegers give *Germanicus* opportunity to fight, but stole away from the Siege at the News of his approach; however, they first demolish'd the Monument erected to the Legions of *Varus*, and the old Altar consecrated to *Drusus*. *Germanicus* repaired the Altar, and himself with the Legions, performed funeral rites in honour of his Father, by a Mock-fight before it. It was not thought fit to rebuild the Monument, but he fortified

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^o Now *Wabal*.

^p This was a Ceremony used amongst the Romans at the Funerals of Princes and Illustrious Persons. *Exercitus*, saith *Sueton* speaking of *Drusus*, *honorarium ei tumulum excitavit, circa quem deinceps statq. die quotannis miles decurreret*. These Altars were like our Epitaphs:

*Hellorum ad tumulum, &c.**Et geminas, caussam lacrymis, sacra verat aras.* Virg. *Aeneid*. 5.*Aggeritur tumulorellus, stant manibus ara.* *Aen*. 3.

q It

fortified all that lay between the Fort of *Alison* and the *Rhine*, with the addition of a new Line and Works.

VIII. After the Fleet was arrived, and he had sent the Provisions on board, and assigned the Legions and the Auxiliary Troops their Ships, he enter'd the *Drusian Canal*, which took its name from his Father *Drusus*, to whom he made a Prayer, that he would favour his Son who after his Example was making this attempt. He had a good passage thence through the Lakes and the Sea, into the Mouth of the River *Amisla*, and anchor'd his Fleet at a Port of the same Name^r, which was an oversight, it being on the left hand of the River, and not high enough; so that several days were spent in making bridges for the Army to pass over to the other side. The Cavalry and the Legions safely forded it at low Water; but the Auxiliaries who were in the Rear, especially the *Batavians*, whilst they sported in the Waters, and were ambitious of shewing their skill in swimming, were overtaken by the Tide and some of them drowned. As *Germanicus* was Encamping, news was brought him, that the *Angri-varii*, whom he had left behind him, had revolted, whereupon he dispatched *Sertinius* with a body of Horse, and light-arm'd Foot, who reveng'd their treachery with Fire and Sword.

IX. The Armies of the Romans and the Cherusci, being separated

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^q It was a Canal which *Drusus* cut betwixt the *Rhine* and the *Ifell*, from *Arnhem* to *Douburg*, which is as much as to say, the City of *Drusus*, for the Passage of his Army from the *Rhine* to the Bay of the *Zuyder-Sea*, and thence into the Ocean.

^r There was a Place named *Amisla*, as there was the Fort and the River of *Alison*, and as the Place and the River, saith *Mr. Rick* in his Notes, had one Name, they have so also at this day. For the *Emi* giveth its name to the City of *Emden*.

^s A People who dwell betwixt the *Emi* and the *Weser*.

^u These

separated only by the River *Weser*, and *Arminius*, who, with his Principal Officers stood on the Bank, understanding that *Germanicus* was come, desired that he might speak with his Brother *Flavius*, who was in the Roman Army, and who had signaliz'd himself by his Fidelity, and by the loss of an Eye some years before in a Battel, when he serv'd under *Tiberius*. His request was granted, and as *Flavius* came near him *Arminius* saluted him, and ordering those that came with him to withdraw themselves, he desires that our Archers who lin'd the Bank of the River might likewise retire; after which *Arminius* ask'd his Brother how his Face came to be so disfigur'd; who freely telling him the Place, and the Battel where he received the Wound, the other ask'd him farther, What reward he had received for it; *Flavius* answers him, That his Pay was augmented, and that he was adorned with a Chain, a Crown^u, and other Military Honours^v.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^u These Crowns were of several sorts, but all of very common matter. The *Triumphal Crown*, which was the Noblest of all, was of Laurel; but Luxury, which is always at War with Moderation, brought afterwards in use Crowns of Gold for Victorious Generals, and this Present was call'd *Aurum Coronarium*. The *Oblidional Crown* which the Soldiers presented to their General, for raising the Enemy's Siege, was made of Grass; because heretofore the Conquer'd gave a handful of Grass to the Conqueror, to shew, that he took possession of their Lands, *Plin. Lib. 22. and Ch. 3. and 4.* This Crown was esteemed above all the rest, because it was the only one, which was given to the Generals by the Soldiers; whereas the Soldiers received the others from their General. *Sicinius Dentatus*, who had obtain'd eight Crowns of Gold, three Mural, and fourteen Civic, had never but one Oblidional Crown. The *Civic* was of Oak or Holm, and was given for saving the Life of a Citizen; and killing him who was going to take it away. The *Mural* and the *Camp or Trench Crown*, was given to those who first mounted the Breach, or forced the Enemy's Camp: Which was represented by Battlements or Pallisadoes engraved on these Crowns. They who obtain'd an Ovation, *i. e.* The lesser Triumph, wore a Myrtle Crown on their Heads. *Paterculus* saith, that *Agrippa*, Son-in-Law to *Augustus*, was the first Roman who was honoured with a Naval Crown, *Hist. 2. Ch. 87.* This sort of Crown had for distinction the Beaks of Ships engraved round it, whence it was call'd *Corona navalis*. The Romans, saith *Gabrera*, used Crowns of Grass and Wood, and rings of Iron, to exclude mercenary rewards, by separating Profit from Glory, and to engrave the Love of Virtue on their Hearts, with the graving Instrument of Honour.

nours', which *Armenius* ridicul'd as base prizes of Slavery.

X. Whereupon they begin to be hot; *Flavius*, extols the Roman Grandeur, and the Power of the Emperor; His Severity towards those that are Conquer'd, and his Clemency towards those that submit; and that his Wife and his Son were well treated. *Arminius*, on the other hand, insists on the Rights of his Countrey, their ancient Liberty, the Tutelar Gods of Germany; and adds, that it was their common Mother's request as well as his own, that he would at last chuse rather to be the General of his own Nation, than the Deserter and the Traytor of it. They proceeded by degrees to bitter reproaches',

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is not the matter of the Gift which is regarded in these rewards, but the Opinion which Men have of them. Their Esteem is not paid to the Mettal of the Collar, of the Crown, or of the Cross, but to the Reason for which they are given. Thus it signifies little, whether these Exterior Marks be of Gold, Silver, Brass, Wood, or Stuff. These are Arms of Inquest, which by exciting the Curiosity of those that see them, draw Respect and Admiration on him that wears them. *T. Labienus* having given Golden Bracelets, (a Military Gift which Soldiers wore on the left Arm) to a Trooper, who had perform'd some great actions, *Scipio* said to this Trooper, for whom he had a great Esteem; *You have the share of a rich Man*: as much as to say, *You have not the share of a Soldier*. The Trooper blushing at this Raillery, went and threw this Pre-

sent at the Feet of *Labienus*, after which *Scipio*, his General, having sent him Bracelets of Silver, he esteem'd himself highly honour'd therewith. An instance, that it is easie for Princes to reward their Soldiers and Servants at a Cheap Rate, and that brave Men set a Greater Value upon that which honours them, than upon that which enriches them. *Sebastian* King of Portugal, presenting a Sword set with precious Stones to the young Duke of *Pastrana* the Son of *Ruy Gomez de Silva*, Prince of *Eboli*; this Duke, who was but fifteen years old, immediately unsheath'd it, and touching the Blade, without regarding the precious Stones, said, *It is very good*. *Cabreræ*, Chap. 10. Lib. 11. of his Philip II. To conclude, Princes give what value they please to things, and Iron and Lead are more precious in their hands, when they know how seasonably

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Honour, Ch. 12. of the 8th Book of his History. Rewards of this kind, saith a Modern Author, have no bounds, because the Royal Power is a Fountain, whence new Honours and new Dignities incessantly spring, as Rays of Light every moment emanate from the Sun, which are so far from exhausting that they increase its light, Chap. 9. of the Politicks of France.

x This

reproaches', and had certainly come to blows, notwithstanding the River was betwixt them, had not *Stertinius* ran and held *Flavius*, who in a Rage² call'd for his Horse and Arms. *Arminius*, on the other side, with a Menacing Countenance, was heard to Challenge us to a Battel, for he spake several words in Latin, having formerly serv'd in the Roman Army, as a Commander of some Auxiliaries of his own Nation.

XI. The next Day the German Army was drawn up in Battel, on the other side of the *Weser*. *Germanicus* thinking it not prudence in a General to hazard the Legions', before he had laid Bridges and Guarded them, orders the Cavalry to pass the River where it was Fordable

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

seasonably to make use of them, than Gold is in the hands of Subjects. If the shameful Hair of a Lady of *Bruges*, hath served for the Occasion and Institution of an Order, of which the Kings of Spain, and the Emperors of Germany, think it a Glory to wear the Collar; what is there so Base and Vile, which may not furnish Princes with an inexhaustible Fund wherewith to recompence Great Men.

1. The Interviews of Great Men do rather exasperate than sweeten their Spirits; for there is always something said, either by themselves, or by those that accompany them, whence they take an occasion to part Enemies.

2. Even those who have renounc'd their Honour, and who glory in their Wickedness, are offended when they are call'd Traytors. *Flavius* had patiently endur'd the cutting Raillery of *Arminius*, who had reproach'd him with being a Slave of the Romans; [*irridente Arminio villa servitii pretia*] but so soon as his Brother call'd him Traytor, he could no longer dissemble; and had it not been for *Stertinius*, who stop't him by main force, he was going to

revenge the Affront. I cannot omit here the Answer of one *John Brava*, when he was on the Scaffold to be beheaded, at these Words of the Sentence, *a estos Cavallos por traidores*, which the Executioner pronounc'd with a loud Voice; he cry'd out, *You Lie in that, and all those who make you say it*. A Heat which did not indeed discover a Contrite Heart; but it shew'd at least one that was but little stained with the Guilt of Treason: Which are the words of *Don Juan Antonio de Vera*, in the Epitome of the life of Charles the Fifth.

1. A good General ought never to hazard a Battel till he hath put all things in good order. To begin to be in a Condition not to be Conquer'd, is to begin to Conquer. *Lewis XI.* saith *Commines*, understood this Point very well; He was slow in Undertaking, but when once he undertook, he took such care for every thing, that it was a very great chance if he did not succeed in his Enterprize; Lib. 2. Cap. 13. *Prosper Colonna*, and the Duke of *Alva*, who took him for his Patern, would never give their Enemies Battel, till they were sure of gaining it. See the

able under the Command of *Stertinius* and of *Emilius* a Primipile*, who passed over at distant places from each other; that they might divide the Enemy. *Cariovalda*, General of the *Batavi*, passed the River in the most rapid part of it, but was by the *Cherusci*, who feigned flight, drawn into a Plain environ'd with Woods, where they had planted an Ambuscade, whence they sallying out on a Sudden, and surrounding them on all sides, they knocked down those that made resistance, pursued those that gave ground, and broke the rest that had drawn themselves into a Ring, either by fighting with them hand to hand, or by galling them at a Distance, with their Darts and Arrows. *Cariovalda* having sustain'd the Enemy's Fury a good while, exhorted his Men to draw into a Close Body, and to break through the Enemy's Troops, and he himself led the way into the thickest of the Fight, where his Horse being kill'd under him, and himself over-power'd with Darts, bravely fell with many of the Nobility by his side: The rest escaped either by their own Valour, or by the Assistance of *Stertinius* and *Emilius*, who came in with the Horse to their relief.

XII. When

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

the first Note of the 40th Article of the first Book. Henry the IV. having sent to demand Battel of the Dukes of Parma and Maine; the first answered the Herald, (they are the Words of Chancellor de Chiverny) that the King of Spain had sent him to prevent the Alteration of the Catholic Religion in France; and to raise

the Siege of Paris: As for the Former he had already done it; and for the Latter, if he should find that the shortest way to succeed in it, was to give Battel, he would do it, and force the King of Navarre to accept it; or that, in fine, he would take what other resolution he should think fit. In his Memoirs.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* The Primipiles were the Lieutenant-Colonels of Legions. Every Primipile commanded all the Centurions or Captains of his Legion. *Qui primus Triarii Centurio, sive Triarii manipulo in prima cohorte praeerat, atque reliquos omnes Centuriones dignitate antebat, Primipilus, sive Primipilus, sive Primipili Centurio vocabatur. Rosin. Antiquit. Rom. Lib. 10. Cap. 7.*

y This

XII. When *Germanicus* had pass'd the *Weser*, he was informed by a Deserter, that *Arminius* had chosen the Place of Battel; that other Nations had joyned him in a Forrest consecrated to *Hercules*, and that they designed to Storm our Camp by Night. He gave credit to this Intelligence, and the rather because their fires were discern'd, and the Scouts who had been sent out brought back word, that they heard the Neighings of Horses, and a confus'd Noise like that of a Numerous and Undisciplin'd Army on their march. It being like to be a Decisive Battel, and this the critical time of Danger, *Germanicus* thought it fit to try how the Minds of the Soldiers stood affected, but how to be assur'd of this was not so easie; He consider'd, that the Tribunes and Captains used to give rather acceptable than true Accounts; that the Freemen were of slavish Tempers, and that Friends were too prone to flatter. That if he should call a Council of War, nothing was more common than for all the rest to applaud that Advice, which happen'd to be approv'd by a Few at first, and therefore he concluded, that the only certain way of knowing the Soldiers Minds, was when they were at their Meals in their respective Tents and unobserv'd, at which time, if ever, they discoverd their Hopes or Fears.

XIII. Where

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In such a Council, saith *Commines*, there are a great many People, who are only Ecchoes to others, without scarce understanding the Matter, and desire to shew their complaisance to some Person, who hath spoke and who is esteemed to be in authority, *Lib. 2. Cap. 2.* There are others who will not contradict, because they make it a Point of Honour not to be over-born by their Adversary; insomuch, that they had rather suffer an opinion, which they

believe must be prejudicial to pass, than not to have the Gloty of carrying what they appear for. Which Vanity is yet more blameable than Complaisance. It is much better, saith *Cabrera*, to pass for Wise and Prudent, than for a Man of Authority; for if your Advice is rejected, and there follows thence any Evil to the Prince or the Publick, this turns to your Honour, and to the Disgrace of him who carry'd it by his Credit or his Favour, *Lib. 2. Cap. 7.*

N

i. Princes

XIII. Wherefore, the Evening being closed he goes out of his Pavillion by the Augural Gate^y, cover'd with the skin of a Wild Beast^z, having no more than one Person to accompany him, and as he passes the Lanes of the Camp through By-ways that were unknown to the Sentinels, he listens at the Tents, enjoys his own Fame; *hearing* some extoll his high Birth and his good Mein, others his Patience, his Affability, and his even Temper both in Business and Pleasures, and all of them acknowledging, that they were oblig'd in gratitude to serve him to the utmost in the Battel; and that these perfidious violaters of the Peace, ought to be sacrificed to his Glory and Revenge. In the mean time, one of the Enemy that understood the Latin Tongue, came on Horseback up to the Line of our Camp, and with a loud Voice declares in *Arminius's* Name, that as many as would come over to him, should have each 100 Sesterces^a a day, during the War, and Wives and Lands assigned them for the rest of their Lives. This Affront exasperated the Legions, who said, *the Day was coming in which a Battel would decide that*; in the mean time, they accepted it as a good Omen, that the Germans Lands and Wives were to be the Fruits of their Victory. About the third Watch of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes cannot make themselves familiar with Truth, unless it be disguis'd; nor Truth with them, unless they are disguis'd. When Truth knows them, it flies from them, whereas it seeks them, when it doth not know them. There is scarce any Prince, who at the End of his Reign is not yet to know, as well as *Pilate, what is Truth.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y This was the Praetorian Gate, where the Augural always stood, i. e. the Place where the General took the Augury and the Auspices, before he Enterprized any thing. The Augural was on the Right hand, and the General's Pavillion on the Left.

z This was the common Habit of the German Auxiliaries, and *Germanicus* wore it at that time, to pass for one of the Germans of his Guard. *Tergis ferarum horrentes.* Hist. 2. *Gerunt & ferarum pelles.* In *Germania.*

a About 12 Shillings of our Money.

b The

of the Night^b, they approach'd our Camp, with a Design to Storm it; but finding it strongly guarded and no advantage to be taken, they did not attempt it.

XIV. The same Night *Germanicus* had a pleasing Dream, wherein he seemed to himself to Sacrifice, and that his Robe being stained with the Blood of the Victim, he received a more splendid one from the hands of his Grandmother *Augusta.* Encourag'd by this Presage, which was confirmed by the Auspices^c, he calls an Assembly, wherein he proposes the Measures which he had resolved on for the ensuing Battel. *The Romans*, said he, *with good Conduct, can fight as well in Woods and Forests, as on the Plains, for the Unweildy Targats, and the long Pikes of the Enemies are not so easie to be manag'd amongst the Trunks of Trees and the Shrubs, as your Darts and Swords, and your Armour which fits tight to the Body; so that you may redouble your blows, and make directly at the Faces of your Enemies.* *The Germans have neither Breast-plate nor Helmet, and their Bucklers are not strengthened with Iron or Cords, and are made only of Osier Twigs, or of thin Painted Boards.* *Their foremost Ranks indeed are armed with a sort of Pikes, but the rest have only Stakes hardned in the fire, or short Darts.* *And although they are terrible in their Looks, and vigorous in their first Charge, yet they will not stand after they are once wounded, but run away without any concern for their own Honour or their General's Safety.* *They are utterly dispirited under ill-fortune, as they are a most insolent People upon Success, having regard neither to Divine nor Humane Laws.* *To conclude, if being fatigued with long Voyages and Marches, you desire to see an End of this War, the Elbe^d is now nearer*

10

HISTORICAL NOTES.

b The Night was divided into Watches or Guards, each of which consisted of three hours.

c The Auspices were taken from the Flight of Birds.

d The Reason of this was, because the Romans would have the Elbe the Boundary of their Empire on that side, according to the Counsel of *Augustus.* *Coercendi intra terminos Imperii.* Ann. 1.

N 2

e The Elbe

to us than the Rhine, and as I follow the Steps of my Father and my Uncle, so I do not desire to carry my Conquests farther than they did theirs. The General's Speech was follow'd with the Acclamations of the Soldiers, and the Signal of Battel was given.

XV. Neither was *Arminius* and the rest of the German Nobility wanting to encourage their Men, telling them, that these were the fugitive remains of *Varus's* Army, who rebell'd to avoid the fatigues of War, of whom some having shameful Wounds on their Backs, others their Limbs disabled by storms at Sea, were now again exposed to their incens'd Enemies, without any hopes of success, the Gods being against them. Although they had gotten a Fleet, and taken the most unknown ways of the Sea, that none might meet them as they came, nor pursue them after they should be defeated; yet when they join'd Battel, they should find that Oars and Winds would prove but little succour to a routed Army. Let the Germans only remember the Avarice, Cruelty, and Pride of the Romans, and resolve either to defend their Liberty, or die with it.

XVI. The Germans thus encourag'd, and eager to fight, *Arminius* draws them down into a Plain call'd *Idistaviso*, which winds with an uneven space betwixt the *Weser* and the Hills, as the Course of the River gives way to it, or the Hills jet upon it; behind it grew a Wood of high Trees with spreading tops, but with void spaces betwixt their Trunks. The Barbarians^e possess'd themselves of this Plain and of the Entrances of the Wood, only the *Cherusci* kept the Hills that they might fall down upon the Romans when they were engag'd. Our Army marched in this order: The Gaulish and German Auxiliaries were in the Front, follow'd by Archers on Foot, next to whom was *Germanicus* himself with four Legions, two Praetorian Cohorts and the Flower of the Cavalry: After them as many Legions more, with Light-arm'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e Those, which *Tacitus* said, join'd *Arminius*.

^f Don

arm'd Soldiers and Archers on Horse-back, and the rest of the Confederate Troops, all of them being very careful to march in order of Battel.

XVII. *Germanicus* perceiving the *Cherusci* to advance boldly towards us, commands some of the best of the Cavalry to charge them in the Flank, and *Stertinius* with another Party of Horse to surround them, and to fall upon their Rear, promising that he himself would be ready to support them if there should be occasion. In the mean time appear'd an auspicious Omen^f, eight Eagles were seen to fly into the Wood, which as soon as *Germanicus* observ'd, he cry'd out, That they should march and follow the Roman Birds, which were the Tutelar Gods^g of the Legions. The Infantry charg'd them, and the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is Prudence in a General of an Army always to interpret Prodiges to his advantage; for nothing should be said to Soldiers, how Brave and Warlike soever they are, which may discourage them. Besides, a General

who lets his Army know, that he presages ill from any appearance or casual Event, is suspected to behimself under fear; which always produces bad Effects.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f Don Juan Antonio de Vera & Ullon, relates in the Life of *Charles V.* that as he was upon the point of giving Battle to *John Frederick* Elector of Saxony, there appeared an Eagle, which after it had flown for a long time round the Imperial Army, at last took his flight towards the North, as it were to carry the News of the Emperor's Victory. *Herrera* saith, that another Eagle came from the Turk's Camp, pitched on the Pavillion of *Sigismund Batori*, Prince of *Transylvania*, and suffer'd himself to be taken and manag'd like a tame Bird, *Lid. 21. Cap. 21. of the third part of his History*. It is reported in the Chronicle of *Paul Piasceki*, that the Scholars of the College of *Zamoyiski* playing one day in a Neighbouring Field, caught an Eagle, about which a Serpent had turn'd it self, which was taken for a Presage, that the Crown-General, *John Zaymoyiski*, who departed that day, to join his Army at *Cracow*, would soon rescue the Polish Eagle out of the Snarves of *Maximilian*, Arch-Duke of *Austria*, Elected King by the Faction of *Zborowii* and *Gorka*, who were for annulling the Election of *Sigismund*, Prince of *Suedeland*, 1587. If these Prodiges pass for Truths, I know not for what reason that which *Tacitus* mentions here, appear'd fabulous to *Lipsius*. He ought to have remembered that *Tacitus* saith, that as it would be beneath the Dignity of History to entertain the Reader with fabulous Stories, so it would be rashness not to give credit to what all People have published. *Hist. 2.*

^g The Romans had so great a Veneration for their Eagles, that they

the Detachments of Horse that were sent before, at the same time attack'd them both in the Flank and Rear, and which was most surprizing two Bodies of the Enemy fled counter to one another; they who were posted in the Wood fled into the Plain, and they who were drawn up in the Plain betook themselves to the Woods. The *Cherusci* who were posted betwixt these two Bodies were beaten from the Hills, amongst whom *Arminius*, who might be distinguished by the motion of his Hand, by his Voice, and by his Wounds, bravely maintain'd the Battel. He charges furiously on our Archers, and had broken them if the *Ætoli*^h, *Vindelici*ⁱ, and the Gaulish Cohorts had not supported them; however, through his own strength and the fleetness of his Horse, he made his way through them, having besmeared his Face with his own blood that he might not be known. Some say, that the *Chauci* who were amongst our Auxiliaries, knew him, but let him pass. *Inguimerus* escaped by the like Stratagem or Valour. Almost all the rest were slain, many as they endeavour'd to swim over the *Wefer*, of whom some were either kill'd by our Darts, or carry'd away by the Force of the Stream, or were sunk by the Weight of People that threw themselves into the River after them, or of the Banks that fell upon them. Some cowardly climbing to the top of Trees to hide themselves in their Boughs, were shot by our Archers, as Birds, by way of Diversion, and others fell to the Ground with the Trees which were cut down. This was a great Victory, and cost us but little blood².

XVIII. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

A Victory which costs little blood is a double Victory, and consequently this Name is not very properly given to Battels, wherein they lose fifty or sixty thousand Men, as the Spaniards did at *Ostend*. And this

HISTORICAL NOTES.

made them their Military Gods, and even preferred them before the other Gods. *Religio tota exornata*, saith *Tertullian* in his Apology, *signis veneratar, signis fovei, & suis omnibus preponit*.

^h The Gauls.
ⁱ The Bavarians.

k more.

XVIII. The slaughter lasted from Eleven a Clock^k in the Morning, until Night; so that for the space of ten miles all the Country was strewed with Arms and Dead Bodies, and amongst their spoils were found Chains which, as being sure of the Victory^l, they had prepared for the Romans. The Soldiers proclaimed *Tiberius* Emperor in the Field of Battel and raised a Monument, whereon they fixed, in the Form of Trophees, the Arms which they had taken, and inscrib'd underneath the Names of the Conquer'd Nations.

XIX. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

this was *Pyrrhus's* meaning, when he said, after he had gain'd two Battels against the Romans, that he was ruin'd if he should gain a Third. The Romans refused the Honour of a Triumph to Generals who had paid dear for a Victory, they refused it amongst others, to the Consul *Attilius*, who had made above seven thousand Samnites pass under the Yoke, because he had lost almost as many of his own Men; and to his Collegue *Posthumus* for the same reason.

1. *Quintus Curtius* saith, that there are no little Enemies. You strengthen those whom you despise. They who do things with fear, saith *Commines*, make good Provision, and succeed oftner than those who act with Pride and Security, *Lib. 2. Cap. 4.* The Emperor, *Frederick III.* said wisely, *that we ought not to sell the Skin before we have kill'd the Bear.* *Lib. 4. Cap. 3.* The Duke of *Alva* who promised *Philip II.* to smother the *Hollanders* in their Butter, had the dissatisfaction to see, before he dy'd, *The Union of Utrecht*, that is to say, The first Establishment of their Common-Wealth on the Ruines of

the Spanish Government. *Sebastian* King of *Portugal*, thought himself so well assur'd of the Conquest of the Kingdom of *Morocco*, that before his departure, he caused a Crown and Regal Ornaments to be made on purpose, to be used at the Ceremony of his Coronation in *Africk*; whereas he ought to have carry'd thither Funeral Ornaments. *Lib. 1. of the History of the Union of Portugal.* The Spanish relation of the Entrance of *Phillip II.* into *Portugal*, saith, that this Crown, which *Sebastian* carry'd with him, was made after the fashion of that of the Empire, because he intended to take upon himself the Title of Emperor, after the Victory, which he thought himself as good as possessed of. *Creyendo intitularse Emperador con las esperanzas de su victoria.* *Cap. 103.* It had been more for the Honour of the Governor of *Luxemburg*, not to have made a shew of Violin on the Rampart of the Town, in derision of our Army that was approaching it, and to have consider'd that he had to do with Enemies who knew how to dance to the Sound of Cannon.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k Forenoon.

N 4

l There

XIX. The Germans were more incens'd and troubled at the sight of this, than for their Wounds and their Defeat'. They that before thought of nothing but leaving their Countrey, and retiring beyond the *Elb*, now take Arms again, and will have another Battel. The Commons and Nobles, Old and Young, surprize the Roman Army, and put them in some Disorder. At length they Encamp on a Wet-piece of Ground, having a River on one side of it, and a Wood on the other, surrounded with a deep Marsh, except in one place, where the *Angriarii* had cast up a large Work to separate themselves from the *Cherusci*. The Infantry were posted in this Place; the Cavalry cover'd themselves in an adjoining thicket, that they might fall upon the Rear of our Legions, as soon as they were entred the Wood.

XX. *Germanicus* was ignorant of none of these things; he knew the Enemy's Posture, and their secret Designs', as well as what they gave out, and turn'd their own

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The Conqueror ought never to reproach the Conquered with his Victory. Such Monuments exasperate their Minds, and provoke them to revenge it, if they are Equals; and to revolt if they are Subjects. The Brass Statue of the Duke of *Alva* trampling under his Feet two Statues more, which represented the Nobility and Commons of the Low-Countrys, cost the King of *Spain* the Revolt of *Antwerp*, and of several other Cities. Wherefore Don *Luis de Requesens*, who succeeded him in the Government of these Provinces, enter'd on his Administration with the Demolishing of this Statue, not, said he, that so great a Man did not deserve this Honour, but to remove out of the Peoples sight, a Monument which shock'd them, and to give them hopes of a milder Treatment. *Herrera, Ch. 11. Lib. 3. of the second Part of his History, (1575.)*

Diodorus Siculus saith, that heretofore the Greeks did not suffer Trophies to be made of any other Materials but of Wood, to the end that these Monuments of Discord, (for so he calls them) might be soon destroy'd and consum'd, *Lib. 13. of his History.*

1. There is nothing more necessary, nor more useful to Generals of Armies than Spies, whom *Strabo* had reason to call the Ears and Eyes of Princes. God himself, as it may be seen in the Holy Scriptures, commanded *Moses* to send Spies into the Land of Promise. *The Lord spake unto Moses saying, send Men who may search the Land of Canaan, which I give unto the Children of Israel.* All the Instructions which a General can give to the Spies that he employs are expressed in this Chapter.

2. When

own Stratagems on themselves to their ruine. Having given his Lieutenant *Sejus Tubero* the Command of the Cavalry, with orders to draw them up in the Plain, he divided the Infantry, that one part of them might enter the Wood where the Ground was even, whilst the other part forced the Works which the Enemy had thrown up, and which, as being the most difficult to attack, he commanded himself², and left the other to his Lieutenants. They who were to gain the Even Ground, easily brake in; but those who were to force the Works, found almost as much resistance, as if they had been to scale a Wall. *Germanicus* perceived that they fought with great disadvantage so near, and therefore causing the Legions to retreat a little, he order'd the Slingers and the Engineers¹ with their Stones and Darts to beat off the Enemy from their Works: And they no sooner began to play upon them, but they galled them extremely, and dislodg'd them; especially those that were in sight. This Post being taken, *Germanicus* at the Head of the *Prætorian Cohorts* broke into the Wood, where the Germans made a stout Resistance. They were shut in by a Morass behind them, and the Romans by the River and the Hills, so that both were under a Necessity to stand their Ground, and no hopes but in their Valour, nor safety but in Victory³.

XXI. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When a General undertakes the most dangerous part himself, the Officers and Soldiers very cheerfully do all the rest.

3. Nothing makes an Army more invincible, than a Necessity either to Conquer or to Die. Count *Maurice*

of *Nassau*, being just going to fight the Battel of *Newport*, sent back all the Ships which had brought his Army to *Flanders*, telling his Soldiers, that they must either cut their way through the Enemy, or drink up all the Water of the Sea. Which was follow'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ These Engines threw pieces of Stone, of Lead, of Wood, and Darts, whose Iron Points were two or three-foot long.

in *Tacitus*

XXI. The Germans were not inferior to the Romans in Courage, but their disadvantage lay in their Arms and in the Manner of the Fight; for they being very numerous, and couped up in strait Places, had not room to wield their long Pikes, nor was their Agility of Body of any use to them, when they were forced to a standing Fight, without moving scarce a Foot: Whereas our Soldiers, who were armed with Breast-plates, and who had their Hands guarded with the Hilts of their Swords, made terrible thrusts at the large Bodies and the Naked Faces of the Enemy, and opened themselves a way by the Slaughters that they made. *Arminius* now began to flag, being either fatigued with continual labour, or disabled by a fresh Wound, but *Inguimerus* did his utmost to rally the Forces, and wanted rather Fortune than Valour'. *Germanicus*, that he might be the better known, took off his Helmet, and desir'd them to give no Quarter, telling them, *That they had no need of Captives, and that there was no way of ending the War, but by the entire Excision of the Nation*. Towards the Evening he retir'd with one Legion

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

followed with a Victory so much the more Glorious, as the Army of Arch-Duke *Albert* was much stronger than his. [July 2. 1600.]

1. Fortune may rob great Captains of Victory, but not of the Glory which is due to them, when they have acquitted themselves well of their Duty. We ought not to judge of them by the Success, which is oftentimes the Effect of meer Chance; but by their Conduct which shews their Ability, or their Insufficiency. Notwithstanding the Admiral *Gaspard de Coligny* had lost four Battels, he was so far from losing his Reputation thereby, that *Charles IX.* was even obliged to sue to him for Peace, so well was the Court satisfy'd that his Courage was much greater than the Malignity of his Fortune.

2. When two Nations have been Engag'd in many Quarrels, there is always either open War betwixt them, or Preparations for War; and whatsoever Peace they patch up, good Faith or Confidence is never found amongst them. *Aut bellum inter eos populos, aut belli preparatio, aut insidiosa pax.* *Paterculus Hist. 1.* For the hatred, saith the same Author, lasts longer than the Fear, and the Victorious Nation never ceases to hate that which is conquer'd, (although it has no more to fear from them) until it is entirely extinguished. *Odium ultra metum durat, & ne in victis quidem deponitur, neque ante inuisum esse desinit, quam esse desit.* *Ibidem.*

1. A

gion out of the Fight, to prepare a Camp, and the rest pursued the Enemy with a great Slaughter till Night. As for the Cavalry, they drew off without any advantage on either side.

XXII. *Germanicus* having made a Speech in praise of his Victorious Army, erected a Trophy of Arms, with this lofty Inscription; *The Army of the Emperor Tiberius having conquer'd the Nations which are betwixt the Rhine and the Elb, have consecrated this Monument to Mars to Jupiter and to Augustus.* He made no mention of his own Name', either to avoid Envy, or because he thought his own Conscience was Theatre enough'. He ordered *Sertinius* to march against the *Angriarii*, unless they would immediately submit, which they did, and by accepting

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A wise Minister ought to dissemble his own Glory, and refer all to the Honour of his Prince. The Duke of *Alva* having caused his Elogium to be put on the Pedestal of a Statue which he had erected for himself at *Antwerp*, with these Words in the Close, *Regis optimi Ministro fidelissimo positum.* *Ruy Gomez de Sylva*, a Favourite of King *Philip II.* said very smartly, That the Character of the most Faithful Minister, agreed very ill to him who robb'd his Prince of his Glory, *Strada Lib. 7. of his first Decad.* *Cabrera* adds, That Cardinal *Spinoza* and *Ruy Gomez* said, that to make this a Monument of the Duke's Fidelity, he ought to place King *Philip's* Statue there instead of his own, *Ch. 12. Lib. 8.* *Aubery du Maurier* observes farther, That *Alva* having built the City of *Antwerp* with five Bastions, he called four of them, after his own Name and Titles, viz. The Duke, Ferdinand, Toledo, and *Alva*, and the fifth *Paciotti*, which was the Name of the Engineer; without making any mention of his Prince, whose most faithful Minister he call'd himself, *In his Memoirs of Holland.* There is an Ex-

ample in the second Book of *Sansel*, which ought never to be forgotten by Ministers, to whom the Prince commits the Command of his Armies, or the Direction of his Affairs; *Jonah*, *David's* General, having reduc'd the City of *Rabbah* to a Necessity of Surrendring it self, wrote to *David* in these Words; *I have sought against Rabbah, and the City is reduc'd to extremity; Now therefore gather the rest of the people together and Encamp against the City and take it, lest I take the City and it be called after my Name.* *Ch. 12.* Cardinal *d'Osse* speaking of *Hilary of Grenoble* a Capuchin-Fryar, who boasted that he had an absolute Power over the Mind of *Henry IV.* Although, said he, he had given such Counsel to the King, it was more decent for a good Servant, such a one as he would pass for, to have concealed himself in it, and to have left the praise of it to the Goodness and Prudence of his Majesty, *Letter 251.*

2. Virtue hath its reward in it self, and the Wages of a good Action is to have done it, *Seneca Epist. 81.*

1. It

cepting what Conditions were imposed on them, obtain'd their Pardon.

XXIII. The Summer declining, some of the Legions were sent back by Land into Winter-Quarters; *Germanicus* with the rest Embark'd on the River of *Amisfa* to return by Sea; which was so calm at first, that there was no noise heard but of the Oars or Sails of a thousand Ships, but the sky being all on a sudden darkned with black Clouds, which pouring a Hail-storm upon them, and tempestuous Winds blowing at the same time from all quarters, the Waves ran so high, that they were neither able to steer their Ships, nor see their Way. The Soldiers unacquainted with such disasters, were under a great Consternation; and whilst they endeavour'd awkwardly to help, they hinder'd the Seamen. At last the Heavens and the Sea yielding to the Force of the Southwind, which gathering strength from a vast tract of Clouds, the rapid Rivers and High Mountains^m of *Germany*, as well as from the Cold Neighbourhood of the North, is generally very violent in those parts, and dispersed these Ships through the Ocean, or split them on Rocky Islands, or threw them on Quick-sands¹, whence those that were upon

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It hath been often observ'd, that Captains who have been Successful in Expeditions at Land, have always been Unfortunate in those at Sea. Every thing succeeded to *Germanicus*, when he fought at Land, and all things conspir'd against him when he was on the Seas. On the contrary, the Prince of *Orange*, who was the Founder of the Common-Wealth of *Holland*, was always beaten at Land, where he lost four or five Battels, whereas in a continu'd War of ten years he gain'd every Battel that he fought against the Spaniards at Sea, *Memoirs de M. Aubery du Maurier*. Thus it was not without rea-

son, that that brave Spaniard, *Julian Romero*, who had signaliz'd himself by so many Exploits in Land-fights, having been worsted in a Sea-fight, out of which he swam for his Life, said to the Governor *Don Lewis de Requesens*; "Your Excellency know-eth well, that I was no Seaman, but a Good Foot Soldier: I desire you therefore to trust me no more with a Fleet, for if you should commit a Hundred to me, it is much to be fear'd, that I should lose them all, *Bernardin de Mendoza*, Cap. 2. Lib. 11. of his *Memoirs of the Low-Countries*."

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^m *Tacitus* saith, That Mountains are the Cause and the Matter of Tempests, *Montes causa & materia tempestatum*. In *Agricola*.

a *Deo*

upon the return of the Tide, got off with great difficulty, were afterwards driven at the Mercy of the Winds, the Mariners not being able to cast Anchor, or to pump out the Water which broke into them. Their Horses, Arms, and Baggage were thrown over board to lighten the Vessels, which were often driven on their sides, the Waves beating over them.

XXIV. As *Germany* hath the most boisterous Sea, and the sharpest Climate, so this Wreck exceeded all others for the Greatness and Uncommonness of it. They had no prospect but of an Enemies Country, or of a Boundless and Bottomless Ocean, wherein some of our Ships were sunk, others cast on remote and desert Isles, where the Soldiers were starv'd for want of Food, except some that kept themselves alive with the Flesh of the Horses which the Waves had thrown up on the same Shores^a.

The

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a *Don Juan Antonio de Vera*, relates a Disaster altogether like this, which befel the Fleet of *Charles V.* at *Algiers*. Most of the Gallies, saith he, were broken to pieces, and most of the Ships perished in the Emperor's fight, who had neither Bisket nor Powder left; insomuch, that for the Subsistence of his Army that Night and the Day following, they were forc'd to kill Horses, and to distribute them through the Quarters. At last, after he had marched twenty Leagues, he Embarked his Troops at the Cape of *Metasuz*; and when there remain'd not a sufficient Number of Ships to receive them, he caused all the Horses to be throwa into the Sea, which increased the general Grief, every one being troubled to see these poor Creatures swim, and as it were, beg help from the Men who abandon'd them; for, according to the Proverb, a Man ought to have Humanity even for the Beasts that serve him. In the *Epitome of the Life of C.V. Cabrera* recites a Consolatory Letter, which his Son *Philip* wrote him upon this Disaster, wherein he said to his Father, "That to return from difficult Enterprizes, without Victory, never took from Kings nor Great Captains that Glory, which is always due to Martial Valour; the most Prudent and most Perseverous having lost as well as won; that he ought so much the more to comfort himself, because he had yielded to nothing but the Force of Fortune, which had conspir'd with the Elements against his Prudence and Greatness; that he ought never to be angry with accidents, which depended purely on Chance; that one hath acquitted himself well, when he has projected and ordered things well; that the good Fortune of *Augustus*, and that of King *Ferdinand*, Grandfather to his Imperial Majesty, by the Mother's side, appeared prodigious; and that nevertheless, if we compare their Successes with their Misfortunes, it is hard to say, whether Fortune was a Mother or a Step-mother to them, Cap. 2. Lib. 1. of his History."

The Galley in which *Germanicus* was, came alone to the Coast of the *Chauci*, where as he continu'd several days about the Rocks and Promontories, hoping to get sight of some of his Ships, he was always condemning himself as the Cause of this Calamity, and so sensibly was he touch'd with it, that his Friends had much ado to restrain him from

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are Men, saith the same *Antiqua de Vera*, who so shew that they are above Events, affect a Stoical Constancy in their Afflictions; and Glory, as of a Greatness of Soul, in not shedding a Tear, or changing their Countenance under the most sensible Calamities: But, for my part, I believe, this is altogether contrary to what they ought to do, because such People by their insensibility or their hardness, offend the Providence of God, who sends them these Afflictions. A certain Person hath said with great judgment, that *Job* that he might not be charged with Pride, lamented his Calamity, and expressed his Grief, even to the rending of his Cloaths, not that he had lost his Patience, but to shew his Docility and Submission. And this Doctrine concludes yet more strongly, when a People fall under some very great Misfortune by obeying the Will of their Prince; for in this case indeed, the Prince may glory of Constancy in not appearing to be affected, but not of his Gratitude: *St. Paul* saying, *that he who hath not care of his own, hath renounced the Faith and is worse than an Infidel*. And if a Passage of the Holy Scriptures is not sufficient to convince the Author, [who blames the Tenderness and Grief, which *Charles V.* expressed under this Adversity] he will have, it may be, a greater Difference to the Authority of *Tacitus*, who saith, that *Germanicus* being afflicted for the loss of part of his Army, ran up and down, accusing himself as the Cause of this Disaster, and was about to have kill'd himself. *Augustus* was troubled to

that degree for the loss of the Legions of *Varus*, that for several days he would eat nothing; and he was heard to sigh often in the Night, and to cry out, *Varus, Varus, give me my Legions*. It is therefore commendable for a Prince to be sensible of the Calamities of his People, and to give outward Expressions of it; but with all he ought not so far to indulge to Grief, as to neglect his Health, or the Publick Affairs. *Commynes* with reason blames the Duke of *Burgundy*, for shutting himself up above six weeks, after he had lost the Battels of *Granson* and *Moraz*. Which made an alteration not only in his Health, but also in his Sense and his Spirit. "Such, saith he, are the Passions of those, who seek not the true Remedies; and especially of Proud Princes. --- No man ought to be ashamed to shew his Grief to his private Friends; for this lightens the Heart, and makes the Spirits return; and if not, he ought to seek for some other Remedy, as Exercise and Business, and not to take the way this Duke took, to hide himself, and be Solitary, but on the contrary, to drive away all Austerity, *Cap. 5. Lib. 5. of his Memoirs*. Lastly, the same *Commynes* relates with commendation, what *Charles Duke of Berry*, Brother to *Lewis XI.* said on the occasion of 7 or 800 Men of *Count de Charolois* being wounded at the Battel of *Montlhery*, *That he had much rather that things had never been begun, than to see so many Evils come to pass upon his account*, *Cap. 5. Lib. 1.*

1. Mis-

from throwing himself into the Sea. At length the Sea settling, and the Wind favouring them, several Ships returned very much shatter'd, some almost without any Oars, others with Cloaths spread instead of Sails, and many so disabled, that they were tow'd by those that were in a better Condition. Having order'd these to be re-fitted with all haste, he sent them to the Isles in search of their Companions, by which means many of them were recover'd. The *Angrivarii*, who had lately submitted, brought several whom they had ransom'd from some of their Neighbouring Nations. Some who had been driven on the British Coast, were sent back by the Petty-Kings of that Island. Those that came from remote Countrys made strange relations of uncommon Whirlwinds, Monstrous Birds and Fishes, and Creatures half Man and half Beast, which they had seen, or which their fears made them fancy so.

XXV. As the News of this great Disaster that befell our Fleet, reviv'd the Hopes of the Germans, so it awakned the Care of *Germanicus* to prevent them. He orders *C. Stertinius* to go against the *Chatti* with thirty thousand Foot and three thousand Horse, whilst he himself with a greater Army invades the *Marci*, whose General, *Malovendus*, lately come over to us, discover'd that the Eagle of one of *Varus's* Legions was hid under ground in

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Misfortunes are so far from sinking the Courage of Great Captains, that on the contrary, they refine their Prudence, rouse their Activity, augment their Constancy, and accustom them to Brave dangers. The loss of *Ostend*, which after a Siege of above three years, was no better than one great Church-yard or Burying-place, inspir'd Prince *Maurice of Nassau* with a Resolution to take *Esclusen*, which was a Place of much greater importance, and which he

took in a few Days. The Arch-Duke *Albert*, having cut off two Regiments of his Foot, and four Troops of his Horse, which he had sent to take a Pass, he nevertheless the next day fought the Battel of *Newport*, in which the Arch-Duke was wounded; above six hundred men slain; the Admiral of *Aragon*, and several other Principal Spanish Officers made Prisoners; and all their Cannon taken, with a hundred and five Colours.

A There

in an adjacent Wood, and but slightly guarded. A Party was immediately sent out to attack the Enemy in the Front, and by light Skirmishes to draw them from their Posts, whilst another detachment was to wheel about behind them, and open the Earth where the Standard lay, and both succeeded. Wherefore *Germanicus* advances farther into the Country, which he lays waste, and presseth upon the Enemy, that durst not give him Battel, or whenever they did make resistance were immediately beaten, and as the Prisoners reported, were never under greater Consternation. For they now said, that the Romans were invincible, and to be broken by no Misfortunes, who after such a loss of their Fleet and of their Arms, after the Shores had been cover'd with the Carcasses of their Men, and of their Horses, fought with their wonted Courage and Vigour, and as if their Numbers had been increased.

XXVI. Hence the Army returned into Winter-Quarters, rejoycing that they had repair'd their Losses at Sea, by this prosperous Expedition, and *Germanicus* with his Bounty increas'd their Joy, by making up to every one of them what loss they had receiv'd; And there is no doubt but that the Enemy was brought so low, that they design'd to sue for Peace, and that the next Summer would have put an End to the War. But *Tiberius* by repeated Letters importun'd him to return home to the Triumph that

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o I have already observ'd, that the Romans reverenc'd their Eagles, as their Tutelar Gods. So that we need not wonder that *Germanicus* was so much concern'd to recover that Eagle which *Malvondus* gave intelligence of. For as it was ignominious to lose the Eagles, it was Sacrilege and Impiety, not to rescue them out of the Enemy's hands, when an occasion offer'd it self. It was for this Reason, that *Augustus* reckon'd it amongst his most glorious Actions, that he had oblig'd the Parthians to restore the Eagles, which *Craffus* and *Marc-Antony* had lost amongst them, *Sueton in his Life, and Paternus, Cap. 91. Lib. 2.* Charles V. set such a Value on his Standard, that when he was about to give Battel to *Francis I.* before *Landrecy*, he commanded those who Environ'd it, to save the Standard, rather than his Person, if it should come to that pass, that they must chuse one or the other. *Don Juan de Vera in the Epitomy of his Life.*

p The

that was decreed him; telling him, That he had seen variety of Events, had run hazards enough, and had fought great and successful Battels. That he would also remember the great Losses he had receiv'd, not through any Error of his own, but from the Winds and Waves. As for himself who had been by *Augustus* sent nine times into *Germany*, he did more there by Conduct than Force. It was by this way that he oblig'd the *Sigambri* to submit, the *Suevi*, and King *Marobodunus* to accept a Peace. That now the Romans were reveng'd and their Honour repair'd; the *Cherusci* and the other rebellious Nations might be securely left to worry one another by Domestick Quarrels. *Germanicus* desiring one Year more to compleat his Undertaking, *Tiberius* more briskly attacks his Modesty

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There was never a Captain so Fortunate, whose Undertakings have not been sometimes chequer'd with Misfortunes; and the greatest Generals of Armies, have had the greatest Disasters. Besides, that Fortune is fickle in War, there are a thousand Accidents, which the greatest humane Prudence is not able to foresee, nor able to prevent, if it could foresee them.

2. Men more easily wind themselves out of difficulties by aduels, than break through them by force. *Lewis XI.* the *Tiberius* of our Kings, obtain'd his ends of the King of *England*, and the Dukes of *Normandy*, of *Britany*, of *Burgundy*, and of the Dutchess of *Savoy*, who were all in a Confederacy against him, by as many Particular Treaties, which bailed all their ill designs. After the Death of the Duke of *Burgundy* he Re-united to his Crown *Peronne*, *Mondidier*, *Roie*, *Arras*, *Hesdin* and *Boulogne*, by gaining the Lord of

Cordes, who was Governor thereof. And *Commines* saith, that he could not in a long time have done that by Force, which he did by secret Intelligence, by the means of this Lord, *Lib. 5. Cap. 15. & 16.* And of all the Persons that I ever knew *Lewis XI.* was the most dextrous in getting himself out of the Briars in times of Adversity, and in gaining to his interest a Man that could serve or hurt him, *Lib. 1. Cap. 16.*

3. Jealous and Suspicious Princes, as *Tiberius* was, had rather lose a certain Good, than to be oblig'd for it to a Captain, whose Glory gives them jealousy. They love Conquests very well, but commonly they cannot endure the Conquerors. Cardinal *Richelieu* said, that there is no Prince in a worse Condition than he, who instead of governing himself with respect to the Publick Interests, hath Passion for his Guide; and who being not able always to do himself the things which he is oblig'd to, is ungrate

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p The People of *Guelderland* and *Friesland*.

q Philip

Modesty with the Offer of a New Consulship, which he was to execute at *Rome* in Person; adding, That if the War should continue, he ought to leave it as a Scene of Glory for his Brother *Drusus*, who, now the Empire had no other Enemies, could not acquire the Title of *Imperator*, nor merit a Triumph, unless in the German War[†]. *Germanicus* press'd it no farther, though he knew well enough¹, that these were no other than specious Pretences, and that he was recall'd through Envy, when he was at the very Point of accomplishing his glorious Enterprizes².

XXVII. About the same time *Libo Drusus* of the Family of the *Scribonii*, was accus'd of a Conspiracy against the Government. I shall give an exact Account of the Rise, Progress, and Issue of this Affair, because this was the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

uneasie to let them be done by another; and that to be capable to suffer himself to be served, is not one of the least Qualities which a great King can have. *Chap. 6. de la 1. partie de son Testament Pol.* Observe by the way, the Malignity of *Tiberius*. He calls *Germanicus* to the Enjoyment of the Consulship, and to the Honour of a Triumph, before he had compleated the Conquest of *Germany* to turn that into Grace and Favour to him, which he was upon the Point of meriting under the Title of a Reward. By this advance, he chang'd the Obligation, and would have that appear to be the Effect of Paternal Kindness, which was Ty-

rannical injustice.

4. Thus Princes endeavour to justify their Resolutions, by specious Reasons, notwithstanding they have power to command absolutely. Modesty serves for a Cover of the Injustice.

5. The more insight we have into the Thoughts of Princes, the less we ought to discover it; for nothing offends them more, than to shew them that we are more cunning than themselves. Part of our respect, saith *Tacitus*, consists in feigning that we understand nothing of their Artifices. *Intelligebantur artes, sed pars obsequii in eo, ne deprehenderentur* Hist.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

† *Philip II.* of *Spain*, a Prince who had much of *Tiberius* in him, dealt, almost in the same manner with his Brother *Don John of Austria*, in giving the Command of the Army in the War of *Grenada*, to *Don Lewis Fejardo* Marquis of *Felix*, under colour of easing *Don John* who had the whole weight of the Government of this Kingdom upon him; but in truth to take out of his hands the Glory of reducing the Rebels, which were already much weakened. *Diogo de Mendoza*, Cap. 5. Lib. 3. of the War of *Grenada*.

1 Monsieur

the first time those pernicious Practices were set on foot, which for a long time after afflicted the State, and prey'd on the very Vitals of it. *Firminus Catus*, a Senator, and an intimate Friend of *Libo*, puts this imprudent Youngman, who was apt enough to be amused with vain Hopes¹, upon trinketting with Astrologers, Magicians, and Interpreters of Dreams²; and to kindle his Ambition reminds him at the same time of his Illustrious Ancestors, that

Pompey

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The Predictions of Astrologers and Fortune-tellers, have in all times been fatal to Great Men, who have given credit to them; for either they have render'd themselves suspected to their Prince, as Persons who build their hopes on Revolutions and Opportunities which they wait for, or they have engaged them in Unfortunate Enterprizes, of which they would have never dreamt, if their Credulity had not blinded them. *Mariana* relates a remarkable Instance of this in *Don Diego*, Duke of *Viseu*, who being at the Head of a Conspiracy against *John II.* King of *Portugal*, had the Confidence or rather Rashness to go to the King, who sent for him; being persuaded that he should escape so great a Danger, because it had been predicted to him that he should reign; and that if the King seized him, he should be succour'd in the very nick of time, by all the Great Men that were engag'd in the Conspiracy. But he was mistaken in his reasoning, for the King stab'd him with his own hand; saying to him, Go and tell the Duke of *Braganza* the issue of the Plot which he

laid. Whereupon *Mariana* concludes with the Words of *Tacitus*, That Astrologers are a Generation of Men fit only to abuse Great Persons, by Vain and Flattering Promises, who have and always will find Belief and Applause in all Countrys, notwithstanding their Lies are so common, and so well known to all the World. *Lib. 24. Cap. ult. of his History.* 'Tis true, saith Father *Paul*, these Predictions sometimes come to pass by Chance, or by some other secret Cause; but most commonly they are the Cause that a great many Credulous People run themselves upon ruine. *Hist. of the Council of Trent, Lib. 5.* To conclude, it looks as if God permitted Great Men to be beset by Astrologers to humble them; for he hath always sent them so many Disgraces and Afflictions, as these Rascally Cheats have promised them Grandeur and Successes. These study only to make them Prognosticks, which set them above the Condition of Mortals; and God, on the contrary, sooner or later lets them see, that their Hopes are Vain and Wicked.

2. Behold

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 Monsieur de *Cinqmars*, Grand-Ecuyer of *France*, much resembled *Libo*; but with this Difference, that *Libo* was ruin'd by the Treachery of his Confident, whereas Monsieur de *Cinqmars* ruin'd his Confident, Monsieur de *Thou*; a Man of as great Virtue, as *Catus* was of Villany.

2.

1 Which

Pompey was his Great Grandfather; Scribonia, Augustus's first Wife, his Aunt; and the Cæsars his Kinsmen²; persuades him to a more Splendid way of Living, to borrow Money to support it; and that he might have the greater Evidence against him, becomes himself a Companion in his Debaucheries, and a Surety for his Debts.

XXVIII. As soon as Catus got witnesses enough, and some of them Libo's Slaves, who were ready to corroborate his Evidence, he gave Tiberius, by the means of Flaccus Vesularius a Roman Knight who had his Ear, some account of the Person, and of the Matter which he had to discover, and desir'd that he might himself have access to him. Tiberius did not slight the Discovery, but refus'd to admit him into his presence³, seeing whatsoever was to be said on either side, might as well be communicated by the intercourse of Flaccus. In the mean time, he honours Libo with the Prætorship; takes him to his Table; discovers not the least anger or strangeness in

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Behold here what is incident to most great Mens Children, their Governors foment their Ambition, instead of giving a Check to it: they entertain them with nothing but their Noble Extractions, with their great Alliances, with the Pretensions of their Family, which are very often imaginary; and with the great Estate they have in reversion, the Prospect of which plunges them in Luxury, and sometimes reduces them to a shameful Poverty. They puff them up with the Titles of your Highness and your Serenity; which in a little time will grow as common, as those of Count and Marquis, which are now taken by the Sons of Farmers of the King's Revenues, and such upstart Men: Inomuch, that if this Abuse continues, one may say in France and Italy what was said to the Emperor by an Italian Ambassador, who went from his Court in very ill Weather, That there was no

need to fear either Rain or Thunder, since his Imperial Majesty had fill'd the World with so much Serenity.

1. It is a Nicene's becoming the Prudence of Princes, to have no communication with Traytors. Guicardin commends it as a Noble Resolution of a Spanish Lord, who would not lend his Palace to lodge the Duke of Bourbon, Constable of France, who was come to Madrid. I can refuse your Majesty nothing, (said he to Charles V.) but I do declare, that if the Duke of Bourbon lodges in my house, I will burn it as soon as he hath left it, as a Place infected with the Contagion of his perfidiousness, and consequently not fit to be ever inhabited by Men of Honour. Lib. 16. of his History of Italy. And it is for this Reason, that they raze to the Ground, the Houses of Traytors, and sow the Place with Salt; that nothing may grow there.

2. There

in his Countenance, or in his Words, so dextrous was he in concealing his Resentments; and when he might have stop'd him in his courses, he chose rather to let him go on that he might know all²; Until one Junius who had been solicited to raise Infernal Spirits by Spells, discover'd the Matter to Fulcinius Trio, an Eminent Promoter, and one that was ambitious of making himself famous by Villanies³. He immediately draws up an Accusation

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. There is nothing more dangerous than the Silence of Princes, with respect to those whom they hate. For this Silence, as Commynes observes well, emboldning those who are in fault, to attempt imprudent things, gives the Prince an opportunity to take a full Revenge on them. Cap. 1. ult. Lib. 3. And speaking of Lewis XI. and of the Duke of Burgundy: The King, saith he, more effectually made War against him, by letting him alone, and by secretly raising Enemies against him, than if he had declar'd against him; for had the Duke seen a Declaration against him, he would have quitted his Undertaking, and so have prevented all that which afterwards came upon him, Lib. 5. Cap. 4. By a contrary Reason, a Prince can never do a greater Favour to his Subject, than to admonish him of his Faults, or to prevent him from committing them. Nothing can be more kind, than what Cardinal de Richelieu did to a Page of his, who was a Relation of the Messieurs de Marillac. Having asked this Page, Whether these Gentlemen knew that he was in his service, the Page answer'd, No, but that he intended to go and see them with the first Opportunity; not knowing that they were the declar'd Enemies of his Master: The Cardinal, who had a Kindness for this Youngman, said to him, Don't do it, if you would have me continue my kindness to you; but never speak a

Syllable of this that I have now said to you; for if you do, you must never expect any thing from me. Mémoires du C. de R. concerning the Ministry of the Cardinals de Richelieu and Mazarine. But to return to the Honour which Tiberius did Libo, to admit him to his Table, and to give him a Prætorship; I may say, that there are Princes who dissemble their resentments, as Horace's Eurypelus, who gave rich Cloths to those whom he would destroy, knowing that these Cloths would puff them up, and make them forget their Duty. Epist. 18. Book 1.

3. There are People of such corrupt Minds, that they had rather perpetuate their Names by detestable actions, than lead an obscure Life, which will never be spoken of after their Deaths. Tacitus saith Ann. 11. that the Greater the Infamy is, the more Charms it hath for great Villains. Such a one was Cabrino Fonduli, Lord of Cremona, who as he went to Execution, told his Confessor and those also that were present, that he repented of nothing more, than of having let slip one brave opportunity, which was of throwing headlong from the top of the Tower of a Castle, Pope John XXIII. and the Emperor Sigismund, who went up alone with him, saying, that this Action would have made him been talk'd of for ever. Pausan. Jovius in the Elogy of Philip Maria, Duke of Milan.

U 3

1. There

cusation against the Criminal, goes to the Consuls, requires the Senators to be assembled. The Senators are summon'd with this Notice, that they were to consult about a Criminal Matter of great Importance.

XXIX. In the mean time, *Libo* puts on a Mourning Habit, and accompany'd with some Ladies of the Greatest Quality in *Rome*, goes from House to House to intreat their Relations that they would appear in his behalf, but they excus'd themselves upon different pretences, but all from the same Fears. On the Day of his Tryal, being much enfeebled with Grief and Fear, or because, as some say, he would be thought sick, he was brought in a Litter to the Door of the Senate-House, where leaning on his Brother, in the most submissive manner, he begs Pardon of *Tiberius*, who appear'd not in the least mov'd thereby: By and by the Emperor reads the Accusations, and the Names of their Authors, with such temper, that he seem'd neither to extenuate nor aggravate the Crimes.

XXX. Besides *Trio* and *Catus*, there came also two Accusers more, *Fonteius Agrippa*, and *C. Livius*, amongst whom there was some dispute which of them had the Right to accuse him; but when they could not agree amongst themselves, and *Libo* came without an Advocate, *Livius* declar'd, that he would exhibit the several Crimes wherewith he was charged. Of which one was, That he had consulted with the Astrologers, whether he should ever be rich enough to cover the Appian way from *Rome* to *Brundisium* with Money, and the rest were much of the same nature, Ridiculous and Pitiful. Only there was a Writing in *Libo's* hand, upon which the Accuser insisted very much, wherein were the Names of the *Cæsars*, and of some Senators, with Dangerous and Mysterious Notes added to them. *Libo* disowning it, 'twas thought

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is a Proverb which saith, That the Unfortunate have no Kin-

dred. *Infelicitum nulli sunt affines.*

1. There

thought fit to put some of his Slaves who knew his hand to the Question. But because it was forbidden by an ancient Decree of the Senate, to examine a Slave by torture against the Life of his Master; *Tiberius*, who was ingenious at inventing new Laws, order'd *Libo's* Slaves to be sold to the Publick Register, that they might be examin'd against him by torture, without infringing the Law. Upon which *Libo* having desir'd that he might have

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are occasions wherein the Prince for the Safety of his Person, or for the Repose of his People, is constrain'd to accommodate the Laws to the Necessity of his Affairs. Politicians pretend, that the Laws consist not in words, but in the Sense which the Publick Authority gives them; and that they have no force but as far as the Prince lends it them, who is the sole legal Interpreter of them. Howsoever that be, a good Prince ought as much as is possible to avoid coming to new Examples of severity therein; for whatsoever the Cause or the Colour may be, the Novelty of the procedure makes him pass for Cruel. The action of Pope *Sixtus-Quintus* who order'd a Youth to be put to Death, who was under Seventeen years old, telling the Governor of *Rome*, that he would give him ten of his own years, that he might be of the Age requir'd by the Laws, this Action I say ought rather to be forgotten, than imitated.

* *Leti lib. i. part 2 of his Life.*

2. It ill becomes Princes to use certain tricks and shams of Art, to put a colour upon Frauds, and real Injustice. The manner of the same *Sixtus-Quintus's* dealing with the Author of a Pasquinade upon his Sister *Donna Camilla*, is another action that did no honour to his Pontificate. We have promis'd you your Life and 1000 Pistols, said he to this Unhappy Man, and we freely give you both, [for coming and

making the Discovery your self] but we reserv'd in our mind a Power to have your Tongue and both your Hands cut off, to hinder you from speaking or writing any more. *Leti lib. 2. part 2. of his Life.* It is of him that the *Pagliari* speaks in his 210 Observation, where he saith. We have seen in our days a Prince, who did not invent new Laws, but who extended the old ones to all cases which he had a Mind to comprehend under them; saying, that this was the Intention of the Prince, who made them, although these Cases were not express'd in them. Not only all *Germany*, but also all *Europe*, detested the Fraud which *Charles V.* put upon the Landgrave of *Hesse*, by the help of one word of the Treaty, wherein his Ministers slipt in a W instead of an N, so that in the Copy which the Landgrave signed, it was written *Euvige*, whereas the Minutes or the rough Draught had *Einige*; which entirely alter'd one of the Essential Conditions of the Treaty, which was, that the Landgrave stipulated to be sent back without any Imprisonment, *ohne einige ge fangnis*; whereas the Emperor on the contrary, having caus'd him to be arreſted by the Duke of *Alva*, said, that by the Treaty he was oblig'd only not to hold him in perpetual Imprisonment, as the Word *Euvige* signifies. *Heiff. li. 3. part 1. of his History of the Empire.* Don *Juan Antonio de Vera* endeavours to justify

have time given him till the next Day for his answer, went home, and sent, by the Hands of his Kinsman *P. Quirinus*, his last Petition to the Emperor; whose Answer was, that he must address himself to the Senate.

XXXI. In the mean time, his House was beset with Soldiers, who made such a Noise in the Porch, as if they desir'd to be taken notice of; so that perceiving what he was to expect, he was Melancholly at this last Feast, which he had made to take his farewell of Pleasure, and called for some body to kill him; laid hold on his Servants, and put a Sword into their Hands; but they trembling and drawing back threw down the Light that stood on the Table, and the Horror of the Darkness suiting with his design, he immediately gave himself two stabs in the Belly. His Freed man hearing him groan as he fell, ran to him, and the Soldiers retired at the sad Spectacle. The Accusation was still prosecuted in the Senate with the same Heat; However, *Tiberius* swore, that he would have interceded with the Senate for his Life, notwithstanding his Guilt, had he not prevented him by a Voluntary Death.

XXXII. His Estate was divided amongst the Accusers, and his Prætorship was given to some of the Senate before the Assembly was held for the Election of Officers. At the same time *Cotta Messalinus* moved, that *Libo's* Image might not be carry'd in the Procession of the Funerals of his Kindred. *Cneius Lentulus*, that none of the Family of the *Scribonii* might take the Sirname of *Drusus*. *Pomponius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

justifi'd *Charles V.* by saying, that the Landgrave had no reason to complain, seeing that a Promise to exempt him from perpetual Imprisonment, did suppose, that he was so to be imprison'd for a time. But this doth not remove the Difficulty; nor notwithstanding that the Landgrave had sign'd this Act, and that *Charles V.* had order'd it according to the Letter (*Exigebat*), being written in

it) yet he can't be excus'd from breaking his Word, seeing he knew, that the Landgrave and his Mediators, *Maurice Duke of Saxony*, and the Elector of *Brandenburgh*, had agreed; and capitulated for the contrary.

1. The Names of Traytors ought to be bury'd in Eternal Oblivion. To bear their Name, is to partake of their Infamy with them, and in some sort

ponius Flaccus, that a Publick Day of Thanksgiving might be appointed for this Deliverance. *Lucius Publius, Gal. lus Asinius, Papius Mutilus*, and *Lucius Apronius*, that an Oblation might be made to *Jupiter*, to *Mars*, and to *Concord*; and that the 13th of *September*, being the Day on which *Libo* kill'd himself, might be observ'd as an Anniversary Festival. I have given the Names and the Flattering Opinions of these Men, to shew that this is no new Evil in the Common-Wealth. The Senate also made a Decree to banish Astrologers, and Magicians out of *Italy*, of which number *Lucius Pituanus* was thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Stone. *Publius Martins*, according to the ancient Custom^s, was executed without the *Esquiline* Gate, the Consuls having first pronounced Sentence on him with sound of Trumpet.

XXXIII. In the next Assembly of the Senate. *Q. Haterius*, who was a Consular Person, and *Octavius Fronto* who had been Prætor, spoke much against the Luxury of the City; and a Decree pass'd, that for the time to come, none should be serv'd at their Tables in Vessels of Massy Gold, nor should Men wear ^t Indian Silk, *Fronto* went

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

fort to approve of what they have done. *John II.* King of *Portugal*, giving to *Emmanuel*, who afterwards succeeded him in the Throne, the Consecration of the Duke of *Viseu*, his Brother's Estate, made him take the Title of Duke of *Beja*, instead of that of *Viseu*, that this young Prince might not bear the Name of a Traytor who would have kill'd his King, *Mariana, Cap. ult. Lib. 24. of his History*. And since that time, there

have never been any Dukes of *Viseu*, notwithstanding *Emmanuel* and his Son *John III* had a great many Children. The Family of *Valieri* at *Venice*, is, as they say, a Branch of the ancient Family *Falieri*, which changed the first Letter of their Name, to shew, that they detested and execrated the Memory of the Doge, *Marin Falier*, who was beheaded for attempting to make himself Sovereign of the State,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^t Which was to whip the Criminal before his Head was cut off.

^t A very Rich and Costly Silk, much different from ours, in which the Great Men of *Rome*, so magnificent in their Habits, would have thought themselves poorly clad.

went farther, and mov'd that Silver Plate, Furniture, and the Number of Servants should be regulated by sumptuary Laws; for it was yet customary for the Senators to propose any thing else which they thought for the Good of the State, as well as to give their Opinion on the Matter already propos'd. *Gallus Asinius* oppos'd this, saying; *That the Empire being enlarg'd, the Wealth of Private Persons was also proportionably Encreas'd, and that this was no new thing, but agreeable to the Manners of our Ancestors. There was quite another manner of living in the Age of the Scipio's, than what had been in that of the Fabricii, and yet both suitable to the Condition of the Common-Wealth at those several times. When That was little, the Romans liv'd in little Houses; but after that was rais'd to such a pitch of Glory, it was but fit that its Citizens should make a greater Figure. That there is no way to determine what is Excess or Moderation in Plate, Equipage, and in those things which are for the conveniency of Life, but from the Riches of the Possessor. That the Laws had made a Distinction betwixt the Revenues of Senators and Knights, not for any natural difference that was betwixt them, but that those who were in the greatest Places and highest Stations, might be best accommodated with every thing that might contribute to the Satisfaction of the Mind, or the Health of the Body; unless they would have the*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is but just, that Princes who have so great Cares, and such laborious Employs, should have Diversions in proportion to their Toyls, that there may be such a Comfort betwixt the Mind and the Body, that one might not be a Burthen to the other. The nature of Affairs of State, saith *M. the Cardinal de Richelieu*, so much the more requires an unbending of the Mind, as the weight thereof is heavier than that of all other Affairs; and the strength of the Mind and the Body being limited, continual labour would in a little time exhaust them. It allows all sorts of honest

Diversions, which do not take off the Persons, who make use of them, from those things whereunto they ought principally to apply themselves. *The first Part of his Politick Testament, Sect. 5, Ch. 8.* But it is not with the Pleasures of Princes as with those of the Common People; it is their Mind that measures them, and not their Body. They keep a certain Mean, by the help of which the Mind grows stronger and more vigorous, in not applying themselves either to any business or pleasures, but such as are necessary to maintain a good Habit of Body, and consequently

the Greatest Men be oppress'd with a greater Weight of Cares, and be expos'd to more Dangers, and not be allow'd the means to sweeten their Lives, and secure their Persons. *Gallus* with these specious Colours, gain'd an easie assent from Persons whose Inclinations lay the same way; which, however, was no better than a Confession of their Vices². *Tiberius* added, That this was not a time for Reformation, and that if any dissolution of Manners appeared, the State should not want one to Reform it³.

XXXIV. Upon

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

quently, to continue still Princes. For in effect, they are not so, when Health fails them, seeing that Affairs are not dispatch'd, Audiences not given, their Designs broken or suspended, and every thing is at a stand upon the failure of the first Movement: Whereupon follow Complaints, Murmurings, Change of Minds, Tyranny in the Ministers, and Despair in the Subjects. In short, nothing is wanting to a Prince who hath Health, since without it there is no true Pleasure, and with it any labour is supportable, *Cap. 1. Lib. 9. of his History.* And in another place, he saith, that it is Health that makes great Kings, whereas Sickneß makes Subjects of them. And from this Principle he concludes, that Princes ought not to have much commerce with Women; the Frequency of which enervates the Vigour both of the Mind and Body, and is the Cause, that most of them die in the Flower of their Age, *Lib. 4. Cap. 2.* And speaking of the Dukes of *Joyeuse* and *Eproun*, who drew *Henry III.* to a Soft and Voluptuous Life, under a Pretence of taking care of his Health, he saith, That on the contrary, there have never been any Princes who have liv'd longer, than those who have employ'd their Minds most about the Affairs of Government, *lib. 12. cap. 11.* Witness *Charles-Emanuel I.* Duke of *Savoy*, and *Christian IV.*

King of *Denmark*, both of them the most laborious Princes of *Europe*, and both threescore and ten years old. Happy was that King of *Portugal*, (*Alphonso*) who having spent some days successively in hunting, met with Counsellors at his return, who took the Liberty to tell him, that at the Hour of his Death, God would not require an account of him of the Beasts and Birds which he had not kill'd, but of the Men whose Prayers and Complaints he should have neglected to hear. * Words that deserve to be Engraved on the Hearts of Princes. * *In a Spanish Treatise, Entituled, Audiencia de Principes.*

2. Men are always of that opinion which is most agreeable to their Manners; and by this Maxim we may make a good Judgment of their Manners by their Opinions,

Laudibus arguitur vini vinibus Homerus, saith *Horace*, *Ep. lib. 1. Ep. 19.*

3. Princes are never pleas'd to hear Discourses of Reformation; for under the Colour of reforming Luxury, and other Abuses, which creep into Civil Societies, the Censors often go up to the very Springs of Government, the Secrets of which ought not to be laid open to Subjects. Besides, the Reformation of Abuses is not proper to be made at all times. If Physicians need wait for a Proper time to purge a sick Person, a Prince hath

XXXIV. Upon which *L. Piso* complain'd of the Illegal ways of obtaining Offices; of the Corruptions of the Courts of Judicature; of the Insolence of Advocates; who menac'd People with Accusations; protesting that, he would retire from the City, and live in some remote and obscure Country, and at the same time went out of the Senate-House. *Tiberius* was incens'd, however he caressed *Piso* with fair words¹, and put his Relations upon using their endeavours to prevail with him to stay. A while after, *Piso* gave another instance of as great freedom, when he commenced a Law Suit against *Urgulania*, who was so much in favour with *Augusta*, that she thought her self above the reach of the Laws. As *Urgulania* instead of appearing to the Summons, went to the Emperor's Palace², setting *Piso* at defiance; so he desisted not from his Prosecution, notwithstanding *Augusta* complain'd that she her self was Affronted, and exposed thereby. *Tiberius* thinking it was but decent for him to shew so much complaisance to his Mother³, as to promise to go himself

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

hath much greater reason to use this Precaution, seasonably to apply the Remedies which are necessary to the Body-Politick, which is always charged with many humours, which it is dangerous to stir too much. A great Person said to some who spoke to him of the Disorders of his age; Let it run, it will die soon, for it is very sick. In the *Aphorisms* of *Anthony Perez*.

1. It is the Quintessence of Knowledge, to pass sometimes for Ignorant; and the greatest Victory of Reason, to suffer ones self to be overcome by the present Necessity. *David* himself put this Reason of State in practice. He was willing enough to punish *Joab*, for killing *Abner*; but it being dangerous to raise troubles in the beginning of his Reign, he defer'd the Punishment of this Crime, saying, *I am this day weak though admired King*, 2 Sam. 3.

2. It is of pernicious example for a Prince to permit his Palace to be a Sanctuary to those who condemn the Authority of the Magistrates. A famous Carver, who fled into *Arragon*, for having resisted the Justice of *Madrid*, could never obtain his Pardon of *Philip II.* notwithstanding that he was the best Workman of his Profession, and that this King had great need of him to work on the *Escorial*.

3. It is very becoming a Prince to be complaisant to his Mother, so long as it is not to the prejudice of the Laws and his Reputation. A certain Prince being importun'd by his Mother, to grant her an unjust thing, excus'd himself, saying, that she would sell him too dear the Nine Months that she had carry'd him. The *Pagllari* saith, after the *Goselin*, That that which ruined *Ferrante Gonzaga*,

himself to the Prætor's Court, and appear on *Urgulania's* behalf; and in order to it went out of his Palace, ordering his Guards to follow him at a Distance. As the People flock'd about him, he appear'd very compos'd, talking freely of several things as he went to prolong the time; in the mean time, *Piso's* Friends importun'd him to let fall his suit, but to no purpose; however, before the Emperor had reach'd the Court, he was acquainted, that *Augusta* had order'd *Piso* the Sum of Money that he demanded: So that the Issue of this Affair was not inglorious to *Piso*⁴, and very much for the Honour of *Tiberius*. But *Urgulania* grew so assuming, that she refused to come and give her testimony in a Cause that was heard before the Senate, so that the Prætor was sent to examine her at her own house; whereas it was always the Custom, even for the Vestal Virgins themselves, to come into the Courts whenever they were summon'd to give their Testimony.

XXXV. I would not mention the stop that was put to Publick Affairs this Year, but that it is worth the while to know the different Opinions of *Cn. Piso* and *Asinius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Gonzaga, Governor of *Milum*, with *C. V.* was his suffering his Daughter and his Son-in-Law *Fabritius Colonna* to intermeddle in recommending the Causes of private Persons to the Publick Magistrates. *Observation* 40. Queen *Margaret* blamed her Brother *Henry III.* for suffering himself to be influenc'd by the Persecutions of his Minions *Maugiron* and *Saint-Luke*, to that degree, that he went himself to sollicite a Law-suit for *Madame de Seneterre*, against *M. de la Chastre*, because the Latter was in the Service of the Duke of *Alençon* his Brother. *Lib. 2. of his Memoirs*, The Majesty of Kings, saith Cardinal de *Richelieu*, obliges them to reserve themselves for the Party of Reason, which is the only one that

they ought to espouse on all occasions. They cannot do otherwise, without divesting themselves of the Quality of Judges and Sovereigns, to take upon them that of Parties, which in some sort links them into the Condition of Private Men. Those who are to defend themselves against the Power of a King, know too well that they cannot do it by force, and therefore have recourse to Intrigues, to Artifices, and secret Practices to secure themselves, which often raises great disturbances in Kingdoms. *Pol. Test. part 1. c. 6.*

4. There is nothing more dangerous for a Great Man, than to come off with advantage from an Affair wherein the Prince's Authority seems to have been slighted.

1. It

Asinius Gallus, on this Occasion. *Tiberius* having said, that he should be absent for a few days, *Piso* was of Opinion, that they ought the rather to proceed in publick Business, it being for the Honour of the Common-wealth, that the Senators and the Knights could exercise their Offices in the absence of the Prince. *Gallus* seeing that *Piso* had prevented him in taking the Popular side, opposed him; saying, That nothing could be done with Majesty, nor suitable to the Gaudeur of the Roman Empire, but in the Emperor's presence, and therefore the Affairs of *Italy* and of the Provinces, ought to be adjourn'd until his Return. This Debate was manag'd with great heats on both sides, in the Presence of *Tiberius*, who held his peace; however *Gallus's* Opinion prevail'd.

XXXVI. *Gallus* had also a Contest with the Emperor; for he moved, that the Assemblies for Election of Magistrates should be held but once in five years; that the Commanders of Legions who had not been already Prætors, should be then chosen Prætors Elect; and that the Prince should then nominate 12 Prætors for every year.

There

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is the Duty of an Historian, as *Tacitus* saith in the Preface to his History, to relate not only the Events of things, but also the Causes and Motives which produced them, nothing can make a History more instructive, than faithfully to report the Opinions of those who have had a share in the Consultations of the Great Affairs which it speaks of. For it is in these Opinions, that we discern the Ability, the Interests, the Passions, and all the Good or Evil qualities of those who have deliver'd them. Amongst the Modern Writers, those who have excell'd in this kind, are the Famous *Fryar Paul* in the Histories of the Council of *Trent*, and of the Interdict of *Venice*; the *C. Bentivoglio* and *Strada* in the History of the Wars of the Low-Country; *Lewis Cabrera* in his *Philip II.* The

Author of the History of the Union of *Portugal* with *Castile*, attributed by the Italians to *Jerom Conestaggio* a Genouese Gentleman; and rector'd by Father *Beldazar Gracian*, and by some other Spanish Writers, to Don *John de Silva*, Count of *Portalegre* in *Portugal*.

2. A Republican Opinion, as *Piso's* was, was not in season under an absolute Prince. And although Opinions ought to be free, they ought however to be suited to the Form of the present Government. And it is thus that *Tacitus* makes a Roman Senator speak, who remember'd the Times he was born in, and the Form of Government in the City and the State, under his Fathers; that he admir'd the Past, and conform'd himself to the Present, *Hist. 4.*

1. Princes

There is no doubt but that there was a farther Design in this Motion, which struck at the very Soul of the Monarchy. However, *Tiberius*, who would seem to take it, as if it had been design'd to enlarge his Power, answer'd, That he could scarce with modesty chuse so many Persons, and exclude as many more at the same time; That if it is so hard a matter to prevent Discontents now the Elections are every year, and the Disappointment more tolerable, by reason of so near hopes, what hatred should he incur from those, who should be put out of a Capacity of being chosen in 5 years. Besides, what assurance could there be had so long before-hand, of the Continuance of any Man's Behaviour or Fortunes? Persons are so apt to be assuming upon annual Designations to Offices, how much more exalted would they be, when they have the Honour of them for five years, either in Possession or Designation.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes can't be too careful in examining the Opinions and Counsels of their Ministers; for it happens oftentimes, that they lose their Authority by the Methods which appear to them proper to enlarge it, for want of reflecting sufficiently on the Motives which they who advise them may have, *Ipse qui suadet, considerandus est*, said *Mucian* to *Vespasian*, *Tacit. Hist. 2.* *Ferdinand* the Catholic, told his Son-in-Law, *Philip I.* the Father of *Charles V.* That the Ministers and Counsellors of Princes, were like Spectacles, which although they are convenient for those who have not good Eyes, are of such a use that it is unfortunate to stand in need of them. The Treatise Entituled, *The Audience of Princes.*

2. Men, saith *Anthony Perez*, in the Epistle Dedicatory to his Relations, present themselves before Kings as a Picture, and with the best Colours, that Artifice can lay on. Thus, it is almost impossible, but Princes must be often deceived in the Choice of their Ministers and their Counsellors. *Cardinal de Richelieu* com-

ments thus upon this Aphorism of *Perez*. Oftentimes, saith he, Men have no sooner chang'd their Condition, but they change their Humour, or to speak more properly, they discover that, which they had dissembled until that time, to compass their Ends, *Section 1. Cap. 2. of the first Part of his Polit. Testam.* If, saith he in another place, the Mask with which most Men cover their Faces; and if the Artifices which they commonly make use of to disguise themselves, and conceal their Faults, keep them from being known, until that being possess'd of great Places, they appear as much Unworthy, as they were esteem'd Virtuous when they were chosen, the mistake ought immediately to be redress'd; and if indulgence may bear with some slight incapacity, it ought never to go so far in favour of particular Interests, as to suffer Vices which are prejudicial to the State, *Cap. 7. of the second Part of the same Testament.*

2. All

tion. That this would in effect, make the Magistrates five times as many as they are, and subvert those Laws, which to improve the Industry of Competitors, have limited the time both for acquiring and enjoying Offices. And with this plausible Speech he prevented the Diminution of his Power.

XXXVII. The addition which he made to the scanty Revenues of some of the Senators, makes the ill Reception which he gave to the Petition of M. Hortalus, who was notoriously Poor, the more surprising. This young Nobleman was Grandson to the Orator Hortensius, and Augustus, by the Gift of a Thousand great Sesterces, had prevail'd with him to Marry, that so Noble a Family might not be extinguish'd. Hortalus having plac'd his

four

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. All these Reasons conclude against the Perpetuity of Governments, which is spoken of in the first Note on the 7th Chap. of the first Book of the Annals.

4. Princes, saith Anthony Perez, get rid of a troublesome Affair, by answering upon some other Subject, quite different from what is propos'd to them, when they see that there is a design to surprize them. This Policy was much practis'd by Cardinal Mazarine, who affected to answer as if he had been at Cross-purposes, when any thing was desir'd of him which he was not willing to grant; or when he was spoken to upon a Business, on which he did not think it fit to explain himself. He told one of his Confidants, that nothing had been more useful to him in Audiences, than to feign some difficulty to express himself well in French.

1. *Ammirato* in the 8th Discourse of the second Book of his Commentary on *Tacitus*, saith, That it is the Glory of Princes to preserve the ancient Nobility, *perche a quanto piu nobili persone commendano tanto piu la lor gloria ne divien maggiore;*

That is, the more Noble Subjects they have, the more Honour and Esteem redounds thence to their Government. And half a Page after, he adds, "I am not ignorant that some may be ready to tell me, that I reason more like a plain Simple Man, than like a State-man, because the meaner Birth and the meaner Fortunes the Subjects are of, the more the Prince lives in Peace and Safety. — I answer, That my Intention is not to give lessons to Tyrants, but to shew what good Princes ought to be. [An answer which would give offence to many at this day, who make their greatness consist in the depressing of great Families.] As for *Ammirato's* reason for the Preservation of Illustrious Families, it puts me in mind of that, which a Duke of *Osbrook* gave me at *Venice*, to prove to me, that the King of *Poland* is the greatest of all Kings, *est enim, these are his own Words, dominus dominantium, & tot Regum Rex, quod Polacorum.* To whom I answer'd, That this reason proved, that his King was the least of all Kings; seeing that all the Palatines of *Poland* were Kings. And it was in this

our Children before the Door of the Senate, who met that day in the Palace, instead of delivering his Opinion on the Matter which was under debate, he deliver'd himself to the Senate in these words, (casting his Eyes sometimes on the Statue of *Augustus*, and sometimes on that of *Hortensius*, placed amongst the Orators.) I should never, my Lords, have troubled you with these Children, whose number and tender Age you see, had not my Princes commands prevail'd with me against my own Inclinations. My Ancestors have indeed deserv'd to live in a late Posterity, but when by reason of the Changes and Calamities of the times, I was not able to raise an Estate, or to gain the Affections of the People; or to acquire Eloquence, which hath been the Hereditary Riches of our Family, I was contented if my narrow Fortune would preserve me from Contempt, and from being a Burthen to others. It was in obedience to *Augustus* that I marry'd; and behold here the Posterity of so many Consuls and Dictators; which I do not mention to reproach any man, but to move compassion. These Children, *Cæsar*, may hereafter, under your auspicious reign and the influences of your favour, arrive at Honours; but in the mean time I beseech you, rescue them from Poverty;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

this Sense that the last Duke of *Burgundy* said unpleasantly, that for one King that there was in *France*, he wish'd there were six. *Communes, Chap. 8. Book 3. of his Memoirs.* Whence it follows, that the fewer great Men that there are in a State, the Greater is the Prince of it.

2. *Tacitus* confirms here what he hath said in the Preface to the first Book of his Annals, that Flattery which insinuates it self into Courts, corrupts brave Minds; and he takes notice farther, that it is much more difficult to arrive at honours in a Monarchy than in a Republick. Indeed *Hortalus* made here an odious Comparison, betwixt the ancient

Republick in which Eloquence flourish'd, and the Government of *Tiberius*, whereby he seem'd to say, that Eloquence expired with Liberty. By these words *avaritie temporum*, he offended *Tiberius*, who desir'd to pass for a Popular and a Republican Person, especially in the Senate, where he made as great a shew of modesty as he was able.

3. A single Life is the most commodious Seat, and the most honourable cover of Poverty. *Gaston Duke of Orleans* had reason to say of the Marriage of two Persons of Quality who had very little Estate, that Hunger and Thirst had marry'd one another.

Poverty, as they are the Grand-children of Hortensius, and the Foster-children of Augustus¹.

XXXVIII. The Favour which the Senate seem'd to have for him, was a Motive to *Tiberius* to oppose him², as he did in the following words: "If all that are needy should begin to come hither and beg Money for their Children, the State would be soon exhausted³ and they never satisfy'd. When our Ancestors gave the Senators a Liberty sometimes to make a Digression from the Matter in Hand; and instead of giving their Opinions upon that, to propose somewhat else which they thought would be more for the Publick Good; they did it not with an intention that the Publick Debates should be interrupted by Private Affairs, or that such things should be propos'd which must draw on the Prince and Senate certain hatred from the Petitioners, if the Request be denied, or from the People if it be granted⁴. Nor can these be call'd Petitions, but un-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. It is seldom seen, that a Prince shews favour to his Predecessor's favourites, for he looks upon them as the Creatures of another. And besides, he can no more suffer others to share with him in Acknowledgments than in Authority. And it is for the same Reason that most Princes make little account of the Recommendations which their Fathers make to them at their Death, in favour of their Ministers or other Servants, whom they have loved.

1. He that would obtain Favours from a Prince, ought to beware of asking him before those whose presence may seem to impose a Necessity on him to grant them. It was the Error which *Hortatius* committed, who trusted more to the Protection of the Senate, than to the Compassion of *Tiberius*.

2. The Prince who knows not how to deny, knows not how to reign.

If he gives to all who ask of him, he must give a thousand People, who deserve to have nothing given them. If I gave to all who ask of me, said *Philip II.* I should soon ask my self. *Cabrera Cap. 26. Lib. 12. of his Life.* By being too liberal, Men are reduc'd to an incapacity of being so at all. Therefore a Prince, who would be respected and well serv'd, ought never to suffer the Sources of his Bounty to be drain'd; for Men are more forward to do service for the Good they expect, than for that which they have receiv'd.

3. The People like a Frugal Prince better than a Liberal one, for they always believe that he is Liberal at their Expence, and that he would be more sparing if he did not reckon on recruiting himself out of their Purse.

4. A

unseasonable and importunate Demands⁴. When the Senate is met about other business, for a Man to rise up and press their Modesty with a Story of the Number and Age of his Children; and then to turn upon me with the same importunity, and as it were to break open the Treasury, which if we exhaust by Vain-Glorious Bounties, must be supply'd by ill practices⁵. *Augustus* gave you Money, *Hortatius*, but without importunity, and not with a Condition that he should be always giving you. If Men have no reliance on themselves, Industry will flag, and Laziness will grow upon them; and as long as they can securely depend on relief from others, they will do nothing for themselves, and be a constant Burthen to us⁶. This Speech, though it

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. A Prince who gives to deliver himself from the Importunity of those who ask, draws upon himself that of a thousand People who never durst have ask'd any thing of them, had they not known his Weakness. Besides, they are not oblig'd by what he gives, being persuaded that he would not give it, if he had resolution enough to refuse it. *Commines* speaking of *Henry IV.* of *Castile*, saith, "That this King was very weak or pusillanimous, for he gave away his whole Estate, or suffer'd it to be taken from him, by any one that would or could take it. I have seen him abandon'd by his Servants, and the Poorest King I ever saw, *Memoirs, Lib. 2. Cap. 8.* Indeed there is not a more Noble Error in a Prince than Bounty; but withall there is not a more Dangerous one, if it be not regulated by reason. The Spanish Commentaries on *Commines* speaking of that Instruction which *Lewis XI.* gave his Son, *Qui nescit simulare, nescit regnare*, adds, that *Charles VIII.* stood in great need to have been taught another Rule which his Successor

Lewis XI. made his Principal Maxim of State, *Nescit regnare, qui nescit negare, i.e.* He that understands not how to Deny, understands not how to Govern. There is no doubt, but that if this King, and *Don Henry IV.* of *Castile*, had govern'd themselves, they would have been better govern'd, than they were by their Favourites, *Cap. 34.*

5. The Liberality of Princes is oftner an Effect of their Vanity and of their Ambition, than of their Goodness and of their Justice. This Counterfeit Liberality is the Fault of all Kings who love Flatterers; and our Historians have very well observ'd it in our Kings *Henry II.* and *Henry III.* who abandon'd the Government to their Minions.

6. An able Prince ought to keep his Favours for those who do, or are capable of doing service to his State. *Machiavel* saith, that he ought by Privileges and Rewards to encourage People who excell in any art, and especially those who are well skill'd in Commerce, to invent whatsoever may enrich his Subjects, *Cap. 21. of his Prince.* It hath been a saying,

P 2

That

it met with Approbation from those, whose custom it was to applaud right or wrong, whatsoever the Emperor said or did; yet many mutter'd softly, and others by their silence shew'd their dislike⁷, which *Tiberius* perceiv'd well enough⁸, and therefore after a little pause he added, That he had given *Hortulus* such an Answer, as he thought his Speech requir'd; however after all, if the Senate thought fit, he would give his Sons two hundred great Sesterces a-piece⁹. The whole Senate thank'd him, only *Hortulus* said nothing, either out of Fear, or out of a Sense of his Noble Birth, which he retain'd in his lowest Fortune. Nor did *Tiberius* ever after shew him any Compassion, although his Family was reduc'd to scandalous Poverty.

XXXIX. The same year, the bold attempt of one Slave, if it had not been timely prevented, had embroyl'd the Empire in a Civil War¹. He was a Slave of *Posthumus*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

That Princes ought not to keep Fowls, which lay no Eggs. An Apophegm against Useless and Voluptuous Persons.

7. As it is dangerous to blame Princes, and shameful to flatter them, when they do ill, honest Men keep a Mean betwixt Complaisance and Liberty, which is Silence.

8. When Courtiers keep Silence, it is easie for the Prince to perceive, that they approve not that which they durst not condemn. Witness the Young Italian, who going into the Chamber of Cardinal *Savviati*, when he was in dispute with a Person who was playing at Chess with him, at first sight gave it against him, without hearing the Reasons on either side. And the Cardinal asking him, why he judg'd so, before he knew the Fact: *Because*, said he, *if you were in the Right, all these Gentlemen (pointing to the Company) could have immediately given it for you; whereas no body durst speak his Opinion, because you are in the Wrong.*

9. When a Prince gives a little,

and those to whom he gives are Persons of Merit or of Noble Birth; it is a sign that he gives unwillingly, and consequently that no more is to be expected from him. There are Princes who have not resolution enough to give a Denial: but who in revenge give such small Gifts, that notwithstanding they give to all that beg of them, pass for as Covetous and sordid Persons, as if they gave nothing. Such was Cardinal *Henry* King of Portugal. *The History of the Union of Portugal and Castille, Lib. 4.*

1. A whole Council hath work enough to settle a State that is troubled with Civil Dissentions, but there needs but one dangerous Man to disturb a State that is in Peace; especially if he be one who hath nothing to lose. *Anthony Perez* saith, That the Fear which the Lion hath of the Crowing of a Cock, and the Elephant to see a Mouse, is an Example which reacheth Princes, that the least Instruments are capable to put their Kingdoms in flames. *In his Apophism.*

2. They

humus Agrippa^u, named *Clemens*, who as soon as he heard that *Augustus* was dead, laid a Design that had nothing of the Slave in it; which was to rescue his Master *Agrippa* by Force or Stratagem from the Isle of *Plana*, whither he was Banish'd, and to convey him to the German Army. But the slowness of the Merchant Ship on which he embark'd, made him too late for this Design, *Posthumus* being kill'd before he came; which, however, put him on a greater and more hazardous Enterprize; for having stolen away the Ashes of his Master and gain'd *Cosa*^x, a Promontory of *Etruria*, he conceal'd himself in desert Places, till his Hair and Beard were grown long, intending to Personate *Agrippa*, being much about his Age, and not unlike him^v. After which, by means

HISTORICAL NOTES.

u In the last Age one *Cornelius Hock*, who liv'd at Rotterdam and marry'd there, had the Boldness to affirm that he was the Son of *Charles V.* and the People began to respect him as such, and to hearken to the Proposals which he made for the new Modelling the Common-Wealth, when the Council of Holland caused him to be beheaded and quarter'd at the Hague. 1583. *Herrera's Hist. Lib. 1. 12. c. 14.*

x In *Toscany* near *Porto-Hercule*.

y In the Year 1585. Portugal saw two Counterfeit *Sebastians*, one of them a Native of the Town of *Alcasova*, and the Son of a Tile-maker; the other named *Matthew Alvarez*, a Native of the Isle of *Tercera*, and the Son of a Stone-cutter; both Hermites, and drawn out of their Hermitage, to be imaginary Kings of Portugal. When a Report was spread through the whole Kingdom, that Don *Sebastian* had escap'd with his Life from the Battle of *Alcasir*; and that to do Penance for having been the Cause of the Death of so many Men, which fell in that Battle, he had retir'd into a Desert for seven years, the Term which the Portuguese by a Ridiculous Superstition, believe to be necessary for the Expiation of the Sins of a King, who hath lost a Battle. The Country People, who saw the Austere Life which these Hermits led, suspected, that this might be King *Sebastian*. The first was taken with the Imaginary Bishop of *La Garde*, who received the Alms that were given him, and had set down the Names of all those who gave; to the end, said he, that *Sebastian* might recompence them, when he should return to *Lisbon*. This Bishop was hang'd, and the King his Disciple sent to the Gallies, that the Incredulous and the Over-credulous might have the Opportunity to see him; and to undeceive themselves by seeing him, for he was not at all like King *Sebastian*. *Herrera, Cap. 18. Lib. 19. of the second Part of his History.* As for *Matthew Alvarez*, in the

P 3

beginning

means of his Accomplices he gives out that *Agrippa* was alive, which they whisper'd first in cautious and ambiguous Words, as they usually do obnoxious Reports; but it soon spread among the Credulous Multitude, and was readily entertain'd by turbulent Spirits, who are always dispos'd for Revolutions². About the Evening-twilight he went to some little Towns, but would never appear

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. They who hate the Present Government, have not a fairer occasion to Embroil the State, than that of a Counterfeit Prince, who sets up against the True one. When *Don Antonio* Prior of *Crato*, was not

able to succeed his Uncle King Cardinal *Henry*, he always countenanc'd the Belief, which the People had, that King *Sebastian* was alive, to raise a general Insurrection against *Philip II.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

beginning he was sincere; telling all those who took him for *Don Sebastian*, because he had the Air of his Face, and brown hair as he had, that he was the Son of a Poor Stone-cutter; but when he saw that his words were interpreted to proceed from Humility, and from a Desire not to be known, and that the more he deny'd himself to be *Don Sebastian*, the more obstinate they were in believing it; he cunningly confirm'd in their Error, those who would not be cur'd. He rose at Midnight to give himself discipline, and beg'd leave of God to discover himself to his Subjects, and to return to the Throne of his Ancestors. An Artifice, which succeeded as he desir'd with those who were within hearing. For they being persuaded after this, that he was the True *Sebastian*, stuck not to publish it every where. In fine, all the People flocking about him, to kiss his hand, he acknowledg'd that he was *Don Sebastian*, and eat in publick with all the Royal Ceremonies in the little City of *Rezeira*, or *Elzeira*. And some days after he had the Confidence to write a Letter to the Arch-Duke Cardinal *Albert*, Viceroy of *Portugal*, in which he commanded him in rough terms immediately to quit his Palaces, because he was coming to take possession of his Throne. The Arch-Duke sent *Diego de Fonseca* with some Forces to the Place. *Alvarez* had about a thousand Men, which after some resistance were defeated, and as he fled the third Day through Rocks, he was taken and carried with his two Companions to *Lisbon*, where his hand being first cut off, he was Hang'd and Quarter'd. *Herrera*, c. 18. and 19. of the same Book. It is not amiss to observe here by the way, that the Incredulity of the Portuguese about the Death of King *Sebastian*, was grounded upon that of King Cardinal *Henry*, who would never dwell in the Palace Royal at *Lisbon*, out of respect to *Sebastian*, whom he believed to be yet alive. For before his Coronation he dwelt in the House of the Duke of *Bragansa*, and after it he took for his Palace, the House of *Martin Alphonso de Sousa* near the Cordeliers. Cap. 4. and 6. of a Relation, Entituled, *La Entrada de Don Felipe en el Reino de Portugal*.

appear publicly, nor stay long in a Place, because Truth is confirm'd by Sight and Continuance, and Imposture gains credit by Precipitation and uncertain Abode; he commonly came to a Place before he was expected, and left it as soon as he was known to be there; that he might prevent too curious Observation, or at least leave them in suspense.

XL. In the mean time, it was generally reported through *Italy*, that *Agrippa* was by the special Providence of the Gods preserv'd alive. It was believ'd at *Rome*, that he was already come to *Ostia*, and he was all the subject of Discourse in their private Cabals. *Tiberius* unresolv'd whether he should chastize the Slave by force of Arms, or leave the Peoples Credulity to be undeceiv'd by time, fluctuated betwixt Hope and Fear², sometimes considering that nothing was to be slighted³, and again that not every thing was to be fear'd. At last he commits the Conduct of the Business to *Salustius Crispus*, who order'd two of his Creatures (some say they were Soldiers) to go to *Clemens*, and pretending to know his whole Affair, to engage their Lives and Fortunes in his Service, and as a Pledge of their Fidelity, to present him with a Sum of Money. They punctually execute their Orders; after which, having found a Night when he was un-

guarded,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. People easily believe that to be true, which they desire should be so; for Desire, when it is not guided by Reason, finds probability in the most impossible things.

2. On such Occasions, where the People side with the Male-content, it is prudent and safe to Fear. It is an honour, saith *Commines*, to fear what one ought, and to provide well against it. Those who win have always the Honour, cap. 5. lib. 3. & 9. of lib. 5. If *Diego de Fonseca* had punish'd the Portuguese Gentleman, (*Herrera* calls him *Don Diego de Melo*) who enter'd *Brazille* by the

Name of King *Sebastian*, and who had been that day at the Battel of *Alcasser*, they would possibly never have thought fit to have reviv'd him again, to impose upon the World, *Cabrera*, cap. 9. lib. 12; and *Herrera*, cap. 14. lib. 8. of their Histories.

3. Great Conflagrations arise from little Sparks: whosoever extinguishes one of them, knows not what a Fire he hath prevented; but to know that, if he leaves one of them unextinguish'd, he will find himself it may be in such extremity, as he is not capable to remedy. C. 8. Part 2. of the Politick Testament.

guarded, they seiz'd him with a strong Party of Soldiers, which they had ready, and hurry'd him away to Rome gag'd and bound. It is said, that when he was brought before Tiberius, and ask'd by him, *How came you to be Agrippa?* He answer'd, *As you came to be Tiberius.* He could not be brought to discover his Accomplices; nor durst Tiberius suffer him to be executed publicly, but commanded him to be put to Death in a secret Part of the Palace, and his Body to be privately carry'd out. And although he was inform'd, that several Courtiers and Senators, had assisted him with their Counsel and Money; yet no farther enquiry was made².

XLII. Towards

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. There are Occasions wherein it is dangerous to proceed according to the ordinary Forms of Justice. A publick Punishment had been more Honour than Shame to this Counterfeit Agrippa, whom the People did not look upon as an Impostor, but as a Man who design'd to revenge his Master's Death. And besides, possibly the People might not have been idle Spectators of his Execution. If John II. King of Portugal had refer'd the Duke of Viseu to the ordinary Court of Justice, he would it may be have given success to this Duke's Conspiracy, who had almost all the Great Men his Accomplices; or at least he would have run the risk of a General Insurrection.

5. A Prince who causes Criminals to be executed in secret, exposes himself to the Suspicion and Reproach of having put them to Death unjustly. Wherefore, all Executions ought to be Publick, either for Example, or for the Honour of the

Prince; unless it be some matter, which the People ought not to know, or some Person on whose behalf they may desire to make an Insurrection. Don Juan de Vega, answer'd a Lady of Palermo, who offer'd a hundred thousand Ducats, that her Husband might not be Executed at the publick Place, *La justicia no tiene lugar, si no se haze en su lugar*; that is, Justice takes not place, if it be not done in its Place. *Gracian Discourse, 30 of his Agudeza.* When there is a great Number of People involv'd in a Conspiracy, or any attempt against a Prince or State; and consequently, that it requires a long Inquiry to discover them all, it is more expedient for him to dissemble, that he may not irritate Wasps. All Punishment, which is extended far, how just soever it be, passes not for an Act of Justice, nor for Example; but for a Butchery, and makes the Prince hated as Sanguinary.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2 A Courier who was carrying Letters from several Protestant Princes and Lords of Germany, to the Landgrave of Hesse, being taken by some Captains of Charles V. they found among his Dispatches, a Memorandum

XLII. Towards the End of this Year, a Triumphal Arch was erected near Saturn's Temple, for the recovery of the Eagles, by the Conduct of Germanicus, and under the Auspices of Tiberius, a Temple was dedicated to *Fors Fortuna*^a, in the Gardens near the Tiber, which Julius Caesar bequeath'd to the People of Rome. A Chapel to the Family of the Julii, and Statues to Divine Augustus, in a Place call'd the *Bovillæ*.

770 Years after the Building of Rome.

XLII. IN the Consulship of C. Cælius, and L. Pomponius, on the 26th of May, Germanicus triumph'd for his Victories over the *Cherufci, Chatti, Angrivarii*, and the rest of the Nations lying betwixt the Rhine and the Elb. Spoils, Captives and Pictures of the Mountains, Rivers, and Battels, were carried before him; (as if the War had been ended, because he would have made an end of it had he not been Countermanded) but the Comeliness of Germanicus's Person, sitting in his Triumphal Chariot with his Five Children, added much to the Splendor of the Show, and the satisfaction of the Spectators. But secret Fears allay'd the Joy of those, who consider'd, that the Favour of the People had not been fortunate to his Father Drusus; that his Uncle Marcellus was snatch'd from their Affections in the Bloom of his Youth, and

HISTORICAL NOTES.

of Succours which they offer'd him, in order to continue the War against the Emperor; but this Prince, without reading any more than the Title, threw it into the Fire, judging, as Julius Caesar, who would not read the Letters sent to Pompey from the Nobility of Rome, that the most agreeable way to Pardon was voluntarily to be ignorant of the Offence. *Epitome of his Life, by Don Juan Ant. de Vera.*

^a Tacitus saith, *Aedes Fortis Fortunæ*. There was at Rome a Fortune, named *Fors Fortuna*, as if one should say, Casual Fortune, or Fortune which decides the Lot of War. With which may agree *Prosperous Fortune*, which Radolph the Master gave her. This Goddess had a Temple first at Rome, under the Reign of Servius Tullius, and receiv'd then Gifts of those, who liv'd on their Rents, without being of any Trade.

b About

and that the Love of the People of *Rome* was commonly fatal, and an Omen of short Life to those they lov'd¹.

XLIII. *Tiberius* gave the People three hundred Sesterces^b a Man in *Germanicus's* Name, and nominated him for his Collegue in the Consulship^c; but after all this he was not believ'd to be sincere in his Affection to him¹, and the less when it was known that he resolv'd to send him from Court, pretending it was for his Honour; and in order to it contriv'd Occasions, or laid hold on the first that offer'd. *Archelaus* had reign'd fifty years in *Cappadocia*, and was hated by *Tiberius*^d, because he had never paid him any respect during his retreat at *Rhodes*², which *Archelaus* did not omit out of any neglect of *Tiberius*.

us,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Great Man who hath the Favour of the People, and cultivates it by popular actions, as *Germanicus* did, and his Father had done, is always hated by his Prince; either because such a Subject seems not to stand in need of his Favour; or because a Man who hath the People at his Devotion, exposes himself to a thousand Suspicions, which his Rivals have opportunity to raise and foment in the Prince's Mind. Infomuch, that this Great Man must fall soon or late, if he continues at Court, or amongst the People whose Idol he is. Every body knows what the Battel of *Bariedes*, May 12. 1588. cost the Duke of *Guise*, when the *Parisians* declar'd so openly for

him, that *Henry III.* was forc'd to leave the City. To conclude, as the Hatred of the People, is the reward of the Prince's Favourites, the Hatred of the Prince is reciprocally the reward of the Peoples Favourites.

1. When the Prince is hated, his sincerest actions are mis-interpreted; but above all, the Careless and Honours which he doth to a Great Man, whom the People knows or imagines that he doth not love.

2. *Commines* saith, that most People have naturally an Eye to aggrandize or to save themselves, and this is the Reason, that they easily range themselves on the strongest side, *Memoirs l. 1. c. 9.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b About thirty five Shillings in our Money.

^c It is to be observ'd, That all the Collegues of *Tiberius's* Consulships came to Unfortunate Ends: *Quintilius Varus* by Despair; *Germanicus* and *Drusus* by Poyson; *Piso*, Governor of *Syria*, and *Sejanus*, by the Sentence of the Senate.

^d *Dio* saith, that when *Archelaus* was accused by his Subjects before *Augustus*, *Tiberius* pleaded his Cause in the Senate. So that *Tiberius* might hate him for his Ingratitude, *Lib. 14.*

Established

us, but by the Directions of the Principle Favourites of *Augustus*, who were of Opinion, that it was not safe for him to hold any correspondence with *Tiberius*, whilst *C. Caesar* was living, and had the Government of the East³. But when *Tiberius* came to the Empire upon the Extinction of the Family of the *Caesars*; he wheedles *Archelaus* by his Mother's Letters to come to *Rome*, who not dissembling her Son's displeasure assur'd him withal, that he would pardon him upon his Submission⁴. He not suspecting

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The Counsel which *Augustus's* Ministers gave *Archelaus*, was according to all the Rules of Policy, and so much the more because that *Gaius Caesar* had also two Brothers, and that they were all three younger than *Tiberius*. Notwithstanding, this Counsel was the principle Cause of this King's ruine. An instance that Humane Prudence serves for the sport of Fortune; which, to speak with *Polibius*, often takes delight to give the greatest Actions of Men, an issue directly contrary to what they design'd, *Hist. 2.* All that *Archelaus* could have done, was to have carry'd himself after such a manner towards these two Princes, as to have honour'd *Calus* as the Principal, and *Tiberius* as Subordinate, which would not have given jealousy to *Gaius*, nor have affronted *Tiberius*, who had not himself retir'd to *Rhodes*, but that he might not by his presence obscure the Glory of the Grandsons of *Augustus*, who were enter'd on Employments. In fine, Evils that are very remote and not certain, ought not to hinder a Prudent Man, from making his advantage of the present Conveniencies; for if one must take into consideration all accidents that may happen one, what can one ever resolve with safety? When *Ferdinand* the Catholic came to take possession of his

Kingdom of *Spain*, he said to *Don Antonio de la Cueva*, who notwithstanding he had receiv'd many favours from him, prefer'd *Philip I.* King of *Castile* before him: *Who could have thought, Don Antonio, that you would have abandon'd me on this Occasion? But, Sir, reply'd La Cueva, who could have thought, that a very old King had longer to live than a Young one; and that Philip fresh and blooming like a Rose was to wither and die in three days? * Such is the Method of all Courtiers, they adore the Rising, and turn their backs on the Declining Prince, Epitome of the Life of Charles V. and Lib. 3. of the Life of the Great Captain.*

4. Princes who have been neglected, despised, or persecuted by the Favourites or Ministers of their Predecessors, rarely forgive them when they come to reign. As soon as the Cardinal *Henry of Portugal* came to the Throne, he abandon'd all the Ministers of King *Sebastian*, and all the Principal Officers of the Crown, who (little thinking that he, who was so old, would survive *Sebastian*, who was Young, and who had no great Esteem or Affection for him) had not paid him that respect which was due to his Rank. *Hist. of the Union of Portugal with Castile, Lib. 3.*

5. Things

suspecting Treachery, or not daring to shew his suspicions if he did, for fear of the Emperor's Power, hastens to Rome, when meeting with a rough Reception from Tiberius, and an Accusation against him in the Senate, he soon ended his Days, whether by a Natural or a Voluntary Death is not certain; not that he was believ'd to be conscious of those Crimes charg'd upon him, which were meer fictions; but because he was broken with Age and Grief, and a Treatment that is unusual to Kings; to whom a Moderate Fortune is unsupportable, so little able are they to bear Contempt and Misery¹. His Kingdom was reduc'd into the Form of a Province, and Tiberius declar'd, that by the Addition of the Revenues of it, Rome should be eas'd of one half of the Tax of the hundredth Penny^e impos'd on all Commodities that were sold; and that for the future no more than the two Hundredth should be paid. The Death of Antiochus King of Comagena, and of Philopator King of Cilicia, which happen'd both about the same time, produc'd great disorders in those Nations; some desiring to be govern'd by Kings of their own, others to be Subject to the Roman Empire. The Provinces

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. Things that are tolerable appear insupportable to Kings, and those which are really rough and hard to bear, are almost always mortal to them. Commynes comparing the Evils which Lewis XI. had made many persons suffer, with those which he suffer'd himself before his Death, saith, that his were neither so great nor of so long continuance; but besides that he was in a higher Station in the World than those he had treated

ill; the little that he suffer'd against his Nature, and against what he was accusom'd to, was harder for him to bear. And four Pages after, speaking of his Physician who handled him in the rudest manner: This was, saith he, a great Purgatory to him in this World, considering the Obsequies which he had had from so many good and great Men. *His Memoirs, lib. 6. cap. 12.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e Establish'd by Augustus, about the Year 760. It is spoken of at the End of the first Book of the Annals.

f See

of Syria and Judæa groaning under the Burden of Taxes, petition'd to be discharg'd of part of them.

XLIV. He acquainted the Senate with those Affairs, and with the State of Armenia, of which I have given an account before; telling them withal, that the Troubles of the East could not be compos'd without the Presence and Conduct of Germanicus¹ who was the fittest Person for this Expedition, Drusus being too young, and himself in his declining years². Upon which the Senate decreed Germanicus all the Provinces beyond the Seas, with a more absolute Power, than those Governors who obtain'd them by Lot, or by the Prince's Nomination. But Tiberius had first recall'd Creticus Silanus from Syria, because he was ally'd to Germanicus³, by the Contract of the Daughter

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Great Man is so belov'd of the People, that the Prince is Jealous of him, but dares not shew his resentment of it, the most common expedient is to give him some remote Government, or some splendid Embassy, to with-draw him from the Eyes and the Applause of the People; under a pretence that none but he is capable of that Employment. For if the Prince hath a Design to destroy him, he easily finds ways for it by the advantage of his distance, which prevents the People from knowing the Orders that he sends.

2. There are some Employments, for which a good Understanding with a long Experience is sufficient; but there are others, for which vigour of body is also necessary. Philibert-Emanuel, Duke of Savoy, said, that a General of an Army ought to be of a middle Age, betwixt Manhood and Old Age, that he might be capable of being sometimes Marcellus and sometimes Fabius; That is to say, to know how to wait for Opportunities as the Latter, and to fight as the Former. Charles V. said of a Count of Favia, that by his Prudence he commanded as a Captain, and

that his Vigour made him fight as a Common Soldier, *Epitome of his Life.*

3. There is nothing more dangerous than to give two Neighbouring Governments to two Men, betwixt whom there is a Close tie of Kindred, Friendship, or Interests; for it is to give them an opportunity to act by concert, and to rebel against the Prince. Lewis XI. having agreed by the Treaty of Peronne to give for Appanage to his Brother Charles, Champagne, Brie, and some neighbouring Places, was careful enough not to accomplish this Treaty, which left him to the Discretion of Charles and of the Duke of Burgundy. For the situation of Champagne and Brie was convenient for them both; and Charles might upon a Days notice have succours from Boulogne, the two Countreys joyning together. So that Lewis chose rather to give him Guienne, with Rochel, although this Partition was of much greater value, than that of Brie and Champagne; being resolv'd that his Brother and the Duke should not be so near Neighbours. *Commynes, lib. 2. cap. ult. of his Memoirs.*

4. It

Daughter of the Former, to *Nero* the Eldest Son of the Latter, and had put *Cneius Piso* in his Place; a Man of a Violent and Untractable temper, that inherited all the Haughtiness of his Father *Piso*, who had been so zealous and vigorous a Supporter of the Civil War against *Cæsar*, when it was reviv'd in *Africk*, who follow'd the Party of *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and who after he had Liberty to come to *Rome*, never vouchsafed to put in for any Office⁴, until he was courted by *Augustus* to accept the Consulship. But he had not only his Father's Spirit, but the Nobility and Riches of his Wife *Plancina* to exalt him⁵; insomuch, that he would scarce yield to *Tiberius*, and thought himself much above his Sons. Nor did he believe that the Government of *Syria* was given him for any other Reason, but that he might be a Check on *Germanicus*⁶, and many believ'd, that *Tiberius* gave him se-
cret

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. It is not always a sign of Modesty not to sue for Offices and Honours; on the contrary, it is often a sign of Pride and Presumption: for there are people who have so great an Opinion of themselves, that they hold it for a Dishonor to have Competitors; and there are others who believe themselves to be so necessary to the State, that the Prince will be constrain'd to offer them what they would not ask. As *Albert Walslein* obstinately refus'd the Generalship of the Emperor's Armies, that he might be forc'd to accept that which the Extremity of the Affairs oblig'd the Emperor to offer him.

5. A Governor of a Province, who knows that another Governor his Neighbour is hated or suspected by

the Prince, never fails to make his Court, at the Expence of his Colleague, either by heightning the Suspicions of the Prince, or by raising Complaints, which may hasten the ruine of him, whom they design to sacrifice. But besides, of what use to *Germanicus* was that absolute Power, which the Senate decreed him, since he had an imperious Supervisor, that was inflexible and charged with orders altogether contrary to his Commission. *Germanicus* had the Name and Show of Governor, and *Piso* the Power. Don *Diego de Mendoza* speaking of the sending of Don *John of Austria* into *Granada*, saith, that his Commission was so large that it extended to every thing; but that his Liberty was

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f She was the Daughter of *Munatius Plancus*, a Consular Person, who is mention'd in the 33 Chapter of the First Book of these Annals.

^g *Vipsania*

cret Instructions to this Purpose. It is certain, that *Augusta* out of an Emulation too incident to some of her Sex, encourag'd *Plancina* to teaze and contend with *Agrippina*⁶. The Court was divided by the secret Favour which they had for *Germanicus*, or for *Drusus*. *Tiberius* loved *Drusus* as his own Son, but others had the greater Affection for *Germanicus*, as well because of *Tiberius*'s Aversion to him⁷, as because he was of more illustrious Extraction by the Mother's side, by whom *Anthony* was his Grandfather, and *Augustus* his Great Uncle, whereas *Pomponius Atticus*⁸ the Great Grandfather of *Drusus*, who was no more than a Roman Knight, seem'd to Disgrace the Images of the Family of the *Claudii*. Besides, *Agrippina* the Wife of *Germanicus*, had the Advantage of *Livia*, *Drusus*'s Wife, in fruitfulness and reputation; but this Emulation betwixt their Relations and their Dependants, made

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

was so strictly restrain'd, that he could dispose of nothing Great or Small, without the Consent of those of his Council; nor even without an Order from *Philip II.* The War of *Granada*, *Lib. 2. Cap. 26.* Thus most Princes use Great Men, who for the most part, saith *Commynes*, go only to prepare the Feast, and commonly at their own Expence.

6. A Proud and Imperious Woman, as *Plancina* was, never obeys more willingly, than when the Prince commands her to mortifie her Rival. All Ladies, to whom Princes have given the like Commissions, have always well acquitted themselves therein.

7. There is almost always a certain Antipathy betwixt the Prince and his Subjects, whence the Subjects love the Persons whom the Prince hates, and he reciprocally loves those who are hated by his Subjects. In the Quarrel which happen'd betwixt *Lewis* of *Bourbon*, Count of *Soissons*; and *Charles* of *Vaudement*, afterwards Duke of *Lorraine*, who gave him a Box o'the Ear in the Presence of *Lewis XIII.* every one having declar'd in favour of the Count, the King declar'd for *Vaudement*. *Memoirs of the Reign of Charles IV. Duke of Lorraine, by the Marquis of Beauvau.*

8. If

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^g *Vipsania* the Mother of *Drusus*, was the Daughter of *Agrippa*, and Grand-Daughter of *Pomponius Atticus*.

^h When

made no manner of Impression on the two Brothers, who continu'd Constant and Unshaken in their love^a.

XLV. Not long after, *Drusus* was sent into *Illyria* to gain the Affections of the Army and Experience in Arms^b; *Tiberius* thinking that he would wear off in the Camp^c the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

8. If the Children of Sovereign Princes knew what prejudice they do themselves by their Misunderstandings and their Quarrels, they would beware of Engaging therein: *M. de Guise*, saith Queen *Margaret* was not sorry for the Divisions which he saw break out in our Family; hoping that he should gather up the Pieces of the broken Vessel, *Lib. 1. of his Memoirs*. *Anthony Perez* saith in one of his Letters, that Prince *Ruy Gomez* said, That he knew by his own Experience, how much it concerns Courtiers to stop their Ears against Reports and Calumnies; if they will keep their Friends, and avoid making themselves Enemies. The Count *de Brion*, saith *M. de Montresor*, suffer'd himself to be possessed, although we were very near Relations, and had always liv'd friendly together. When I was advertised of it, I took him aside, and acquainted him, that I was very well inform'd of what had been told him of me: That if *Monsieur* committed his Secrets to him, I should be extremely glad of it; but that I thought, he ought not to take it ill, that his Royal Highness, did me the same honour; that in fine, it would be shameful for him to suffer himself to be surpriz'd by the Artifices of Persons who had always deceiv'd their Master, and to break with his Kinsman and his Friend, who had never given him any occasion of complaint. He own'd to me that the thing was true, and we afterwards liv'd in an entire Friendship.

1. It is *Machiavel's* advice, That a Prince apply his Mind wholly to the

Art of War, as being the only one that is of importance for him to understand, *Ch. 4. of his Prince*. For States are not preserv'd by Cowardice, but by Arms. *Non enim ignavia magna Imperia contineri, Ann. 15. Philibert-Emanuel Duke of Savoy*, Nephew to *Charles V.* wrote on a time to *Philip II.* who was not of a Warlike temper, that indeed War was not one of those things that was to be desir'd; but that it nearly concern'd great Princes to understand the Management of it; and that therefore he ought to be pleas'd to find in the beginning of his Reign an occasion to make War; that he might gain betimes the Reputation of a Powerful and a Formidable Prince; and might learn, although at great Expences, what is an Army, Squadron, Battel, Siege, Artillery, Ammunition, Baggage, Spies, Guides, and a thousand Necessities, which must be provided for. *Cabrera cap. 1. lib. 4. of his History*.

2. There is no greater Spur than that of Military glory; Especially to Princes, who are naturally inclin'd to be dazzled with the splendid Title of Conquerors. *Commynes* saith, that after the Battel of *Montlery*, the Count of *Charolois*, who before that day had never been useful in War, nor ever lov'd any thing that belong'd to it, entirely chang'd his Humour, and became so Warlike, that he pursu'd it as long as he liv'd, desiring above all things to tread in the Steps of those ancient Princes, who are so famous for it, *Cap. 4. Lib. 1. and Cap. 9, Lib. 5. of his Memoirs*.

3. The

Debaucheries he had been us'd to in the City; and himself would be safer, when the Legions were under the Command of his two Sons. He was furnish'd with a Pretence by the *Suevi*, who came to desire assistance from him against the *Cherufci*; for when these Nations were deliver'd from the Fear of a Foreign Power by the retreat of the *Romans*, they according to their Custom turn'd their Arms against one another^h, out of an Emulation of Glory. The two Nations were equally match'd in Power, and their Generals in Valour; but the Title of King drew upon *Maroboduus* the hatred of his Countrymen, whereas *Arminius* was ador'd as the Patron of Liberty, and one that fought for itⁱ.

XLVI. Wherefore, not only the *Cherufci* and their Allies, who had before serv'd under him, took Arms for him now; but the *Suevi Semnones* and *Lombards*, who were the Subjects of *Maroboduus* revolted to *Arminius*; with which additional forces he would certainly have been Victorious, had not *Inguiomer* with all that were under his Command, gone over to *Maroboduus*, which he did

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The Defence of Liberty is the most specious Pretext which *Boute-fus* and *Male-Contents* have always had to kindle a War in their Countreys. The People have been gull'd with it a hundred thousand Times, and they will be gull'd with it a hundred thousand times more, before they will be disabus'd: For they give more credit to Words than Actions, and they judge not of Good and Evil, but by those false Idæas thereof which they give them, who talk to them of Liberty, for no o-

ther end, but to make them more pliable to be led into Slavery. *Quia apud (eum) verba plurimum valent, bonaque ac mala non sua natura, sed rebus seditiosorum aestimantur, libertas & speciosa nominis pratextantur. Tac. Hist. 4.*

1. The People never love their Prince so much, how Good and Valiant soever he be, but they love Liberty more; *Nullem tantam potestatem cuiquam dari posse, ut non sit gratior potestate libertas. Plin. in Paneg.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^h When in a Civil War amongst the Athenians, many were for Banishing or Extirpating all the Contrary Faction. *We ought not to do it*, said another, *for we shall have nothing to exercise our selves upon.*

ⁱ During

did for no other reason but because he look'd upon it as a Dishonour² for an Uncle that was in years to be commanded by a young Nephew¹. The two Armies with equal hopes on both sides rang'd themselves in Battel; not as the Germans us'd to do, in little separate Parties which roved up and down, and skirmished without Order or Discipline; for by their long Wars with us they had learn'd to follow their Colours³, to obey the Orders of their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. There is no tie so strong which Jealousie doth not break. The Duke of Mayne would never hearken to the Proposal, which was made to him, for chusing the Young Duke of Guise his Nephew, King of France. As he desir'd to be so himself, faith Colonna, he was, it may be more afraid of the Crown, on the Head of his Nephew, than to see it on the Head of a Prince of Bearn; so true is it, that Envy is stronger and more obstinate than Hatred. After, said he, that I have sustain'd the whole Weight of the League, is it just, that another should gather the Fruits of my Labours? Must I be reduc'd to beg the Government of a Province? I who have govern'd and defended the whole Kingdom at the price of my Blood: Is it because my Nephew is Young and un-married, that they would give him the Crown of France, and the Infanta of Spain? My Eldest Son is 17 years old, and for his Person, not unworthy so high a Dignity. Let them make him King, if they will not have me; for in this Case I will content my self with the Honour of being his Governor, and of commanding the Armies of the most Serene Infanta, Lib. 6. of his

History of the Wars of Flanders. He saith, that these were the very Expressions which the Duke of Maine us'd in his private Conferences with the Count Charles of Mansfield, and the Duke of Feria. It was thus that the Uncle and the Nephew weakned, and by degrees ruin'd the Union and good Understanding that was necessary for them to maintain their Party. *Memoirs de Chiverny.*

3. A Warlike People ought never to make frequent or long Wars with the same Neighbours, for fear of training them up to War. This was heretofore the Maxim of the Lacedaemonians, and is at this Day of the Turks. Philip II. King of Spain had time to repent that he had not follow'd the Counsel of Don Gomez Figueroa, Duke of Feria, who would not have had him carry the War into the Low-Countrys, saying, that he ought to reduce these Provinces by gentle methods for fear of teaching them to handle Arms and make War on their Prince, Strada, Lib. 6. of the first Decad. From the very beginning of the Troubles of the Low-Countrys, Cardinal Granvelle had advis'd Philip to extinguish this War as soon as he could, either by a Battel, or by a Treaty

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ During the War of Paris, there was the like Jealousie betwixt the Duke of Beaufort and Nemours; who, although Brothers-in-Law, could never agree

their Generals, and to keep a Reserv'd Body to succour the rest as there was occasion. Arminius took a Review of his Army, and as he rode through it, he put them in mind of their Recover'd Liberty; of the Enemies Legions which they had cut in pieces, and part of whose Arms and Spoils some of them had now in their hands. He call'd Maroboduus a [Coward]⁴ who understood not how to fight a Battel, and who skulk'd in the lurking Holes of the Wood Hercinia, until he had basely bought the Alliance of the Romans, whereby he was become a Traytor to his Country, and a Slave to the Roman Emperor⁵, and therefore ought to have no more quarter.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Treaty of Peace, for fear this People should come to know their Strength; fore-telling, that if once they knew it, he would never be able to keep them in Obedience. *Pio Matio consideration, 259. Lib. 1. of his Commentary on Tacitus.*

4. It is a Reproach often cast upon Great Captains, That they know not how to fight; but it never lessens their Reputation, when they are known to be Persons, who will hazard nothing unreasonably. This Reproach was sometimes cast on the Famous Duke of Alva, either by the Duke of Guise, or by the Prince of Orange; and by several others, but they could never make him change the Method; and his Constancy in despising the Censures and the Raileries of his Enemies, was the Principal Cause of his Good Fortune and his Glory. For he that hath the Profit of the War, faith *Commynes*, hath all the Honour of it; and he ought never to run the Hazard of a Battel, who can avoid it, *Cap. 2. Lib. 2. and c. 4. l. 4. of his Memoirs.* Wherefore

the Answer very well became the D. of Alva, which he made to the Duke of Guise, That he would not play a Kingdom against a Coat of Cloth of Gold, l. 9. of the *History of the Union of Portugal with Castile.* And Alexander Duke of Parma, answer'd a Trumpeter, who offer'd him Battel from Henry IV. That it was not his Custom to fight when it pleas'd his Enemies, only when he thought it fit. D. Carlos Coloma, Lib. 3. of *his Wars of the Low-Countrys.* Count Peter Ernest of Mansfield saying to a Trumpeter, That he wonder'd, that his Master, who was Young and full of Vigour, kept himself always close, and cover'd within his Intrenchments; the Trumpeter answer'd him ingeniously, That Maurice did so, that he might one Day become as Experienc'd a Captain as his Excellency of Mansfield. *Memoirs of Aubery du Maurier.*

5. It doth not become Princes and Generals of Armies to utter reproaches against one another. Those who have force in their hands, ought never to use this kind of Revenge, which is fit only

HISTORICAL NOTES.

agree with one another. Diego de Mendoza saith, that Gonzalo Fernandez de Cordova, stiled by way of Excellence the Great Captain, would never serve under his Brother Don Alphonso d'Aguilar, one of the most renowned Captains of Spain. *Guerra de Grenada, Cap. 2. Lib. 1.*

Quarter given him than Varus had. In the Conclusion, he desir'd them to remember the many Battels they had fought; by the Event of which, and by the Expulsion of the Romans in the End, it was sufficiently evident on whose side the Victory rested.

XLVII. Nor was Maroboduus wanting to extol himself, or lessen the Enemy, and taking Inguioner by the Hand; In this Person you see, said he, all the Glory of the Cherusci, and to whose conduct are owing all the Successes they ever had. Arminius himself hath neither Prudence nor Experience, and takes that Glory to himself which is not his due, because he perfidiously surpriz'd three Legions, and their unwary General, which action cost Germany dear, and turn'd to his own Dishonour, seeing his Wife and Children are yet in Slavery. But when Tiberius invaded us with twelve Legions, I defended the Honour of Germany, and made Peace on equal Terms; and we have no reason to repent of what we have done, seeing it is now at our choice, whether we will have a Lasting Peace with the Romans, or begin the War again with them on even ground. Besides the Encouragement of these Speeches, each Army had their peculiar Reasons to animate them; for the Cherusci and Lombards fought either for their Ancient Glory, or for their New-gotten Liberty; and the other side to enlarge their Dominions. They

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only for Women, and which also more dishonours him that attacks, than him that is attack'd. Besides, words which wound a Man's Honour are never forgiven. A Lie given the Seigneur a' Himbercourt, Ambassador from the Duke of Burgundy, cost the Constable of St. Pol afterwards his Life. For this Reason, saith *Commines*, Princes, and those who are in great Places, ought to beware to whom they offer such affronts; for the Greater they are, the more sensible are the Affronts which they offer; inasmuch as those who are affronted, think, (and with reason)

that the Authority of the Person who affronts them, casts a greater Blemish on their Honour. *Cap. 11. Lib. 3. of his Memoirs.*

1. In Guiccardin's Opinion, there is more Courage and Fury in those who recover their Liberty, than in those who defend it. *Lib. 18 of his History of Italy.* And I think it is because they who recover their Liberty have felt Oppression, and have therefore a greater Relentment, than those who having not yet lost their Liberty, have not tried the Severities of Tyranny and of Slavery. Thus, the Lombards had a double Motive

to

They never fought with greater Fury, nor with more equal Success; the right Wings of both Armies were broken; and it was expected that the Fight would have been renew'd had not Maroboduus retreated to the Hills, which was a sign of Consternation; after which his Army being weakned by Desertion², he retir'd into the Country of the Marcomanni, whence he sent Ambassadors to desire succours of Tiberius³, who answer'd at first, That it

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to animate them to fight; that of the Common Defence, and that of their Private Revenge; for according to *Paterculus*, Maroboduus was not contented with a Regal Power, regulated by the Laws and Customs of the Country; but would have one that was entirely Absolute and Despotick. *Hist. 2. Cap. 108.*

2. The loss of a Battel, saith *Commines*, hath always a long and sad Train, for him that loses it; for it often happens that the Vanquish'd People entertain a contemptible Opinion of their Master; fall into Mutinies and Contrivances against him; make insolent Demands, and desert him, if they don't obtain them. *Cap. 2. Lib. 2. of his Memoirs.* And speaking of the Battel of *Granson* lost by the Duke of Burgundy. What damage, saith he, receiv'd he that day for acting on his own Head, and despising counsel? What damage receiv'd his Family thereby; and in what a Condition is it to this Day? How many People became his Enemies, and declar'd themselves, who the Day before temporis'd with him, and pretended to be his Friends. *Gilissus* Duke of Milan, who three Weeks before had sent him a solemn Embassy, to make an Alliance with him against *Lewis XI.* renounc'd this Alliance to make one with *Lewis. Renatus*, King of Sicily, who design'd to make the Duke of Burgundy his Heir, and who was going to put him in possession of the County of Pro-

vence, dispos'd of it in favour of his Nephew, *Lewis XI.* His Sister, the Dutches of Savoy, who was entirely in the Interests of the Duke, and whom *Lewis* therefore call'd *Madame de Bourgoigne*, reconcil'd her self to him, and utterly abandon'd the Duke. *Nuremberg, Brunsfort*, and several Imperial Cities more, declar'd against him; and they thought that to do him all the Mischief they could, was to procure their Pardons: So much did the World change after this Battel.

3. How Haughty and Courageous soever Princes are, a reverse of Fortune humbles them as well as other Men. When they are concern'd for their own Preservation or Defence, their Point of Honour always gives place to their Interest. *Paterculus* saith, that Maroboduus had exalted his power to such a Degree, that he was grown formidable to the Romans, and that without openly attacking them, he gave them sufficiently to understand, that he wanted neither Strength nor Courage to defend himself, if they should attack him; that the Ambassadors which he sent to them, spake to them sometimes as from an Equal to an Equal; and that in short, his Dominions were a Retreat to as many as revolted from their Obedience to the Romans. After all this, he stuck not to address himself to Tiberius, to support his Fortune, shock'd by an Unfortunate Battel, who before this Battel, boasted

Q. 3

that

it was unreasonable for him to expect assistance from the Roman Arms, when he had never sent any to them, when they were engag'd in a War with the same Enemy^k. However, Drusus was sent as I said before to make a Peace^l.

XLVIII. The same Year twelve famous Cities of Asia were overturn'd by an Earthquake in the Night, which was the more Fatal, the less it was foreseen; nor could the People save themselves, as many use to do, in this Calamity, by running into the Open Fields, for they were swallow'd up in the Clefts of the Earth. It is said, that Mountains were levell'd, Plains raised into Mountains, and that Fire flash'd out amidst the Ruines. As the Sardians were the greatest Sufferers, so they drew the greatest Compassion towards them; for Tiberius promis'd them 100 thousand great Sesterces^m, and remitted all

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that he was the Arbitrator of Peace and War. After the Battel of Gran-son, the Duke of Burgundy sent the Lord of Contay to Lewis XI. with a Submissive and Obliging Message, which was not his custom, so much was his Temper or his Courage chang'd in an hour's time. *Commynes, cap. 2. lib. 5. of his Memoirs.* We ought therefore to conclude with him; that if Great Men, were always wise they would be so modest in their words, in time of Prosperity, that they need not be constrain'd to change their Language in the time of Adversity, Ch. 21. of the

same Book. And this is what Charles V. intimated to John Frederick Elector of Saxony his Prisoner of War, hearing him call'd him, Most Powerful and most Gracious Emperor, he answer'd, You were wont to call me otherwise; reproaching him thereby with the Nick-name of Charles of Ghant, which the Protestant Princes of Germany, of whom the Elector was the Head, gave him heretofore in their Manifestos. Don Juan Antonio de Vera, in the Epitomy of his Life.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^k Henry III. King of France returned much the same Answer to Deputies from Flanders in 1579. How dare you, saith he, to demand succours of me against your Prince, when ye would give me none against my Subjects? *Cavriana.*

^l Tiberius had quite another design, as will be seen in the 63 Paragraph.

^m 250000 Crowns.

n By

all their Taxes for five Years¹. *Magnesia* which lies at the Foot of the Mountain *Sipylus*, was reliev'd in proportion to its loss, which was next to that of *Sardis*. *Tem-nis*, *Philadelphus*, *Agea*, *Appollonia*, *Mosthena*, the Macedonian *Hircania*, *Hierocæsarea*, *Myrina*, *Cimes* and *Timolus*, were discharged from all Taxes for the same space of time; and it was resolv'd to send a Senator to view, and to repair the Ruines. They Deputed M. *Aletus* of the Prætorian rank; because the Governor of Asia was a Consular Person, to prevent any Emulation or Contest which might arise betwixt Equals² and retard the Business.

XLIX. After

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Inundations, Fires, Earthquakes, Famine, and other Publick Calamities, are so many Occasions, for a Prince to signalize his Magnificence, and to perpetuate his Name. Private Men may do good to Private Men; but there is none but a Prince, who can do it to a whole People. A Prince ought not to desire these Occasions, but he ought to take the Advantage of them when they offer. *Debet esse major & propensor in calamitosis liberalitas*, saith Cicero, 2. of his Offices.

2. It is not easie to determine, whether is more fit to be sent as a Commissioner into a Province, an Inferior, or an Equal to him that is Governor of it. For, according to Tacitus himself, Jealousie is stronger in an Inferior than in an Equal, *quia minoribus major emulandi cura*, Hist. 4. I know not, saith Pío Nutio, whether Tiberius did prudently to send into Asia a Minister that was of an Inferior Rank, to the Consular Person who govern'd it; for this Inequality drew after it, not only that Emulation, which he would have prevented, but also Envy which is the fruitful Source of Dissentions and Quarrels. And some lines after: If the Emulation be good, it makes

each of the Rivals more Diligent and Punctual, whereby the Prince is the better serv'd. Witness what Titus Livy makes *Papirius Cursor* the Dictator say; *A levone cornu victoria incipiet, & dextrum cornu, Dictatoris acies, alienam pugnam sequetur* &c. i. e. Shall the Victory begin in the Left Wing? And shall the Right Wing, where the Dictator is, only assist the other in the Fight? (Because the General of the Horse, who commanded the Left Wing, had broken that of the Enemy.) Consider. 121. on the 2. lib. *Cabrera* saith, That the Triumviral Government of the Cardinal of Trent, the Marquis of Pefquerra, and of John-Baptist Castaldo, whom Philip II. had sent to Naples, to oppose the Designs of Pope Paul IV. was prejudicial to his affairs, because these three Ministers were near Equal in Authority. Cap. 3. Lib. 3. of his History. The Cardinal de Richelieu hath clearly decided this Question. Divers Experiments, saith he, have made me so knowing in this Matter, that I should think my self accountable in the sight of God, if this Testament did not in express terms declare, that there is nothing more dangerous in a State, than divers Authorities equal in the Admi-

nistration

XLIX. After he had been thus Magnificent in Public Bounty, he was Liberal to Private Persons, in a Way that was no less grateful. The rich Possessions of *Emilia Musa*, who dying intestate and without Heirs, were escheated to his Treasury^a, he gave to *Emilius Lepidus*, because it was probable that she was of his Family. And the Estate of *Patulsius*, a rich Roman Knight, (although he had bequeath'd part of it to himself) he gave to *M. Servilius*, because he understood that he had made him his Heir by a former Will that was liable to no Suspensions; adding, that both these Persons deserv'd a Revenue to support their Honour^o. Nor would he ever be

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

nistration of Affairs. What one undertakes is cross'd by the other; and if the Honestest Man is not the Ablest, although his Opinion be the Best, it will be always Eluded, by him that hath the greatest Parts. As the Diseases and Death of Men proceed from the Discord of the Elements whereof they are compos'd; so it is certain, that the Opposition and Disunion, which is always found amongst Equal Powers, will disturb the Quiet of the States, which they shall Govern, and will produce divers Accidents which will in the End ruin them. As several Pilots do never set their hands all together to the Helm, so no more than one ought to hold that of the State. He may very well receive advice from others. He ought also sometimes to ask it; but it belongs to him to examine the Expediency thereof, and to turn the

Hand on one side or the other, according as he thinks it most convenient to escape the Storm, and to make his course successful. *Section 6. Cap. 8. of the first part.*

1. Although it is not always for the Interest of the Prince to preserve the Ancient Nobility; it is yet for his Honour, and but Policy sometimes to raise up again some Illustrious Families, that the Nobility may have no occasion to believe that he takes pleasure to sink and to destroy it. *Salust* saith, *That Great Men who fall into Poverty, and consequently into Contempt, hate the Present Government; and leave no Stone unturn'd to introduce a New one, wherein their Condition may be better*; as he shews by the Example of *Cataline*. *Egnatius Rufus* conspir'd against *Augustus*, for no other Reason, but because he was poor, and

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a By the Law. *Julia*.
^o *Philip II.* caus'd an Historical Abridgment of all the Noble Families to be Compos'd, that he might know their Rise, Increase, or Declension, and at what Time, and in what Services they had acquir'd the Titles and Privileges which they Enjoy'd. A Knowledge which Enabled him to recompence

be Heir to any Man's Estate, unless he had been so much a Friend to him in his Life, as might give him some pretensions to it. But he utterly rejected the Inheritance of Unknown Persons, and of those especially, who had made him their Heir, only to disappoint their own Relations whom they hated². As he relieved the Poverty of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

and out of hopes of being reliev'd by this Prince. For, saith *Paterculus*, *Such is the Wickedness of Men, (and particularly of Great Men) that every one of them had rather be involved in the Publick Ruine, than perish alone.* *Hist. 2. 91.* *Cecina* rebell'd against *Galba*, who required him to give an account of the Publick Treasury which he manag'd in Spain, that he might hide the Disorder of his Affairs in the general Confusions. *Cecina aggre passus miscere cuncta, & privata vulnere Reip. malis operire statuit. Tacit. Hist. 1.* Of all which the Result is, that the Prince ought sometimes to scatter his bounty on great Families that are decay'd, but especially on those, in which there are Persons capable of making a Party, or putting themselves at the Head of Male-Contents. It was herein that *Philip II.* King of Spain, fail'd, who lost the Obedience of the Prince of Orange, and the Counts of *Egmont* and *Horn*; for saving 150000 Crowns which *Granvelle* Bishop of *Arras* advis'd him to distribute a-

mongst them, before he left the Low-Countrys. Which, saith *Cabrera*, cost him afterwards above 150 Millions; besides the Blood of 10 many thousand Men which was spilt. *Cap. 3. Lib. 5. of his History.* The same Historian saith, *That this King impoverish'd the Great Men of Spain to Mortgage or to Sell their Estates; and that by this Method he weaken'd and lessen'd them before they were aware of it.* The Effects whereof their Posterity feel at this Day. *Cap. 16. Lib. 12.*
2. The Moderation of *Tiberius*, who, though a Heathen, scrupled to accept the Estates of those who bequeath'd them to him, to deprive their Relations of them, ought to shame those Monks who procure themselves to be made Heirs to the prejudice of the Children of the Family, and of a thousand and a thousand poor Relations, who perish through want. They who by their Vows and their Ministry, are more strictly oblig'd than all other Ecclesiastics, to lead a Retired and Mortified Life, can they in Conscience spend

HISTORICAL NOTES.

recompence the Descendants, according to the Merits of their Ancestors. *Cabrera, Cap. 16. Lib. 12. of his History.* Having understood by this Nobiliary, that the Kings of *Castile*, made the *Marquisses de Moya* dine at their Table on *St. Lucy's Day*, which is the 13th of December; and the Counts of *Salinas*, on *Epiphany*, for the great Service these two Families had done the State; in 1593, he restor'd this Preheminence to them, which time had abolish'd, and sent solemnly to the *Marquis de Moya* the Golden Cup, in which he had drank that Day; that he might punctually observe what the Kings his Predecessors had done. *Herrera, cap. ult. lib. 3. part 3. of his History.*
p How

of Men of Virtue, so he was severe against those who had ruin'd themselves by Vice and Extravagance; and it was for this Reason that *Vibidius Varro*, *Marius Nepos*, *Appius Appianus*, *Cornelius Sulla*, and *Q. Vitellius*, were expell'd the Senate by him, or at least suffer'd voluntarily to quit it.

L. About the same time he consecrated the Temples of the Gods, which had been consumed by Fire or Age, and which *Augustus* had began to rebuild. One near the Great Cirque, which *A. Posthumus* the Dictator had vow'd to *Bacchus*, *Proserpina*, and their Mother *Ceres*. Another in the same Place to *Flora*, built by the *Ediles*, *Lucius*, and *Marcus Publicus*; and that to *Janus* in the Herb-Market, which was built by *Caius Duillius*, who obtain'd the First Victory which the Romans ever had at Sea, for which he was honour'd with a Naval Triumph over the Carthaginians. But the Temple of *Hope* which *Attilius* had vow'd in the same War, was Consecrated by *Germanicus*.

LI. In the mean time, the Law against Treason exerted its force. *Apuleia Varilia*, who was Grand-Daughter to *Octavia*, the Sister of *Augustus*, was accused of Treason

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

spend their Time in soliciting the Judges, and besetting the Tribunals, and in commencing every day fresh Suits against the Lawful Heirs, whose Patrimonies they would possess.

3. Publick Affairs can never be in

worse hands, than in those of Persons, who understand not how to manage their Domestick Affairs. For it is almost impossible, that such Magistrates should be dis-interest'd, or consequently incorrupt.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p How many times, saith *Paterculus*, hath he furnished those Senators who were unprovided, with what was Necessary; Honourably to support their Dignity? But as he suffer'd not an innocent Poverty to be deprived of Offices and Honours; so he took care of giving to debauch'd Persons, for fear of encouraging or fomenting Luxury and Voluptuousness. *Hist. 2. c. 129.*

q As the Romans were at that time as much Strangers on the Sea, as the Carthaginians were Experienced and Powerful on it; *Duillius* provided Iron Hooks and other Instruments, with which he grappled the Enemy's Ships, who were thereby forc'd to fight without stirring, as if they had been on Land.

f 16

son for speaking Scurrilous and Invective Words against Divine *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and his Mother *Livia*; and for staining her self with Adultery, notwithstanding her relation to the Emperor. As for the Adultery, they thought they needed go no farther than the Julian Law, which had sufficiently provided in that Case. And as for the Treasons wherewith she was charg'd, *Tiberius* desir'd that they might be distinguish'd; saying, That she deserv'd Condemnation, if she had spoken Blasphemy against *Augustus*; but he would not have her question'd for what she had spoken against himself: And being ask'd by the Consul what should be done in case she should be convicted to have defam'd *Livia*; he return'd no answer at that time, but at the next Assembly of the Senate, he said, That it was his Mother's desire that none should be molested for any words spoken against her; and thereby acquitted *Apuleia* from the Indictment of Treason. He also desir'd that her Adultery might not be punish'd with the utmost rigour; and obtain'd that she might, according to the ancient Custom, be only banish'd by her Relations 200 Miles from Rome. But *Manlius* her Gallant, was banish'd from Italy and *Africk*.

LII. A Contest arose about the Election of a Prætor, to succeed *Vipsanius Gallus*, deceas'd. *Germanicus* and *Drusus* (for they were yet at Rome) employ'd their Interest in favour of *Haterius Agrippa*, who was a Kinsman of *Germanicus*'s; but they were oppos'd by a great Party who contended, that the Competitor who had most Children, ought to be prefer'd as the Law requir'd'. *Tiberius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A wife and prudent Prince ought severely to punish the Injuries which are done to the Memory of his Predecessors; for besides that, the Honour which he doth herein to them, returns directly on himself, it is an Example which he leaves his Successors to do the like for him after his Death.

2. The Lashes of Womens Tongues

deserv'd to be despised, rather than resented. If fools have Liberty to say any thing, because what they say signifies nothing, it is for the Honour of Princes to let some Women eternally enjoy this Privilege.

1. In the Disposal of great Offices, it is for the Interest of the Prince, to prefer those Competitors, who, *ca-*
teris

Tiberius was well enough pleas'd to see the Senate divided betwixt his Children and the Laws; and it was no wonder that the Laws truckled; however it was carry'd; but by few Voices, and not without some struggle against the Laws, as it us'd to be sometimes when they were in force.

LIII. The same Year a War brake out in *Africk*, in which one *Tacfarinas*, a Numidian, was the Leader, who had formerly served as an Auxiliary in the Roman Army; which having Deserted, and drawn together a Company of Vagabonds and Robbers for Plunder and Rapine; he afterwards form'd them into a regular Body after a Military manner, dividing them into Companies under their respective Colours; after which, he became General of the *Musulans*, a Potent Nation bordering on the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

teris paribus, have the more numerous Families; because more persons remain thereby oblig'd to him.

2. A new Prince, I mean a Prince whose form of Government is new, can't have a greater Pleasure than to see the Laws weakned, which had been made in those times, when the State was govern'd in the Form of a Common-Wealth. Thus, when the Senate was divided betwixt the ancient Laws and the Parties of *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, it was insensibly linking to that Slavery, to which *Tiberius* design'd to bring it. Observe by the way, that *Germanicus*, who was the Darling of the People and the Senate, for his popular temper, did not himself stick to destroy the Liberties; and that if ever he had come to the Empire, he might possibly have had quite different sentiments, from those which he shew'd under another's Reign.

3. In the pursuit of Offices and Honours, the support of Princes, is of much greater advantage, than that of the Laws. And it is upon this Maxim, that the Cardinal de

Richelieu concludes for the selling of Offices; because, if that be suppress'd the Disorders that will proceed from Competitions, and Underhand-practices, by which Offices will be obtain'd, will be greater than those which arise from the Liberty of buying and Selling them; because, in that case, all would depend on the Favour and Artifice of those, who are in the greatest Credit with Kings. *Sect. 1. Chap. 4. of the first part of his Politick Testament.*

1. War is the best of all Trades for those to whom Nature hath given great Courage. It is the School wherein Fortune hath rais'd most of her greatest Favourites; and whence Men born in Poverty, Contempt, and the most abject state of Mankind, have ascended to the supreme Command of Armies; and oftentimes to the Regal Power it self. *Francis Sforza*, from the Son of a poor Shoemaker, became General of an Army, and his Son Duke of *Milan*. The *Constable de Lédigueres*, and the *Mareschals de Toiras, de Gassion, and de Fabret*, who all three had no other

the Desarts of *Africk*, living without Cities or Houses; who having taken arms against the Romans, drew their Neighbours the Moors into the Quarrel, whose General was named *Maxippas*; betwixt whom and *Tackfarinas* the Army was divided. The latter had the choice Troops which he arm'd after the Roman Fashion, and confin'd them in a Camp to inure them to Discipline and Obedience; whilst the Former with a Light-arm'd Body ravag'd the Country with Fire and Sword, carrying Terror where-ever he came; so that they had compell'd the *Cinitbii*, which was no contemptible Nation, to enter into their League, when *Furius Camillus*, Proconsul of *Africk*, marched against them with a single Legion, and what Forces of the Roman Allies which were with him, which was a very small Force, in comparison of the numbers of the Numidians and Moors, who were therefore so confident of the Victory, that they feared nothing but that the Romans would not give them Battel; but this Confidence prov'd their Ruine; for *Camillus* having plac'd his Legion in the Middle, and Light-arm'd Cohorts and two Squadrons of Horse in the Wings, he receiv'd *Tackfarinas* so warmly, that he defeated the Numidians, and hereby reviv'd after a long tract of time the Military Glory of the Family of the *Camilli*, which since the famous

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ther Estate, nor other maintenance, but their Sword, are Examples of a late Date, which, like the Trophees of *Miltiades*, ought to rouse the Courage and Industry of so many poor Gentlemen, who live in shameful idleness.

2. An over-confidence of Generals in their strength, is oftentimes the Cause of the Defeat of their Armies. As there is no little Errors in War, we need not wonder that the strongest are sometimes vanquish'd. Add hereto, on the Occasion of this Division, which was made betwixt *Tackfarinas* and *Maxippa*, that a sin-

gle Head, with ordinary Prudence, makes better Officers, than two brave Generals, who are jealous of each other.

3. It is with Families as with Cities; sometimes they flourish, sometimes they decline; sometimes they are utterly Extinguish'd; sometimes they rise again out of their Ashes, after they have been whole ages buried in Obscurity and Oblivion. This Vicissitude is more rare in Common-Wealths, in which they more easily preserve themselves by means of Equality, which covers them from Oppression; whereas in Monarchys,

mous Deliverer of Rome^r, and his Son *Camillus*, had left to other Families, the glory of furnishing Generals. And he of whom we now speak was never before esteem'd a Soldier^t, for which reason *Tiberius* was the more forward to extol this Action to the Senate, who decreed him Triumphal Ornaments, which Honour drew no Envy upon him because he always behaved himself with wonderful Modesty⁶.

LIV. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

a thousand of them perish under one reign, when the Prince, or his principal Ministers, are Sanguinary or Covetous.

4. Place shews the Man, saith the Proverb; To know the Capacity of a Man he must be employ'd. Nothing doth more honour to the Prince, than the Choice, which he hath made of a Minister, who succeeds in his Employment much otherwise than the World expected of him. *Commines* relates, that *Lewis XI.* having told him, that he had sent Master *Oliver* his Barber to *Ghent*, to reduce that City under his Obedience, and others to other great Cities: He said to the King, That he doubted that Master *Oliver* and the rest would not succeed in their Designs on those Cities. *Cap. 13. Lib. 5. of his Memoirs.* But in the 14th Chapter he saith, That although this Commission was too great for *Oliver*, yet he shew'd in what he did, that he had some un-

derstanding. For being forc'd to fly from *Ghent*, he made to *Tournay*, and found a way to put this fine City into the King's Hands. And this Honour, as *Commines* concludes, was procur'd to the King, by the said *Oliver*. A Wiser and a Greater Man, had probably fail'd in the Management of this Enterprize.

5. Princes more freely praise an ordinary Man, than they do a great Person; because the praising of one is an Act of Grace, but the praising of the other is no more than an Act of Justice: And Princes would have Men oblig'd to them for every thing.

6. A Minister, or a Favourite can't long keep the Favour of his Prince, but by Submission and Dependence. When he will rise of himself, the Prince never fails of depressing him, as one that will be no longer his Creature. *Lisander* saying to *Agessilaus*, whose chief Confident he had been before: Truly you know very well

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^r It was in the Consulship of *Furius Philo*, or *Furius Camillus*, as others call him, that the Gauls were beaten from Rome; but it was his Collegue *Caius Flaminius*, who gain'd this Victory, without *Furius's* having any share in it. Therefore *Livy* makes no mention but of the Triumph of *Flaminius*. *M. Junius Dictator*, saith he, *sex millia hominum gallicis spoliis, quæ triumpho C. Flamini transfata fuere, armavit.* And in another place, speaking of this Consul's Death, who was slain by *Hannibal* in the Battel of the Lake of *Perusia*, he puts these words in *Hannibal's* Mouth, *Consul hic est, qui legiones nostras, &c.* So that this Passage of *Tacitus* which seems to ascribe the Expulsion of the Gauls to *Furius*, is to be understood of the Year of his Consulship, and not of his Person.

f A

LIV. The Year following, *Tiberius* and *Germanicus* were chosen Consuls, which was the third Consulship of the Former, and the second of the Latter, who receiv'd this Dignity when he was at *Nicopolis*^f, a City of *Achaia*, whither he came by the Coast of *Illyria*; after he had visited his Brother *Drusus* in *Dalmatia*; and having in his passage met with two Storms, one in the *Adriatick*, the other in the *Jonian* Sea, he stay'd a few Days there, to refit his Ships, in which time he went to see the Bay of *Actium*, famous for the Fight there; He view'd also the Spoils consecrated by *Augustus*, and the Place of *Anthony's* Camp; and was mightily affected^t with these lively Images of the Success of one of his Ancestors, and the Misfortunes of the other; for *Augustus*, as hath been said before, was his great Uncle, and *Anthony* his Grandfather.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

well how to slight your Friends. *Yes*, answered *Agessilaus*, *When they would be greater than my self. Plutarch in his Life.* It is just so with all Princes. And this ought to be well consider'd by Great Men, who have a great Military Reputation; for it is that which gives Princes the greatest Jealousie, there being nothing which the People speaks of with so much applause, as of Battels and Victories. Don *Bernardin de Mendoza* saith, *That that Victory which the Count d'Egmont gain'd at Gravelin, was possibly one of the Principal Causes of his Misfortune, because it exalted him so much.* *Cap. 4. Lib. 3. of his Memoirs of Flanders.*

1. It is an advantage to Princes to see the very Places, where their Ancestors have done some Memorable thing; for this Sight makes a strong

Impression on their Minds, and inspires them, as the Trophies of *Miltiades* did *Themistocles*; with a generous Desire to imitate or to excell them. *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, was curious to see where-ever he travell'd, the Edifices and the Tombs of his Predecessors. He caus'd their very Coffins to be open'd, and stood uncover'd before their Bodies, with as much respect, as if they had been living. Being at *Segovia*, he repair'd the Town-House, for the sake of a great Hall, called, *sala de los Reyes*, where are the Statues of the Kings, under which he caus'd to be set their Names, and a short account of their Reign, with an equal Number of Lines and Letters in every Elogy, thus to revive their Memories. *Cabrera, c. 12. l. 9. of his History.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f A City built by *Augustus*, in memory of the Victory that he obtain'd over *Anthony*.

^t Now

ther. Thence he came to *Athens*; and in regard to the ancient Renown of this City and its Alliance with the Romans, he enter'd it with no more than one Lictor. The Græcians entertain'd him with the most study'd Honours², and, after a more refin'd sort of Flattery, carried before him Pictures representing the Great Actions, and Memorable Sayings of his Ancestors¹.

LV. Hence, taking *Eubæa*¹ in his way, he pass'd to *Lesbos*, where *Agrippina* was deliver'd of *Julia*², which was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The more Modest and Popular a Prince is, the greater Honours are paid him. The People are never more prodigal thereof, than to those who exact none. *Spreta in tempore gloria*, saith *Livy*, cumulation redit, i.e. The Honours Great Men don't seek for, are paid them with Usury. Charles V. won the Heart of the Catalans, (a Nation not to be conquer'd when their Privileges are at stake) by answering those who were deputed to know his pleasure, how he would make his Entry into *Barcelona*; That he was contented to be receiv'd as their Count; i. e. The Counsellors of the City not to alight from their Horses to salute him; because, he said, that he held it a greater Honour to be Count of *Barcelona*, than to be King of the Romans. Don Juan Antonio de Vera, in the Epitomy of his Life.

3. Nothing makes a greater Impression on the Minds and Hearts of Princes, than the Examples of their Ancestors; it is almost the only instruction which they receive with delight, of at least with respect. After that *Nero* had got rid of his Governor *Burrhus*, whose Wisdom was not agreeable to him, and had begun to be disgusted at his Preceptor *Seneca*,

he was told, That he wanted no other Masters nor Counsellors, than the Examples of the Princes from whom he descended. Charles V. and Philip II. conferring together about Don Carlos Prince of Spain, who had very Evil Inclinations, which his Governor Don Antonio de Rojas was never able to correct, nor moderate, concluded, that there should be set before the Eyes of this Young Prince Pictures, which might excite Noble Ideas in his Imagination, and which might incline his Mind to the love of Glory, by a Desire to imitate the Great and Generous Actions which he shall see represented; That he should be suffer'd to hear no Discourses but such as might imprint in him good Maxims and Good Manners; That the Conversation of Persons of Wit and Probity, who should be about him, would insensibly give him a Relish and a Delight in good things, which would be of greater advantage to him, than Precepts and Lessons which are always disagreeable to Princes, by reason of that Superiority which those who instruct them in the Quality of Masters, seem to usurp over them. *Cabrera, l. 4. c. 2. of his History.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ Now *Negropont*.

² Or *Livia*, who was married to *Marcus Vinicius*, to whom *Paterculus* dedicates his History.

x We

was her last Child. After which, sailing by the Coasts of *Asia*, he visited *Perinthis* and *Byzantium*, two Cities of *Thrace*; and entered the Streights of *Propontis*, and the Mouth of the *Euxine* Sea, being carry'd on with a desire to see ancient and famous Places; and at the same time he relieved those Provinces which were oppress'd by Magistrates, or harass'd by intestine Divisions¹. In his return he intended to have seen the Religious Rites of the *Samotheacians*; but the North-winds beating him back from that shore, he directed his course to *Troy*, venerable for the Variety of its Fortune and its last Fate, and for being the Mother-City to *Rome*. Whence coasting back by *Asia*, he puts to shore at *Colophon*, to consult the Oracle of *Clarius Apollo*. It is not a Priestess as at *Delphos*, but a Priest officiates there, who is chosen out of certain Families, and commonly from *Miletus*. As soon as he is inform'd only of the Number and Names of those who are come to consult the Oracle, he descends into a Cave, where he drinks water of a Secret Fountain; and then, though he is generally a Person of no Learning, nor of any skill in Poetry, he gives his answers in Verse, to what things each Inquirer hath in his thoughts; and it was said, that he predicted to *Germanicus* his approaching Fate, but in such Dark and ambiguous Phrases², as Oracles always use.

LVI. But

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is absolutely necessary for a Prince from time to time to visit his Provinces; for he learns upon the spot all those things which it was the Interest of his Officers to hide from him. It is there that he hears with his own Ears, the Complaint which a Dalmatian Lord made heretofore to *Tiberius*: Instead of sending us Shepherds and Dogs to keep your Flocks, you send us Wolves, which devour them. *Dion, lib. 55.* The Prince is not touch'd with the Miseries and Oppressions of his Peo-

ple, if he does not see them; for there are always Flatterers, who make him believe, that the Evils which are only reported to him, are aggravated. And consequently, there is need of the Remedy which the Sisters of *Lazarus* desir'd, Come, Lord, and see. He must come and see, otherwise the Remedy will not be equal to the Grievance.

2. Princes would never hear Death spoken of, but in obscure hints. *Lewis XI.* deserv'd compassion; who could not hear that cruel word, Death.

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LVI. But *Cn. Piso*, that he might lose no time for his Designs, entred *Athens* with great Precipitation, and made a Speech that surpriz'd them as much as his coming. In which he not only severely rebuk'd them, but made some oblique Reflections on *Germanicus*; as if he had prostituted the Majesty of the Empire, by treating them with too much respect; who, said he, are not Athenians, (those having been long since extinguish'd, by the many terrible Misfortunes that City had under-gone) but the Offspring of several Nations, who had been Confederates with *Mithridates* against *Sylla*, and with *Anthony* against *Augustus*. He reproach'd them also with their ill success against the Macedonians, and their ill treatment of the Bravest of their own Citizens; Things that had been done some ages past, for he had a Particular quarrel against them, because they had refus'd to pardon at his Intercession, one *Theophilus*, condemn'd for Forgery by the *Areopagus*. Departing from *Athens*, he passed in great haste by the shortest cut of the Sea through the *Cyclades*, and at the Isle of *Rhodes* overtakes *Germanicus*, who tho' he had been inform'd of the Invective Speech

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Death, pronounc'd; and who commanded all his Servants, that when his own approach'd, they should not give him notice of it, but by saying to him, *Speak little*. *Commines Memoirs*, l. 6. c. 12.

1. It is good to be Civil and Popular; but so as not to lessen the Majesty of the Prince. The Ministers who represent him, ought to avoid nothing more, than to derogate from the Rights of their Character, to which too great a Reverence can't be paid.

2. When Men speak with Passion, they are very apt to contradict themselves. *Piso* reproach'd the Athenians for being the Dregs and the Offspring of divers Nations of *Greece*, and notwithstanding he imputed to them all the Faults of this ancient

Republick, for which they could not be responsible, without being genuine Athenians.

3. It is common for great Men to revenge their Private Quarrels, under the Name of those of the State. *Vellut pro Repub. conquerentes suum dolorem proferbant*. *Tacitus*, *Hist.* 3. There are many Ministers, saith *Anthony Perez*, who invest their Prince with their private Passions and Wrongs in the Aphorisms of his Relations. Who under specious pretences, convert the Publick Interests into their own; and instead of regulating private Affairs by the Publick, do the direct contrary, with Equal Injustice and Boldness. *Part 1. Sect. 3. Cap. 8. of the Politick Testament.*

4. For,

Speech which he had made against him, had nevertheless the Humanity to send out Gallies to save him, when a Tempest had cast him amongst the Shelves, where he might have been rid of his Enemy, and his Death imputed to Chance. But this Kindness could not soften *Piso*, who would scarce stay one day with *Germanicus*, but hastned again on board, that he might get to *Syria* before him; whither as soon as he came, he gain'd the Common Soldiers by Gifts and Caresses, and in the mean time cashier'd the old Centurions and the severe Tribunes, and fill'd their Places with his own Creatures, or any profligate Fellows. And whilst he permitted Laziness in the Camp, Licentiousness in the City, and the Soldiers to commit any Disorders in the Countrey, they gave him the Title (so great was the Dissolution of Manners) of the Father of the Legions. Nor did *Plancina* keep within the Bounds of the Modesty of her Sex, but was present at the Exercises of the Cavalry, and the Musters of the Cohorts, and made bitter Reflections on *Agrippina* and *Germanicus*: And when it was whisper'd that these things were not done without secret Encouragement from *Tiberius*;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. For, saith *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 14. Nothing is so subject to accidents as the Sea; and besides, no Man is so Unjust as to make another responsible for the Misfortunes which are caus'd by the Sea and Winds.

5. Violent Spirits are capable of very little Gratitude, because they impute the Complaisance which People have for them, to the Fear which they believe they have of offending them. *Piso* did not doubt but that *Germanicus* fear'd him, seeing that this Prince was not ignorant wherefore *Tiberius* had taken the Government of *Syria* from *Silanus*, and had given it to *Piso*. Thus *Germanicus*, was so far from gaining the Friendship of *Piso*, (who knew *Germanicus*

was suspected by the Emperor) that he made him more Haughty and less Tractable, by the care that he took to oblige him. And besides, *Piso* judging of *Germanicus's* Nature by his own, which was revengeful, could not imagine him mild enough, heartily to pardon the Injury which he had done him at *Athens*. And this is what makes great Men irreconcilable; there being one of them which cannot nor will not trust the other. According to *M. de la Rochefoucault*, one of the Principal Causes of the resolution which Monsieur the late Prince took to retire into *Spain*, was the Opinion which he had, that after all that had pass'd, he could not longer be secure with the Queen-Regent.

R 2

1. There

thus, some of the best of the Soldiers were ready enough to carry on the Humour, and to obey ill Orders.

LVII. *Germanicus* had Intelligence of all this; but his more pressing care was to go to *Armenia*. This had been always an Unsteady Nation; not only from their Natural Temper, but also by reason of the situation of their Countrey; which bordering on the Roman Provinces on one side, extends it self as far as *Media* on the other; so that lying betwixt the two greatest Empires of the World*, they are engag'd in frequent Quarrels, either with the Romans, or with the Parthians; Hating the Former, and Envyng the Latter. They had been without a King ever since the removal of *Vonones*, but they were well inclin'd to *Zeno* the Son of *Polemon*, King of *Pontus*; because from his Infancy he had imitated the Manners and the Habits of the Armenians, and was much addicted to Hunting, Feasting, and other things which this Barbarous People esteem'd; and which gain'd him the Favour both of the Nobility and the Common-People. *Germanicus* therefore, with the consent of the Nobility in the City of *Artaxata* set the Royal Diadem on his Head, in a numerous Assembly; who did him Homage, saluting him by the Name of *Artaxias* from the Name of their City. The Government of *Cappadocia*, which had been lately reduc'd into the form of a Province, was given to *Q. Veranius*, and the People were discharged of part of the Taxes which they formerly

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is no better way for a Prince to endear his Government to new Subjects, than to discharge them of part of the Taxes which they paid to the former Prince. People are easily inclin'd to Slavery, but never to the Avarice of Governors and Magistrates; for they know no greater Evil

HISTORICAL NOTES.

x We may say of *Armenia*, what the famous Marquis *Spinoza* said of the City of *Rhinberg*, That it was the Trumpet of War, because it fell by turns from one hand to the other.

y Which

merly paid their Kings, to give them hopes of being easier under the Roman Government, than they had been under them. *Q. Servus* was constituted Governor of *Comagena*, which was then first reduc'd under the Government of a Prator.

LVIII. Notwithstanding, *Germanicus* had thus happily compos'd the Affairs of our Allies, he could not yet be at ease in his Mind, by reason of the Haughtiness of *Piso*, who having been commanded by him, either to come himself, or to send his Son with part of the Legions into *Armenia*, did neither. At last they both met at *Cyrrum*, where the Tenth Legion was in Winter-Quarters, *Piso* putting on a Countenance that might betray no Fear; and *Germanicus*, one that might discover no Resentment; and he was, as I have said before, of a forgiving Nature; but there are a sort of Friends well-skill'd in enflaming Quarrels, who brought divers Accusations against *Piso*, his Wife, and Children, aggravating somethings that were True,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Evil than Poverty. After that, *Charles VIII.* King of *France*, had taken *Naples*, and caus'd himself to be crown'd there; He did many acts of Grace to his Subjects, and less'n'd their Burdens, saith *Commines*, Lib. 7. Cap. 14. *Clement VIII.* did the same after he had re-united the Duchy of *Ferrara* to the Ecclesiastical State: So that the House of *Este*, which had a long time govern'd at *Ferrara*, and was also much beloved there, was very little regretted by the People. The Cardinal *d'Osset* adds, That he made *Seigneur Bevilacqua* Cardinal, to honour and give good hopes to the City of *Ferrara*, lately return'd to the Holy See;

this Cardinal being of one of the most Noble Families of this City, Letter 167.

1. Oftentimes Princes are more Disquieted and Troubled with one Domestick Enemy, than by a Foreign War. The Conduct of *Monseigneur*, the late Duke of *Orleans*, made the late King more uneasy than the whole House of *Austria*, and all the Enemies of *France*.

2. Men, but especially Great Men, easily believe whatsoever is told them by Persons whom they love, against People whom they hate. And hence it is, that Quarrels betwixt Great Men are almost always immortal; those

HISTORICAL NOTES.

y Which also before had a King.

R 3

z *Apertis*

True, and suggesting others that were False. At last, *Germanicus* had a Conference with him in the Presence only of a few intimate Friends, wherein he began to discourse in such Language, as commonly proceeds from a mixture of Anger and Reserve, and which *Piso* answer'd with such haughty and provoking Excuses, that they parted open Enemies². After which, *Piso* came seldom to *Germanicus's* Tribunal; and when ever he did assist, he appear'd with a sour Countenance, and always dissented from him in his Opinion³. And when they were invited by the King of the *Nabathæans* to a Feast, at which Golden Crowns of great weight were presented to *Germanicus* and *Agrippina*, and light ones to *Piso* and the rest of the Guests; He said aloud, *That this Feast was made*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

these who have Power with them, having an Interest to hinder their Reconciliation. It was thus *Maugier*, *Quelus*, *Saint-Luke*, *Saint-Mesgrin*, *Grammont*, *Mauleon* and *Livart*, made use of it with *Henry III.* on whom they made what impressions they pleas'd against his Brother the Duke of *Alençon*. *Lib. 2. of the Memoirs of Queen Margarer*, who very properly calls them the Council of *Jeroboam*.

3. Amongst Great Men, Explanations rather Exasperate than Pacify; because it is very difficult to speak with so much reserve, as not let fall one angry word. It is almost impossible, saith *Commines*, that two great Lords should agree together, by reason of Reports and Suspicions

which they hourly have; and two Princes who would live in Amity, ought never to see one another, but to send prudent Persons to each other, who would rectifie what is amiss: *Memoirs, l. 1. ch. 14. and l. 2. chap. 8.*

4. It is a strange thing, that Princes must suffer for the Misunderstanding that is between their Ministers; and that the Publick Affairs must be sacrific'd to their Private Quarrels. Are there not frequently seen in a Council, Persons who give their Opinion not to counsel the Prince, but to contradict their Rival; not to follow a good Opinion, but to make an ill one pass if they can? Princes are very much concern'd to remedy this Disorder.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2. *Apertis Oculis* seems to be the truest Reading; for *Piso* having answer'd with so little respect to *Germanicus*, whose disssembled anger he could not be ignorant of, *Germanicus* had no reason any longer to disssemble his Anger towards a Man who did not disssemble his towards him.

a Tacitus

made for the Son of a Roman Prince^a, and not of a Parthian King: And throwing aside his Crown, inveighed against Luxury¹; which *Germanicus* bore with patience, though he was sensible of the Affront.

LIX. It was about this time, that Ambassadors came from *Artabanus* King of the *Parthians*; representing, that their Master desir'd to renew the Friendship and League with the Romans, and that in honour to *Germanicus* he would come as far as the Banks of *Euphrates*: But in the mean time, he intreated that *Vonones* might not be suffer'd to continue in *Syria*, lest so near a Residence might give him opportunity to sollicite the Great Men of his Kingdom to an Insurrection. As to the League betwixt the Romans and the *Parthians*, *Germanicus* return'd an answer suitable to the Dignity of the Subject; but as to the King's coming, and the Honour he had done him, he expressed himself with great Modesty and Respect^b. He

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. If they had presented *Piso* with a Crown like *Germanicus's*, we may believe, he would not have rejected it, nor made an Inveective against Luxury. But because he was not made Equal to *Germanicus*, he thought fit to take upon him a Mask of Modesty to put a better Colour on his Resentment. And observe here the Nature of most of our Censors and Reformers. They declaim against Great Men, because they can't be as great as they; They despise the Honours that are given them, because they would have greater than are due to them. So that we may say of them what *Alexander* said of *Antipater*, his Father's Minister, *That if they are modest in their Cloaths, they are all Purple within.*

1. The Audience of Ambassadors is one of the most Difficult things which a Prince hath to do; for it is not enough, that he hear with Modesty and

HISTORICAL NOTES.

a *Tacitus* hath said in one of the foregoing Paragraphs, that *Piso* hardly gave place to *Tiberius*, and that he look'd on his Sons as his Inferiors. So that nothing could affront him more than to make so great a Difference betwixt *Germanicus* and him. And by saying, that *Germanicus* was the Son of a Roman Prince, and not of a Parthian King; He intimated that *Tiberius* was no more than a Prince of a Common-Wealth, and not a Sovereign as the King of the *Parthians*; and that consequently, *Germanicus* transgress'd the bounds of an Aristocratical Equality, by accepting a Crown of greater value than was given to the rest of the Guests.

R 4

b The

He remov'd *Vonones* to *Pompeiopolis* a Maritime Town of *Cilicia*, which he did not so much to comply with the request of *Artabanus*, as to mortifie *Piso*², to whom *Vonones* was very acceptable, upon the account of the many Favours and Presents, wherewith he had oblig'd *Planina*.

The Year 772. after the Building of the City.

LX. In the Consulship of *M. Silanus*, and *L. Norbanus*, *Germanicus* takes a Journey into *Aegypt*, under colour of taking care of the Province, but in truth to see the Antiquities of the Country. By opening the Publick Granaries,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

and Attention, but it behoves him also to answer with Prudence and Constancy; as well to remember what he is himself, as what the Prince is who treats with him; and to manage the Ambassador so well, that of a Publick Witness and a Spy, he may make a Friend and a true Mediator of him. *Commines* saith, That *Lewis XI.* dismissed Ambassadors with such good Words, and such handsome Presents, that they always went away pleas'd from him, and dissembled to their Masters what they knew, for the sake of the Profit which they gain'd thereby. *Memoirs Lib. 5. Cap. 14.* I have read in a History of *Venice*, that the principal Cause which moved that Senate immediately to acknowledge *Henry IV.* for King of *France*, was the Relation which was sent them by the Senator *John Mocenique*, who was their Ambassador at the Court of *Henry III.* when he was murder'd. *Commines* saith, That to give audience to Ambassadors, the Prince ought to be well Dress'd, and well-inform'd of what he is to say. *L. 3. c. 8.*

2. There are many Faults and Mal-administrations, which would remain unpunish'd, if the Officers who

commit them, were not hated by those who punish them. If *Germanicus* had not hated *Piso* and his Wife, he possibly would never have remov'd *Vonones* from *Syria*; who in all appearance endeavour'd by the Presents he made to *Planina*, to corrupt the Fidelity of *Piso*, to set him at Liberty. Witness the attempt which he made for it in *Cilicia*, under favour of a Hunting Match, as *Tacitus* relates in the 69 Paragraph of this Book. Which shews, that *Artabanus* had good reason to demand the removal of *Vonones*.

1. Princes who have large Dominions, ought not to travel into other Countreys, because they have more work at home than they can ever do; and in my Opinion, the use of Embassys, was introduc'd to save them this trouble, or rather to teach them the Obligation they lie under to provide for the Necessities of their People, whose repose absolutely depends on their Presence. A Prince who travells into a Foreign Countrey, soon loses the Affection of his Subjects; for besides that, he neglects the Administration of Affairs, they are displeas'd at the great Expences which he is oblig'd to be at, to appear

naries he brought down the Price of Corn, did many Popular things, went abroad without Guards², in Sandals

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

pear Liberal and Magnificent to Strangers. A Point of Honour that draws upon him more curies from his own People, than he gets applause from those whom he enriches. An able Ambassador of *Savoy* told me more than once, that Duke *Charles-Emmanuel* had been at such excessive Expences in his Journey which he took into *France*, about the End of the last Age, that he was straitned thereby above fifteen years; and that if in 1612, he had been Master of the Money which he had left there, he would have had thrice as much as he needed to have obtain'd the Empire, in opposition to the whole House of *Austr. a.* These were his own Words. *Commines* utterly blames the Journey which *Alphonso V.* King of *Portugal* made into *France*, to procure assistance against *Isabella* Queen of *Castille*, and *Ferdinand* of *Aragon* her Husband, who had usurp'd this Crown from his Niece. For during his long stay in *France* which was above a Year, his affairs in *Castille* were chang'd, where the Lords of the Kingdom, who were almost all of his Party before his absence, made their terms with *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, being weary of expecting succours from *France*, and his return. But that which he adds, shews to what Princes expose themselves who go into another's Dominions. The King of *Portugal's* End, saith he, was that he suspected, that the King (*Lewis XI.*) had a design to seize him, and deliver him up to his Enemy the King of *Castille*. For this reason he disguised himself a third time, being resolved to go away to *Rome*, and to retire into a Monastery. For he was ashamed to return into *Castille* or *Portugal*, without having done any thing in *France*, whither he went against the Opinion of many of his Council. In this Habit he was taken by one Robi-

net le Beuf. And half a Page after; This King endeavour'd to marry his Niece to the Dauphine, now *Charles VIII.* in which he could not succeed. Inasmuch, that his coming into *France* was to his great Prejudice and Trouble, and was the Cause that he died soon after his return into *Portugal*. His *Memoirs*, Lib. 5. Cap. 7. *Paul Piasceki* speaking of the Death of Cardinal *John Albert*, Brother to *Uladislus* King of *Poland*, who travell'd into *Italy*, saith, That the wisest Lords of the Kingdom, condemn'd this Passion for travell, as a thing unbecoming, and alway fatal to great Princes; and especially to the Sons of Kings. *Proceres prudentiores talem peregrinationem Principibus majoris nominis, praeipue Regum filiis, indignam improbant.* And in the Margent; *Peregrinatio filii Regum indecora & periculosa. In Chronico ad annum, 1634.* Add hereto, That for the most part Princes return dissatisfy'd with those whose Countreys they have visited, because almost always part of the Honours, which they pretend to, are contested with them. For which reason most have had recourse to the Expedient of being Incognito, during their stay in Foreign Countreys, or their passage through them.

2. Persons placed in high Stations ought never to appear in publick, without the Exterior Marks of their Power; for although Authority is not in the Ensigns, yet they are the Ensigns which attract the Veneration of the People to the Magistrates. And it was partly for this Reason, that they call'd the Duties which they render'd to the Emperors at *Rome*, *purpuram adorare*. And *Martianus* saith, That the Guards which environ good Princes, are not for the Defence of their Bodies, but only to give some lustre to Majesty, Non

Sandals^b, and in a Græcian Habit, in imitation of *Scipio*, who is said to have done the same in *Sicily*, in the heat of the Carthaginian War. *Tiberius* made some gentle Reflections on his Habit, but severely reprimanded him, for entering *Alexandria* without the Prince's Permission, which was contrary to the Order of *Augustus*. For *Augustus* amongst other Secrets of State, had prohibited any Senators or Roman Knights that were of the Illustrious Rank to go into *Egypt*, without a Pass from the Emperor³, for fear lest any one by making himself Master of that Province,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Non custodia corporis sunt, sed quidam imperatoris majestatis sollemnis ornatus, Pompos. Juliam. It is therefore becoming Princes and Great Magistrates to support Majesty by Exterior Splendor, which makes Admiration and Respect enter by the Eyes. *Commines* speaking of the Interview of our *Lewis XI.* and *Henry IV.* King of *Castile*, saith, That the Castilians made a Jest of *Lewis*, because he was in a mean Habit, and wore a Pithul Hat, with a Leaden Image on the top of it; saying, *That it was for Covetousness.* And some lines after, he saith, That the Burgundians contemned the little train of the Emperor *Frederick III.* and the sorry Cloaths of the Germans, *His Memoirs, l. 2. c. 8.* An instance that Princes, and consequently Magistrates also, have need to go with an Equipage suitable to their Grandeur, if they will be respected. *Pagliari* saith, That that which obliged Pope *Gregory XIV.* to give the red Cap to Cardinal *Monks*, was, that during his Cardinalship, he had

often observed the little respect that was given, and even the Indignities which were sometimes offer'd to these venerable Prelates in the throng of great Ceremonies, because having black Caps, they were not sufficiently distinguish'd. *Observation, 213.* And it was for the same Reason, that the late King gave the Pectoral Cross to the Bishops of *France*, who, it is said, are beholding to the rudeness of the Swiss for it.

3. *Germanicus's* intentions were good, but his Imprudence brought them under suspicion. His going into *Egypt* without leave from *Tiberius*, taught the Great Men of *Rome* to condemn the Prohibition of *Augustus*. The opening of the Publick Granaries, the affecting to go abroad without the Rods, might very well appear criminal to *Tiberius*, there being no virtues more dangerous than those which may create a Desire in an Unsteady and Changeable People, to receive for their Master him who hath them.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b The Romans wore Buskins which reach'd up to the Calf of the Leg, but the Græcians wore Shoes made almost like Slippers, which left the upper part of the Foot uncover'd.

^c *Egypt*

Province, (which having the Keys both of the Sea and Land, might be easily defended by a small Force, against Numerous Armies) should starve *Italy*⁴.

LXI. But *Germanicus*, who did not yet know that his Journey had given Offence, went up the River *Nile*, having Embark'd at *Canopus*, a Town built by the *Spartans*, in Memory of a Captain of a Ship of that Name who was buried there, when *Menelaus*, in his return to *Greece*, was driven back by contrary Winds to the Coasts of *Lybia*. The Mouth of the River that is next to *Canopus*, is consecrated to *Hercules*, who, as the Inhabitants affirm, was a Native of their Countrey; and the first of all who bore that Name, with which the rest were honoured after him, because they follow'd him in the same Paths of Valour. He afterwards viewed the great Ruines of *Thebes*, where there were yet remaining some Inscriptions engraven on *Obelisks* in *Ægyptian* Letters, which describ'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. The Knowledge of the Situation, and the Commodities of his Provinces, and of the Manners of their Inhabitants, is very necessary for a Prince; for without this, he will often be deceiv'd in the Choice of his Governors, and send into a Province a Person who will raise nothing but Troubles there; whereas, if he had been sent into another, he might have govern'd with applause. For

instance, If the King of *Spain* should send into *Catalonia* and *Sicily*, (which are two fierce Nations, and whose Obedience is as it were Arbitrary) Viceroy who would take the same Courses that the Viceroy of *Naples*, and the Governors of *Milan* do, he would immediately lose these Provinces, where there is nothing but Bones for the Spanish Ministers to gnaw upon.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^c *Egypt* is environ'd on the South with steep Mountains, which serve for Walls and Bulwarks to it; On the West and the East with Mountains and Deserts; and on the North with a Sea that hath no Road nor Harbours; Which makes it Inaccessible on all sides, and consequently easie to defend. *Augustus* who knew all the Conveniences of this Province, which was a Granary to *Rome*, and all *Italy*, would debar all the Great Men from acquaintance with it, for fear lest any of them should take a Resolution to make himself Master thereof. And this *Vespasian* did when he rebell'd against *Vitellius*. *Sciens Ægyptum plurimam esse partem imperii, saith Josephus, eaque si potitus foret, Vitellium deiciendum sperabat. Cogitabat etiam propugnacula sibi fore illam regionem adversus incerta fortune, nam & terra difficilis accessu; marique impetuosus est.* *Belli Judaici, l. 5.*

^d With

describ'd its ancient Grandeur. One of the Eldest Priests who was order'd to interpret it, reported, That it formerly contain'd seven hundred thousand Men of an age able to bear Arms; and that with an Army of that Number King *Rhameses* conquer'd *Libya*, *Aethiopia*, the *Medes* and *Persians*, *Bactriana*, and *Scythia*, and all the Countrey which is inhabited by the *Syrians*, *Armenians*, and their Neighbours the *Cappadocians*, extending from the *Bithynian* Sea on one side, to the *Lycian* on the other. There was also read an account of the Tributes imposed on the Nations; what weight of Gold and Silver; what Numbers of Horses and Arms for War? How much Ivory and Perfumes for Oblations to the Temples; and what quantities of Corn and other Necessaries of Life, each Nation paid; which equall'd in Magnificence and Value, the Tributes that are now imposed either by the Parthian or the Roman Empire.

LXII. But *Germanicus* was led on with a Desire of seeing other Miracles, whereof the Principal were, the Statue of *Memnon* cut in Stone, which gave a Sound like that of a Humane Voice, when the Rays of the Sun stuck upon it. Pyramids as high as Mountains rais'd in moving and almost unpassable Sands, by the Emulation and Wealth of their Kings. Lakes cut in the Ground for the reception of the Waters of the *Nile* when it overflows, and in other places Caverns so deep, that their bottoms cannot be founded. From hence he went to *Elephantine*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is common for great Princes to raise Magnificent Edifices in Desert and dry Places, and which by their situation seem to be Uninhabitable, to make their Power appear the greater, and to shew that every thing yields to their Fortune. *Philip II.* had this Prospect, when he chose the pitiful Village of the *Escorial*, to build there the Famous

Monastery which bears this Name, and which the Spaniards call the Eighth Wonder of the World, although an old *Alcade* aged fourscore years, answer'd an Officer, who ask'd him in the King's Name his Opinion of it; *That the King was going to make a Nest of Caterpillars who would devour the whole Country.* Cabrera, c. 11. l. 6. of his History.

1. It

Elephantine and *Syene*, heretofore the Boundaries of the Roman Empire, which now extends to the Red Sea.

LXIII. Whilst *Germanicus* pass'd the Summer in Progresses, *Drusus* acquired no small Glory amongst the Germans by fomenting their Divisions¹, and persuaded them, that now *Maroboduus*^d was already weakned, they ought to follow their blow till he was entirely ruin'd². There was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is a true sign of the Destruction of a Country, when those divide and abandon one another, who ought to be united. *Memoirs*, l. 2. c. 1. *Dim singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur*, saith *Tacitus*, in *Agricola*. The Landgrave of *Hesse*, who commanded the Army of the League of *Smalcald* against *Charles V.* had reason to say to the Confederate Cities through which he pass'd, *My Friends let every Fox keep his Tail*; to let them understand, that the League could not subsist but by their common agreement. *Epitomy of the Life of C. V.* There can't be better Counsel than what the Lord *Contay* gave the *C. de Charolois*, who took it very ill, that the Lords of the League of the

Publick Good held a Council amongst themselves without calling him to it. *Bear it patiently*, said *Contay*; *for if you displease them, they will make their Peace with King Lewis more advantageously than you; as you are the Strongest, so you ought to be the Wisest: Beware therefore of dividing them, and use your utmost industry to maintain a good Correspondence betwixt them and your self.* *Memoirs of Commynes*, l. 1. c. 12.

2. This Example sheweth, that there is scarce any such thing as good Faith among Princes; and that the Leagues and Confederacies which they enter into, are rather snares which they lay for one another, than Ties of Friendship. Commonly the Weakest

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^d With what Prudence and Conduct, saith *Paterculus*, *Tiberius*, by the Ministry of his Son *Drusus*, forced *Maroboduus* to quit the Kingdom which he had Invaded; and wherein he hid himself as Serpents do in the Bowels of the Earth? *Hist.* 2. Cap. 129. *Lewis XI.* took almost the same Method against the Duke of *Burgundy*, not only by Separating from him all his Allies, *Edward*, King of *England*; *Gelasius*, Duke of *Milan*; who had before left the Alliance of the King for that of the Duke of *Burgundy*; *Renatus*, King of *Sicily*, who design'd to have made him his Heir, and to put *Provence* into his hands; the *Duchess of Savoy*, the King's Sister, who, saith *Commynes*, was so much in the Duke's Interest, that the Duke disposed of the House of *Savoy* as of his own; but also by raising him up new Enemies, as the *Swiss*, who beat him in two Battels; and the Cities of *Basil*, *Strasbourg*, *Nuremberg*, and *Frankfort*, who enter'd into an Alliance with the *Swiss*; and to injure him was thought enough to get their own Pardon. *His Memoirs*, Lib. 5. Cap. 1. & 2.

e Now

was amongst the *Gotones*, a Young Nobleman named *Catualda*, who having been banish'd by *Maroboduus*, attempted now to take his Revenge on him in his declining Fortune¹. And in order to it enters the Borders of the *Marcomanni* with a good Force, and having corrupted the Principal Men of the Countrey to joyn him, he forces the Palace, and the Castle that stood near it, where were found the ancient Spoils of the Suevi, and Cooks, and Traders of our Provinces, whom first Freedom of Commerce, afterwards, desire of Lucre, and at last, Forgetfulness of their own Country, had transplanted from their Habitations into the Enemy's Soil.

LXIV. *Maroboduus* being deserted on all sides, had no other refuge but to the Mercy of the Roman Emperor. Wherefore passing the *Danube* where it waters the Province of *Nerica*^e, he wrote to *Tiberius*, not as a Fugitive or

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Weakest joyns himself with the Strongest, only to make himself more considerable to his Neighbours and his Enemies; and this was the Motive of *Maroboduus*, who by his Alliance with the Romans, hoped to become more formidable to the *Cherusci*, and to his Rival *Arminius*. The Strongest, on the contrary, allies himself with the Weaker, under colour to protect and defend him; but in truth, to lay the Yoke of Slavery upon him, as soon as he can find an Opportunity to do it. And this is what *Tiberius* did with respect to *Maroboduus*, in sending *Drusus* into Germany to sign a League with him. Thus, it may be truly said, *That Leagues make more noise, than they do service; That they have more of Appearance and Ostentation, than of Reality and Strength; and that, in fine, they rather hasten the Ruine of the Weaker or the less Politick, than*

they do retard or hinder it.

3. Observe *Tiberius's* Policy. After he had made use of *Maroboduus* to give a Check to *Arminius* the sworn Enemy of the Romans, he made use of *Catualda*, to ruine *Maroboduus*; and afterwards of *Maroboduus's* Faction to expel *Catualda*, whereby he completed the ruine of Germany. King *Lewis XI.* saith *Commynes*, better understood this Art of dividing Nations, than any other Prince whom I ever knew. He spared neither his Money nor his Pains, not only towards the Masters, but also towards the Servants, *Lib. 2. Cap. 1.* With a Hundred and twenty thousand Crowns of Gold, he divided the D. of *Burgundy* from the Dukes of *Normany* and *Brittany*, and forc'd his Brother to renounce his Right to the Dutchy of *Normandy*, for a Pension of twenty thousand Crowns. *Cap. 5.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e Now *Bavaria*.

^f *Paterculus*

or a Petitioner, but like one that had not forgot his former greatness¹. That although several Nations had courted him, as one who had been lately so renown'd a King to make their Countries his retreat, yet he preferr'd the Friendship of the Romans to all their Offers. *Tiberius* answer'd him, *That he should have a Safe and Honourable retreat in Italy if he thought fit to stay; but if it should be more for the advantage of his Affairs to go elsewhere, he should go with the same Liberty that he came*². But he afterwards told the Senate, that he had been a more Formidable Enemy, than ever *Philip* was to the Athenians, or *Pyrrhus* or *Antiochus* to the Romans³. His Speech is yet extant, wherein he extoll'd the Greatness of his Person, the Fierceness of the Nations that were subject to him, and what measures he had taken to destroy so Dangerous and so near an Enemy to Italy^f. *Maroboduus* was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. How Unfortunate soever a Prince be, it always becomes him to remember his past fortune; neither to do nor say any thing, which may give People reason to believe that he was unworthy of the Rank that he held, or worthy of the Evils that he endures. *John Frederick*, Duke of *Saxony*, falling into the hands of *Charles V.* spoke to him to give order that he should be treated as a Prince of the Empire; and so far was he from humbling himself to the Emperor, who spoke to him in menacing terms, that he put on his hat and answer'd, *That it was in vain that his Majesty went to fright him, and that by becoming his Prisoner, he did not cease to be a Prince.*

2. There is no Prince who doth not rejoyce to receive another into

his Dominions; for besides the Honour of the Hospitality, he may draw thence very great advantages in due Time and Place. And consequently, 'tis no wonder, if ordinarily their Departure is not so free as their Entrance. If the late Duke of *Orleans* had not deceived the Marquis d'*Aytone*, President of the Council of State of the Low-Countrys, he had run a great risque of continuing a long time in the hands of the Spaniards, to serve as a Pretence for War against *France*.

3. The more illustrious the Conquer'd is, the more Glorious is the Conqueror. If I had made no resistance, said *Caracallus* to the Emperor *Claudius*, my Defeat and your Victory would never have been talk'd of. *Ann. 12.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f *Paterculus* saith, that *Maroboduus* had so far enlarged his Power, that he was become formidable to the Roman Empire; that all the Malecontents, who withdrew themselves from obedience to the Romans, fled for Sanctuary

was kept at *Ravenna* to awe the *Suevi* with the fear of his return⁴, if they should at any time grow Insolent. But he stirr'd not out of *Italy* for the space of Eighteen Years, and he was conscious that he had lessen'd his Glory by setting too great a Value on Life⁵. *Catualda* had the same

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. There is nothing that Rebels are more afraid of, than to fall again under the Power of a Prince, whom they have dethron'd. The People of *Liege*, who upon the Instigation of *Lewis XI.* had revolted from the Duke of *Burgundy*, seeing their City besieged by these two Princes in person, purposed, faith *Commines* to hazard all; for as they knew that they were undone, and that if they must die in the Execution of such an Enterprize (which was to make a Sally out of the Town, with the Bravest of their Men, and to kill the King and the Duke in their houses) they should at the worst have a Glorious End; and they wanted but little of having succeeded in their Design. *His Memoirs*, l. 2. c. 12. Thus nothing is more advantageous to a Prince, who hath dangerous and unsteady Neighbours who have revolted, than to give their Prince a Retreat to awe them by the Fears of his Restoration.

5. A Prince who hath long survived the loss of his Kingdom, gives

occasion to People to believe, that he is little affected therewith, and that consequently, he had not the Qualities which were requisite to make him worthy to possess it, nor the Courage which was necessary, to keep the Possession of it. Don *Pio Mutio* becomes an Advocate for *Maroboduus* against *Tiberius*, who ascribes to a Poorness of Spirit, the Care which this King took to prolong his Life. Let us leave, faith he, this Itch of Dying to the Stoicks, and use the Means to preserve that Life, which God hath given us to assist our Relations and our Friends, and to serve our Country. And some lines after he concludes with these words: Therefore our Author unjustly blames *Maroboduus*, since in my Opinion there is no less glory, for a Man to be a Good Husband of his Life to serve God, his Country, and his Friends, and to reserve himself for a better Fortune; than to run into Battels, and throw it

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Sanctuary to this Prince, who maintain'd an Army of 70000 Foot, and 4000 Horse; That he had reduc'd under his Obedience all his Neighbours, either by Force by making continual War on them; or by Treaties which obliged them to declare for him; that he was in particular formidable by the situation of his States, which had *Germany* on the Front and on the Left Hand; *Pannonia* on the Right; and *Norica* on the Back; so that they fear'd him on all sides, as a Prince who was ready to fall upon them. Add hereto, that his Frontiers were not but 200 miles, of a little more, distant from the *Alps*, which serv'd as Boundaries to *Italy*, *Cap.* 108. & 109. The last Duke of *Lorraine*, seems to have follow'd the Steps of *Maroboduus*, as they may easily observe, who will compare them together.

g. *Alphonse*

same Fate, and no other refuge; for being expell'd not long after by the *Hermunduri* under their General *Vibilius*, he was received by the Romans, who sent him to *Forum Julii*, a Colony of *Gallia Narbonensis*. And lest the Barbarous People who came with these two Princes, might raise any Disturbances in these Provinces, which were in perfect quiet, they were transplanted beyond the *Danube*, betwixt the River *Marus* and *Cusus*, and *Vannius* of the Nation of the *Quadi*, was set over them as King.

LXV. The Senate having at the same time receiv'd the News that *Germanicus* had made *Artaxias* King of *Armenia*, they decreed, that he and *Drusus* should enter the City in Ovation, and that Arches with their Statues should be built on both sides of the Temple of *Mars* the Avenger. And *Tiberius* being better pleas'd that he had made Peace by his Prudence¹, than if he had ended the War with the Sword, employs the same Artifices against *Rhesusporis*, King of *Thrace*. After the Death of *Rhemetalces*, who was in possession of the whole Countrey, *Augustus* had divid'd it betwixt his Brother *Rhesusporis*, and his Son *Cotys*. In which division, the

Arrable-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

it away, to acquire Glory, which like smoke is carried away by a Blast of Wind. But this Consideration, which is the 145. of the Second Part, is fitter for Monks and Tradesmen, than for Princes and Noblemen, to whom War is the most Natural Employment.

1. A Prince who understands Negotiations, as *Tiberius* did, ought always to prefer the way of Treaties to that of Arms. It is certainly more honour for him to overcome his Enemies by Skill, than by Force. A Gallon Gentleman who was in the Service of *Edward* King of England, on occasion of the Peace of *Pequigny*, said, That his Master had gain'd Nine Battels in Person, but that what

we made him lose by this Peace which drove the English out of France, brought him greater Shame and Loss, than the other Nine which he had gain'd, had acquir'd him Honour and Advantage. *Commines*, l. 4. c. 10. of his Memoirs. Queen *Margaret* speaking of the Peace which the Duke of *Alençon* made at *Nerac* with the King of *Navarre* and the Huguenots of his Party: My Brother, said she, having made a Peace to the Satisfaction of the King and all the Catholics, and not less to the Contentment of the Huguenots, return'd thence into France, with as much Honour and Glory for having compos'd so great Troubles, as from all the Victories which he had obtain'd by Arms. *Memoirs*, l. 3.

S

1. Divisions

Arable Land, the Cities, and the Parts adjoining to Greece, fell to *Cotys's* share; the Wild uncultivated Parts, and which border'd on Enemies, to *Rhescuporis*. The tempers of these two Kings were as different; the Former being Mild and Complaisant; the Latter Covetous, Ambitious, and Cruel. However, they liv'd at first in an appearance of Friendship. But in a while, *Rhescuporis* pass'd his Bounds, usurp'd upon *Cotys*, and stuck not sometimes to use Force where he found Resistance; but this he did by wary and slow Methods in the Reign of *Augustus*, who he feared would revenge the Injustice as he was the Founder of these two Kingdoms; But when he heard of his Death, he sent Troops of Robbers, and demolished some of his Castles, to give an occasion for War.

LXVI. *Tiberius* who feared nothing more than new Troubles, dispatches away a Centurion, with a Message to the two Kings, enjoying them not to decide their Quarrel by the Sword'. *Cotys* immediately disbands the Army he had rais'd; and *Rhescuporis* with a feign'd Submission, desir'd, that they might have an Interview, and terminate their Differences by Treaty; and what with the Easie Compliance of the one, and the Fraudulent Compliance of the other, they soon adjust'd not only the Time and Place of their Treaty; but also the Conditions

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Divisions never began in a Country, saith *Commines*, but they have proved destructive in the end, and very difficult to extinguish, *Lib. 4. Cap. 9.* For a King to nourish Divisions betwixt Princes, and Persons of Virtue and Courage, is to kindle a Fire in his House; for sometimes one or the other will say, *The King is against us*; and under this Pretence will think of fortifying themselves, and making Alliances with his Enemies, *L. 6. c. ult.* And whilst one of the Parties takes Arms

against the Prince, he is always ill obey'd by the other; who thinking that he stands in great need of them, sells their Services at the higher price. Thus a Powerful King ought never to suffer the Princes who are his Vassals or Neighbours to go to War, for the Fire comes to spread it self thence into his Dominions. On the contrary, he ought to assume the Office of an Arbitrator, or a Mediator betwixt the Parties, and threaten to declare against him, who will not hearken to Peace,

ditions of their Agreement. *Rhescuporis*, under colour of ratifying the Agreement with greater Ceremony, makes a Feast, which he protracts till Midnight, and then puts *Cotys* in Chains², who amidst all his Jollity suspected nothing; but as soon as he perceiv'd the Treachery, he in vain conjur'd him, by the Sacredness of his Character, as a King³, by the Common Gods of their Family, and by

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. A wise Prince ought never to put himself into the hands of another, with whom he hath great Interests depending. He that goes to meet another, can't be reasonably secur'd by any Promises, Oaths, or Passports. Safe Conducts are as feeble Arms against Force, as Paper is against Iron: And *Julius II.* before he was Pope, said often, *That they were great Fools, who exchanged Liberty and Life for a Dead Beast's Skin**. (Meaning Parchment) * *Apolo- gy for the Council of Pisa.* The Duke of Burgundy, wrote to *Lewis XI.* a large Letter with his own hand, giving him security to come and to return; and the King took no guard with him, but would rely entirely upon the security given by the Duke. *Commines, l. 2. c. 5.* Notwithstanding, the Duke order'd the Gates of the City and of the Castle of *Peronne* to be shut, saying, *That the King was come thither to betray him*: and these Gates were shut three days; during which time the Duke did not see the King, nor did any of the King's Servants enter into the Castle, but through the Wicket of the Gate, *Chap. 7. and 9. of the same Book.* This Duke, when he was only Count *de Charolois*, committed the same Error, by suffering himself to be insensibly led on by the King, with whom he walk'd to a Place call'd the *Boulevard* or *Bulwark*, through which People enter into *Paris*; for which he was much blamed by the Count *de S. Pol*, and by the Mare-

chal *de Burgundy*, who put him in mind of the Misfortune that happen'd to his Grandfather King *Charles* the Seventh, at *Montreuil-faut-Tonne.* To which Reprimand, the Duke return'd this Answer; *Don't rebuke me, for I know very well my great Folly, but I did not perceive it, till I was near the Bulwark.* *Memoirs, l. 1. c. 13.* 3. Consanguinity, Honour, and all the Essential Duties of Civil Society, are feeble Ties for Princes, for they have commonly no other Rule of their Conduct but their Interest, and the present Possession of all that is agreeable to them. They pretend that there are Privileges, which belong only to them; and that what is call'd Breach of Faith in Private Men and Subjects; ought to be call'd Policy and Reason of State in Transactions between Princes. Princes, saith *Murina*, have a Custom to love their Profit, better than their Word and their Duty; they steer their Course that way where they see the greatest Hopes, without being concern'd what Judgment posterity will pass upon them. *His Hist. l. 15. c. 18.* In short, we may say of all Princes, what was said in *Portugal* of King Cardinal *Henry*, That as scrupulous as he was, he had two Consciences; one for what he would have, and another for what he would not. *Cabrera's Hist. l. 12. c. 12.* The same Historian observes, as an extraordinary Thing, and which many Princes would have stuck at, That *Philip* going into *Flanders*, en-

by the Rights of Hospitality, to desist. Having thus made himself Master of all *Thrace*, he wrote to *Tiberius*, that he had only prevented the Treachery of *Cotys*, who was plotting his ruine; and at the same time strengthen'd himself with New Levies, both Horse and Foot, under pretence of making War on the *Scythians* and *Bastarnians*.

LXVII. *Tiberius* answer'd him with a great deal of Temper; That if he had used no Fraud, he might safely rely on his own Innocence; but that neither himself, nor the Senate could distinguish Justice from Wrong, before they had heard the Cause; and that therefore he should deliver up *Cotys*, and by proving the Injustice with which he charg'd him, vindicate himself. *Latinus Pandus*, Proprator of *Mæsia*, sent these Letters into *Thrace* by the Soldiers who were to receive *Cotys*. But *Rhescuporis* fluctuating betwixt Fear and Anger; and chusing rather to be guilty of an accomplished Villany, than of an Imperfect one, orders *Cotys* to be murther'd, and gave out, that he had kill'd himself. Notwithstanding this, *Tiberius* alter'd not his measures, but acted the same Part towards him; info-

much,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

trusted, the Person of *Don Carlos*, the Sole Heir of the Spanish Monarchy, with the *Infanta Maria* his Sister, and with *Maximilian*, King of *Bohemia*, whom she had married. Lib. 1. Cap. 2.

1. Great Crimes, saith *Tacitus*,

are begun with Danger, but when they are once begun, there is no other remedy, but to compleat them, Ann. 11. and 12. For, saith *Machiavel*, a Man never escapes out of one Danger but by another Danger. History of Florence, Lib. 3.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

g *Alphonso XI.* King of *Castile*, dealt with *John* Lord of *Biscay*, after the same manner, as *Rhescuporis* did with *Cotys*. He invited *John* to an Interview in the City of *Toro*, with a Promise to give him in marriage his Sister the *Infanta Eleonor*; and to take all suspicion from him, he removed from his Court *Garcet Lasso de la Vega*, his Chief Minister, who, as *John* said, was his Mortal Enemy. When *John* was at *Toro*, he invited him to come and Dine with him on *All Saints Day*. *John* went thither without Arms, and without Fear, by reason of the Festival, and was slain in the midst of the Rejoycings of the Feast,

h With

much, that after the Decease of *Pandus*, of whom *Rhescuporis* complain'd that he was his Enemy², he made *Pomponius Flaccus*^h Governor of *Mæsia*, who was a well-experienc'd Soldier, and an intimate Friend of the Kings, and therefore the fittest Person to circumvent him³.

LXVIII. *Flaccus* arriving in *Thrace*, prevail'd with him by great Promises to enter our Frontiers, notwithstanding his Guilt made him suspicious¹, and sometimes to hesitate. A strong Guard pretended for his Honour² was sent

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is the common Pretence of Great Men who will not come to Court, when they are call'd thither by the Prince, to impute their Disobedience to the Fear they have of being oppress'd by his Ministers, or by his Favourites. Thus the Constable *St. Pol*, excus'd himself to *Lewis XI.* for appearing before him in Arms, and with the Precaution of a Rail betwixt them, saying, That he had not done it, but to defend himself against the Count de *Damartin* his Mortal Enemy. *Commines*.

3. There is no Friendship which is proof against the Fear of losing the Prince's Favour, or the Hopes of gaining it. The Order to apprehend the *Mareschal de Mirillac* was carried by one of his near Relations; who besides, was God-son to his Brother the Keeper of the Seals. The Case of *Lobkovitz*, Chief Minister to the Emperor, was singular, who having no tie of Kindred or Friendship with Prince *William* of *Fur-*

temberg, now Cardinal, gave notice to the Pope's Nuntio, of the secret Sentence of Death given against him, (and which was to have been Executed *inter privatos parietes*) to the end that he might demand him in the Name of the Pope, as being under his Jurisdiction as a Bishop. Which indeed sav'd this Prelate's Life, but was the occasion that *Lobkovitz* was accus'd of holding Intelligence with *France*, and that he was taken off by Poison. *Memoirs de Chev. de R.*

1. Suspicion and Distrust are learn'd in the School of Wickedness. And according to *Tacitus*, it is very difficult to surprize People who have been a long time wicked. *Ministris tentare arduum videbatur mulieris usu scelerum adversus infidias intentæ.* Ann. 14.

2. A Prince who has taken refuge in the Dominion of another, ought to look upon all those who are appointed

HISTORICAL NOTES.

h With what Prudence, saith *Paterculus*, did *Tiberius* draw *Rhescuporis* to *Rome*, who had murther'd *Cotis* his Nephew and Copartner in the Throne. In this Affair he made use of the conduct of *Pomponius Flaccus*, a Consular Person, who was fitted to execute with success, whatsoever was desir'd of him, that might be done with Honour; and who by an unaffected Virtue merited Glory, rather than sought for it. Lib. 2. Par. 129.

S 3

1 *Proletum*

sent to attend him; and the Tribunes and Captains by intreaty drill'd him on, and the farther he went, the Closer they guarded him; so that he perceiv'd at last there was no remedy but that he must go to *Rome*, where he was accus'd by *Cotys's* Wife before the Senate, and condemn'd never to return to his Kingdom. *Thrace* is anew divided betwixt his Son *Rhæmetalcès*, who was known to have been an Enemy to the Violences of his Father, and the Children of *Cotys*: But these being Minors, the Administration of their State, until they should come of Age, was committed to *Trebellianus Rufus*, who had been Prætor, after the Example of our Ancestors, who sent *M. Lepidus* into *Ægypt* to be Guardian to the Children of *Ptolomy*ⁱ. *Rhesusporis* was carried to *Alexandria*, where he was put to death for attempting to make his Escape, though possibly this Crime was forg'd against him.

LXIX. At

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

pointed to wait upon him when he goes abroad, as so many Spies. The more Honour this Train doth him in appearance, the less Liberty he hath; and this is what *Henry* Prince of *Conde*, one day complain'd of to the Count *de Fuentès*, Governor of *Milan*, who had him guarded with wonderful care, under pretence, that Kings having long hands, it would be easie for *Henry IV.* whose Indignation he had incur'd, to have him carried away from *Milan* it self, if the Count did not watch for the

safety of his Person. It is well known how much the Spaniards were troubled at the Manner of *M.* the Duke of *Orleans's* retiring from *Brussels*, although the Marquis *d'Ayotne* said, That the only dissatisfaction he had about it, was, that his Higness had depriv'd him of the Means of rendering him the Honour that was due to a Prince of his Rank, which would have been more for the Dignity of his Person, and the Satisfaction of his Catholick Majesty. *Memoirs of Montresor.*

1. Besides

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁱ *Ptolomy Philopator*, Father to *Ptolomy Epiphanes*, who succeeded him at the Age of five years. The Romans sent *Lepidus* into *Ægypt*, to oppose the Ambitious Designs of *Antiochus*, Sirname'd the Great, King of *Syria*, and of *Philip* * King of *Macedonia*, who design'd to have shar'd betwixt them this Young Prince's Kingdom. (* This was *Philip*, Father to *Perseus* the last King of *Macedonia*.)

k *Evocate*

LXIX. At the same time *Vonones*, who being, as I have said, confin'd in *Cilicia*, having corrupted his Guards, under colour of going a Hunting, endeavour'd to make his Escape into *Armenia*, and thence to the *Albanians* and the *Heniochians*, and from thence to the King of the *Scythians*, who was his Kinsman. Leaving therefore the Sea-coasts, he takes the By-ways of the Forests, and with all the speed that his Horse could make, posts towards the River *Pyramus*. But the Country People having had notice of the King's Escape, broke down the Bridges, and the River being not Fordable, he was taken and bound on the Banks of the River by *Vibius Protor*, General of the Horse, and an Evocate^k, named *Remius*, who before had the Guard of him, run him through the Body with his Sword; as if it had been in revenge of his flight, which made it more credible that he was privy to his Escape, and that he kill'd him to prevent his Discovery of it.

LXX. *Germanicus* at his return from *Ægypt* found all the Orders which he had Establish'd amongst the Legions, or in the Cities, laid aside, or revers'dⁱ, which drew

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Besides that Hunting is good for Princes, for the Health of their Bodies; and being an Image of War, it teaches them that Art by way of Diversion; it is also of advantage to them to be Hunters, because of the favourable Opportunities that this Exercise gives them, when they are in the hands of their Enemies.

1. New Ministers, saith *Anthony Perez*, are wont to do as New Engineers, who to change the Delight of those who went before them, demolish the Works which they had begun, and consume the Prince's Money in unnecessary Expences. In the *Aphorisms of his Relations*.

2. *Communes*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k *Evocati* were Veterans who were list'd anew, but without being obliged to the Military Offices; so call'd, *quia militiæ desinitis rursus ad ipsam revocabantur*.

drew from him some hard words against *Piso*, who was designing ill things against him. At last, *Piso* was preparing to quit *Syria*, but the Sickness of *Germanicus* staid him; and when he heard of his recovery, and that Publick Thanks were return'd to the Gods for it, he sent his Guards to disperse the People of *Antioch* who were solemnizing the Thanksgiving, to force away the very Victims from before the Altars, and to put an End to the Ceremonies. After which, he went to *Seleucia*¹, to expect the Issue of the Relapse which *Germanicus* fell into, whose suspicion that he was poyson'd by *Piso*, much increas'd his Distemper². There were found in the Floor and the Walls the Remains of Humane Carcasses dug-up, Charms and Sorceries, and *Germanicus's* Name engrav'd on Plates of Lead, Bones half burnt, and besmear'd with Gore, and other Witchcrafts³, by which

Souls,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. *Commines* had good reason to say, That Suspicions are the greatest Diseases of Princes, and which much shortens their Lives. Cardinal de *Richelieu* paints Princes to the Life, when he says, that they believe their Suspicions as Oracles, and do as Magicians, who make themselves drunk in their false Science, for an Event the knowledge whereof they owe to Chance. In an *Apology for his Conduct towards Queen Mary de Medicis*.

3. There are many People, who that they may pass for Men of great Sense, believe nothing of all that which Historians and other Authors, speak of Magicians and Sorcerers; but the Holy Scriptures, and the Authority of the Church, which Excommunicates and Anathematizes

them every Sunday in Parish-Churches, will not suffer us to doubt of the Truth thereof. And consequently Princes and Magistrates can never proceed with too much rigour against these publick Pests. It is observ'd in the Journal of the Reign of *Henry III.* that in the Reign of *Charles IX.* impunity had multiply'd this Vermin to the Number of thirty thousand Persons. However, we must not believe that Sorcerers have all that Power to Hurt and Kill which some ascribe to them. *Henry III.* lived still, notwithstanding all the Wax-Images, which they pricked in the Place of the Heart, during the Masses of 40 hours, which those of the League caus'd to be said in the Parish Churches of *Paris*. The same Journal, 1589.

4. The

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 The Capital City of *Mesopotamia*, seated on the *Tygris*.

2 *Strabo*

Souls, as it is believed, are devoted to the Infernal Gods. Some were also accus'd to have been sent by *Piso*, to observe the Progress of his Distemper¹.

LXXI. As these things came to the Ears of *Germanicus*, they added both to his Fears and his Anger. If my Chamber, said he, is beset? If I must expire before my Enemy's Eyes, what will afterwards become of my Miserable Wife, and my Poor Children? *Piso* thinks the Poyson works too slowly, and is impatient till he becomes the sole Master of the Province and the Legions. But *Germanicus* is not yet sunk so low, but that he is able to hinder the Murderer from enjoying the Prize of his Villany². Hereupon, he writes a Letter to *Piso*, wherein he renounc'd his Friendship³; and some add, that he commanded him to leave the Province. Nor did *Piso* make any longer stay, but took Ship: However, he made the Ship sail but slowly,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. The Curiosity of knowing the Progress of the Diseases of Princes, is almost always fatal to those who inquire after it. As nothing afflicts Princes more than the approaches of Death, so nothing gives them greater Indignation against Great Men, than a certain Imprudent Hastiness, that discovers that they expect a New Reign. M. the Duke de la Rochefoucault makes a Reflection, which agrees well with this Subject. If, saith he, the Parties which the principal Persons of the Realm made, some for the Queen, and others for Monsieur, did not discover themselves more; it was because the King's recovery, which seem'd to be in a fair Way, made them fear, lest he should be inform'd of their Practices, and should look upon it as a Crime in them to be so careful before-hand, to establish their fortunes after his Death.

1. It is common enough for Princes and Great Men, to fore-see and fore-tell at their Death, the Misfor-

tunes that will befall their Children. *Germanicus* prophesy'd.

2. He that hath not power enough to defend himself against Oppression, has oftentimes Friends enough courageously to revenge him after his Death. Which ought to be consider'd by those, who find themselves supported by favour, make trial of their Power on Great Men. For sooner or later the Oppression is returned upon themselves.

3. There is not now-a-days so good faith amongst Men; Dissimulation and Double-dealing are become so much the Mode, that People are generally so far from openly renouncing the Friendship of those who have disobligh'd them, that on the contrary, they make greater expressions of it than ever, that they may more securely ruine them. The Friends of this Age, saith *Anthony Perez*, have the Figure of Men, but the Heart of Wild Beasts. *Kostrov humanus, coras ferus de feris.*

1. Let

slowly, that he might the sooner come back, if Germanicus's Death should make way for his return to Syria.

LXXII. Germanicus after some little hopes of recovery flagg'd again¹; and perceiving that his end was drawing on, he spake to this Effect to his Friends that stood about him. *If I had dy'd a Natural Death, I might justly have complain'd of the Gods for ravishing me in the Bloom of my Youth, by an untimely Death from my Parents, my Children², and my Country; but now being taken off by the Treachery of Piso and Plancina³, I leave my last desires with you: Acquaint my Father and my Brother, what Cruelties I have suffer'd, and with what Perfidiousness I have been treated, and how that at last I end a most miserable Life, by the worst kind of Deaths⁴. They whose good Fortune depended on mine, or who were ally'd to me by blood, nay even they who before envoy'd*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Let Princes be never so sick, Flatterers make them almost always hope, that they will recover. They deceive them to the very moment that they depart to give an account to God, without any one being concern'd for their Salvation; in this one thing more unhappy than the most miserable Subject they have. Don Carlos Colon speaking of the sudden Death of Alexander Duke of Parma, saith, That he knew not that he was dying, but by the Countenance of his Servants and Physicians⁵; intimating that this Prince understood that by their Eyes, which he ought to have known from their Mouths. * *Lib. 5. of his History of the Wars of Flanders.*

2. A good Father, as Germanicus was, could not have a greater Trouble at his Death, than to leave a Wife and Children whom he lov'd tenderly, to the mercy of his Enemies.

3. It is very hard for private Persons, who are accus'd by a Prince that is the People's Favourite, to

shelter themselves from the Storm; which so heavy an Accusation draws upon them.

4. Poyson is the Plague of Princes; for it is almost the only kind of Death, against which it is impossible for them to guard themselves, what cautions soever they make use of against the Treachery of their Domestick Officers. And thence it is, that People ordinarily attribute their Death to Poyson; and that they themselves are so often troubled with suspicions of being poyson'd. To this purpose I remember, I have read in the Relations of a Venetian Ambassador at Rome, that in the Pontificate of Urban VIII. an Italian Gentleman told a Jesuite in Confession, that he had poyson'd five Popes, which is the more wonderful, because the Nephews, whose whole Fortune depends on the Continuance of the Pontificates of their Uncles, watch with Argus's Eyes for the Preservation of him, whose Death reduces them to a private Condition.

5. Those

envoy'd my Glory, will lament my hard Fate, that after all the Successes I have had, and the Battels I have escap'd, I should at last fall by the Treachery of a Woman⁶. You will have opportunity to complain to the Senate, and to demand Justice. The great Duty of Friends is not to shew their Affections to the Dead in Fruitless Lamentations, but to remember what he desir'd, and execute what he left in charge. Strangers will weep for Germanicus. But it is your part to revenge my Death, if you lov'd me rather than my Fortune⁷. Set before the Eyes of the People of Rome, my Wife, the Grand-Daughter of Augustus, with our six Children. Compassion will be on your side that accuse⁸; and though they should pretend secret Orders for their Villanies⁹, they will either

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. Those who have Envoy'd us in Prosperity, or during our Lives, freely pity us in Adversity, or at least alter our Death; because they have the Glory of appearing generous, when they have nothing more to fear.

6. Nothing seems stranger, than that a General of an Army should dye by the Hands of a Woman, after he hath pass'd his whole Life in Battels and Dangers. Notwithstanding this Misfortune hath befallen many great Captains, God having permitted it so to be, to punish their Pride by an humbling Death.

7. It is decent for Women to weep, saith Tacitus, but Men have a greater Duty to perform, which is to remember. *Feminis lugere honestum est, viris meminisse.* In Germania. It is not (said a great Orator to the Regent Anna of Austria) by useless Complaints, and superfluous Grief, that a great Soul like your Majesty's, ought to expels her Piety and her Love to the Ashes of her Husband; it is by Executing his Orders; it is by proposing to your Imitation the Image of his Virtues; it is by courageously conducting the Fortune of the State. Ogier in the

Preliminary Epistle to the Funeral Oration of Lewis XIII.

8. In the Life-time of Princes it is very difficult to distinguish their Faithful and Disinterested Servants from those that are not so; because the Favours they are capable of doing, are apt to make it be believed, that all who adhere to them, adore the Fortune, and not the Person; but after their Death, it is known by the Duties that are paid them, and by the Execution of their last Desires, who were worthy, or who were unworthy of their Affection and Favours.

9. When the Judges are touch'd with Compassion for the Accusers, there are no hopes of Mercy for the Accused; especially, if they are Persons who have been long hated, as Piso and Plancina were for their Arrogance.

10. Many Violences and Excesses are committed in remote Provinces, of which the Governors and Principal Ministers would be hard put to it to shew their Orders. These Officers deserve double Punishment: First, for the abuse of their Power; and Secondly, for the Danger to which they expose the Prince, by authorising

either not be believed, or not acquitted. His Friends taking him by the right Hand, as he was ready to expire, swore, they would lose their own Lives, but they would revenge his Death".

LXXIII. Then Germanicus turning himself towards his Wife, he beseech'd her, *That if she had any regard to his Memory, and to the Interest of their common Children, she would lay aside her haughty temper, and submit her Mind to the severity of her Fortune, lest at her return to Rome, she should by a Vain Emulation exasperate those who were too powerful for her*. Thus much he spoke publickly, and some.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

authorising with his Name and pretended Will, such Acts of Injustice as make him pass for a Tyrant; which is an Injury to him, that can't be repair'd, but by an Example that is capable to undeceive the People.

11. The Christian Religion commands us to pardon the Injuries that are done to our selves; but it doth not forbid us to avenge those that are done to our Friends, when Justice and the Laws are on their side. The Gospel obliges us to the First, and Civil Society to the Latter.

1. We ought never to have any Competition with the Prince's Favourites or Ministers. It is better to retire from Court, than to enter the Lists with them. If the Prince, saith Cabrera, hath chosen any one of those whom he loves to be his Chief Minister, we ought to honour him according to the Rank which he holds, and according to the Influence which he hath on his Prince. It is advantageous to make him a Friend; and on the contrary, it is dangerous to judge whether he deserves the Place and Authority which is given him. Remember the Brazen Image, which Amasis King of Egypt caus'd to be worshipp'd, that was made of a Bason wherein he was wont to wash his Feet, and those

words of Tacitus, *We adored the Colleague of your Consulship, and him who represented your Person in the Administration of the Empire*. For otherwise, there is no security for high Birth, nor for great Merit, which have always been suspected and hated by Favourites. And it is not enough to say; *I will live at Court without Ambition, without any Pretensions, without Employment, and without having any thing to do with any one*: for none that hear this believe any thing of it. His History, Lib. 7. Cap. 7. He adds, that the Duke of Alva put in for the Government of the Low-Countries for no other reason, but to get off from the Level with Cardinal Espinosa, and Prince Ruy Gomez, whom favour made equal to him in Esteem and Credit; although they were inferior to him in abilities. Notwithstanding, Cardinal Briconet, the Chief Minister of King Charles VIII. had very small abilities, and understood nothing at all of Military Affairs; however, saith Commynes, (who knew much more of it than he) when I was ill-treated in the beginning of this King's Reign, I durst not intermeddle, that I might not make any of those my Enemies, to whom he gave Authority, Memoirs, Lib. 8. Cap. 5. It is with Men as

with

something more in secret; soon after which he expir'd, to the great regret of the Province, and the adjacent Countreys. Foreign Kings and Nations, Enemies as well as Allies, lamented him; the Former for his Clemency and the Latter for his Courtesie. His Presence and his manner of Speaking were graceful and drew respect; and although he retain'd an air of Majesty suitable to his high Birth and Character; yet he never incur'd Envy, nor the Suspicion of Arrogance.

LXXIV. His Funerals were not solemniz'd with Images and Pomp, but with publick Praises, and the Commemoration of his Virtues. And there were some who compar'd him with Alexander for his Beauty and his

Age;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

with pieces of Money, on which Princes set what value they please; and consequently, we must receive them according to their currency, and not according to their intrinsic value.

2. When we speak of Princes, we must speak of them with the utmost Caution. It is not enough to distrust the Ears of those who are present, we ought also to distrust their Eyes, who read in the Countenance and the Looks, all that of which they make a Mystery to them.

3. The most glorious Apotheosis of a Prince, is to be lamented by his Subjects, and honour'd with the Praises of Foreign Nations.

4. A General of an Army should have an aspect mingled with Sweetness and Severity; for Soldiers contract a sort of Fierceness, which often carries them to Sedition; if they are not restrain'd by an air of Authority, which strikes an awe upon them. The Roman Historians have observed, That this Mixture in Hannibal was the Foundation of his Greatness and Reputation.

1. The Name of Princes is always immortal, by reason of the Greatness

of their Office, which is the Cause that all their Actions, good or bad, are written on the Records of Posterity: But there is this Difference betwixt those who have abused their Power, and those who have discharged the Duties of their Station, that the Memory of the Former is infamous for ever, whereas that of the Latter is always Glorious and Triumphant. So they need not raise Pyramids and Mausoleums if they have been Virtuous; for the Memory of their Virtues is Eternal; and their Monuments are as many in number, as there are People who read their History, and as there are Princes who follow their Example.

2. In all times Warlike Princes and Great Captains have been compared with Alexander, as if there was not a more perfect Model to propose for Arms than this Conqueror. He must, saith a Learned Prelate, be found in all our Panegyrics; and it seems, by a sort of Fatality, glorious to his Name, that no Prince can receive Praises, but he must have a share in them. *M. de Meaux in the Funeral Oration of Lewis Prince of Conde.*

3. Chastity

Age, the Manner of his Death, and the Nearness of the Places where they dy'd. For they were both very Handsome, and of Illustrious Birth: Neither of them lived much above thirty Years, and they both died in a Foreign Country by the Treachery of some of their own People^m. But *Germanicus* was courteous to his Friends, moderate in his Pleasures, contented with one Wife³, and a sure Issue. As great a Captain as *Alexander*, if you'll not reckon the Successes of the other's Rashness; and who, after he had broken the Germans by

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Chastity is a Virtue so much the more praise-worthy in Princes, as their Condition sets them at a greater Distance from it. *Commines* speaking of the Vow which *Lewis XI.* made, never to touch any Woman but his Wife, saith that, *Although the King ought to have done it according to the Ordinance of the Church, it was nevertheless a great Thing for him, who had so many Women at his command, to persevere in this Promise; considering also, that the Queen was not a Woman in whom he could take much Pleasure.* *Memoirs, lib. 6. cap. 9.* 'It is a great Miracle, saith a Famous Panegyrist, that he for whom the Church hath so often prayed that he might not fall into extraordinary Crimes, did not so much as fall into the

Common Faults, which we call Humane Frailties. But let us call them as we will, they are no other than Mortal Sins, which cannot be excused, neither by the Vigour of our Age, and heat of our Blood, seeing *Lewis* was Chast in his blooming Youth; nor by the Opportunities of Sin, seeing he was Chast in the midst of the Court; nor by the Violence of Temptations, seeing the finest Eyes of the World lay in wait in vain for him; nor by the Difficulty of the Precept, seeing neither Age, nor Blood, nor Opportunity, nor the Charms of Beauty, hindered him from preserving an inviolable Chastity. *The Funeral Oration of Lewis XIII. by Franc. Ogier.*

4. Independance

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^m *Strada* reports, That the Flemmings compared Don *John of Austria*, the Son of *Charles V.* with *Germanicus* for Beauty and Gracelulness; for Years which were 33; for Exploits in War performed by each in divers places, bordering on *Holland*; for having been both suspected by their Princes; and for having ended their days by an untimely Death. *History of Low-Countryes. Decad. 1. Lib. 10.*

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by so many Victories, would have entirely reduc'd *Germany* under the Obedience of the Romans, had he not been recall'd when he was upon the Point of finishing his Conquests. But had he been invested with the Title and Power of King⁴, he would as easily have Equall'd *Alexander* in Military Glory, as he Excell'd him in Clemency, Temperance, and other Virtues. His Body before it was burnt, was expos'd naked to be viewed in the Market-place of *Antioch*, where his Funeral Pile was Erected. It is very uncertain, whether or no, there appeared on it any signs of Poison; for People, as they were influenc'd with Compassion for *Germanicus*, and with the common Prejudice against *Piso* on the one hand, or as they were inclin'd to favour him on the other, spake differently of it.

LXXV. The Lieutenant-Generals, and some Senators who were in those Parts, immediately held a Consultation about the Choice of a Person to Administer the Government of *Syria*. All the Competitors that appear'd for it soon quitted their Pretensions, except *Vibius Marsus* and *Cneius Sentius*, betwixt whom there was a warm Competition, until *Marsus* at last gave it up to *Sentius*, as being the Elder Person, and the more eager Competitor.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Independance is a mighty advantage in a General of an Army for the Execution of Enterprizes. *Germanicus* would have complicated the Conquest of all *Germany*, if *Tiberius* had not been Jealous of his Glory. The Duke of *Alva* would have taken *Rome* and *Pope Paul IV.* if *Philip II.* his Master had been of the humour of *Charles V.* The Count de *Rantzau*, who was afterwards Marechal of *France*, would infallibly have surpriz'd the Citadel of *Ghent*, wherein there were at that time many French, Portuguese, and Ca-

talans Prisoners, if *Monsieur de Noyers*, who govern'd all under Cardinal *Richelieu*, had been willing to have seconded this Enterprize, whereas he disappointed it to hinder the Count, whose Person he hated, from growing more considerable at Court, by so great a Service. The Marechal de la *Mothe Houdancourt*, would have carried the King of *Spain* Prisoner to *Paris*, if the Regency had not been in the Hands of his Sister, who on this Occasion prefer'd her Brother's Interests to her Son's.

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titor¹. As soon as he was in the Government, at the request of *Vitellius*, *Veranius*, and some others who proceeded against *Piso* and *Plancina*, as if they had been already convicted, he sent to *Rome* one *Martina*, a Woman who had been infamous in that Province for poisoning, and *Plancina's* great Favourite².

LXXXVI. But *Agrippina*, notwithstanding she was almost sinking under Grief and Indisposition of Body, yet impatient of any thing that might retard her revenge¹, took Ship with her Children, and her Husband's Ashes, which was a Spectacle that drew Compassion from all, to see so great a Princess, who in regard of her happy Marriage was lately Applauded and Ador'd by all People², now carry in her arms her Husband's mournful Urn, full of anxious Thoughts, whether she should find at *Rome* any Justice for him, or Safety for her self, and who, by her unhappy Fruitfulness, was obnoxious to so many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A good Minister ought to sacrifice his Private Interests to the Publick Service, without being obstinately bent to carry it from his Rivals. There is nothing more pernicious than the Dissentions which happen betwixt the Great Officers of a Province, whilst there is a Powerful Rebel who endeavours to make himself Master of it. On such occasions, it is a Victory to yield to an Ambitious Competitor, who is of a Humour obstinately to support his Pretensions. Don *John de Cerda*, Duke of *Medina Celi*, being come to *Brussels* to succeed the Duke of *Alva* in his Government of the Low-Countries, chose rather to return into *Spain*, than to enter into a Contest with *Alva*, who refus'd to put these Provinces into his hands; under colour, that they had yet need of his Presence, and that *Medina* was too gentle, to govern so rough

a People, *Cabrera's History*, Lib. 10. Cap. 2.

2. Persons who have a Friendship with Poysoners that are known to be such, are easily believed to be Guilty, if they are once accus'd of Poysoning. The Acquaintance of *la Voisin* and the Lady *de Brinvilliers*, was unfortunate to several People, and many more would have felt the Rigour of Justice, if the King's Clemency had not removed the Ballance.

1. A Wife can't do any thing more worthy of conjugal Love, than to prosecute the Murderers of her Husband.

2. Past Prosperity, draws greater compassion on the present Adversity; Especially, when they are Persons who have behaved themselves well in their good Fortune.

3. Accord-

many more strokes of Fortune¹. In the mean time, a Messenger overtakes *Piso* at the Isle of *Cods*, with the News of *Germanicus's* Death, which he receiv'd with such extravagant Joy, that he ran to the Temples and offer'd Sacrifices², and *Plancina*, who was yet more insolent, left off the Mourning upon it she was in for her Sister, and put on a Gay Habit³.

LXXXVII. The Centurions coming to him, assured him, That the Legions were at his Devotion; and that therefore his best course was to return to the Province of *Syria*, which was now without a Governor; and whereof he was unjustly dispossest'd. Whereupon consulting what was best to be done, his Son *Marcus Piso* was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. According to the Proverb, which saith, That He is a Fool that lets the Children live whose Father he hath kill'd. *Agrippina* who looked on *Tiberius* as the Principal Author of her Husband's Death, had just cause to fear lest he should also destroy her Children. And as she had six, *Tacitus*, who never saith any thing in vain, expresses by these three Words, *toties fortunæ obnoxia*; that she foresaw, that they would be so many Victims, which *Tiberius* would sacrifice to his Jealousie. And this Prefage was in part accomplish'd

by the Death of *Nero* and *Drusus* her two Eldest Sons.

4. He is very rash, who exposes himself to the Universal Hatred, by openly rejoycing at the Death of a Great Man, whom all the People lament. What did *Piso* and *Plancina* mean, who did not conceal their Joy for a Death, which they were believed to be the Authors of, and which their Enemies already began to revenge? This shews, that hatred is the most indiscreet of all Passions.

1. &c

HISTORICAL NOTES.

n *Ann* of *Boulen*, Second Wife to *Henry VIII.* King of *England*, did the same thing, when she received the News of the Death of *Queen Catherine*, whose place she had taken. *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, Part 1. Book 3. The Duke of *Maienne* had the Insolence to take the Green Scarff in token of Joy, the Day that he heard of the Death of *Henry III.*

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was of Opinion, That he ought to hasten to Rome^o; That there was nothing done yet which might not be answer'd; That slight Suspicions, and uncertain Reports, were not to be fear'd; That his Differences with Germanicusⁱ deserv'd perhaps a Reprimand, but not Punishment; especially since he had given his Enemies the Satisfaction they desir'd, by quitting Syria: But to return thither in opposition to Sentius, would be to begin a Civil War², wherein he could not rely much on the Fidelity of the Captains and the Soldiers, who had the Memory of their Beloved General Germanicus, fresh in their Minds³, and an indelible Affection for the Cæsars.

LXXVIII. His great Confident, Domitius Celer, was of a contrary Opinion, and represented to Piso, That he ought to make use of the Occasion; That Piso, and not Sentius, was the Rightful Governor of Syria; That to him only, the Legions, and the Fasces, with the Authority of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is easie to justifie ones self to the Prince, for being at Variance with a Great Man, whom he hath always hated. When the Noblemen at Court fail'd in their respect to the Duke of Alençon (which happen'd every day) Henry III. more willingly heard their Excuses than the Complaints of his Brother, to whom he had a Natural Averſion.
2. How good a Right soever a Man hath, he ought to beware of maintaining it, when Damage may ensue thence to the Prince, and Trouble to the State.
3. A Governor or a General of an Army, ought not to expect much Fidelity from an Army which hath been wholly devoted to his Predecessor, and which knows that he is accus'd of the Death of him whom they lament.
1. There

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^o We shall see in the following Book, that Piso deeply resented that he had not follow'd this Wise Counsel; *Utinam ego potius filio juveni, quam ille patri seni cessisset.*

p The

of Prætor had been committed. If any acts of Hostility should ensue, who could with greater Justice take Arms, than he who had received his Commission of Lieutenant-General, and his Orders, immediately from the Emperor? That time dissipates false Reports¹, and that Innocence it self, is oftentimes over-born by Envy in its first heat², but if he were at the head of an Army, and augmented his Forces³, Chance might bring many things to pass which could not be foreseen⁴. But why are we in such haste to get to Rome? Is it that we may arrive there together with the Ashes of Germanicus, and the Lamentations of Agrippina, that you may be torn to pieces unheard and undefended, by the first fury of the giddy Multitude? 'Tis true, Livia is your Accomplice, and you are in favour with Tiberius⁵, but they'll not dare to protect you openly, and none will mourn for Germanicus with greater Ostentation, than those who rejoice most at his Death⁶.

LXXIX. Piso;

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is not a more Sovereign Remedy against Calumnies than Time, which sooner or later discovers the Truth. When any one is Calumniated to the Prince by Persons in Authority, it is safer for him to keep at a Distance, than to come to justifie himself before passionate and prepossess'd Judges.
2. Innocence is not a sufficient Guard against the People, when they have hated a Man a long time. The Voice of the People hath often oppress'd Innocent Persons, without any other ground, but that of a Superstitious Opinion, which is rooted in the Minds of many, that the Voice of the People is the Voice of God. For one time that the People have spoken Truth, it will be found that they have a Hundred times maintain'd Injustice and Falshood.
3. It is a common saying, That whosoever hath Strength, it commonly in the Right.
4. There are occasions, where the Nature of Affairs allow not time for Deliberation, it is necessary to take a sudden Resolution, and to leave the rest to Fortune.
5. Princes take no great care to screen the Ministers of their Cruelties from Justice, and the rather because, by abandoning them, they give occasion to have it believed, or at least doubted, that these are the true Authors thereof. Besides, they do not desire to see them again, whose presence can't but reproach their Injustice. It was for these Reasons, that Philip II. abandon'd his Secretary Anthony Perez, and suffer'd him to be try'd for the Murder of John de Escovedo.
6. Princes and Courtiers are more dextrous

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LXXIX. *Piso*, who was naturally inclin'd to violent Counsels, was, without any great Difficulty, gain'd to this Opinion. Upon which he wrote Letters to *Tiberius*, wherein having accused *Germanicus* of Luxury and Pride, and of removing him from the Province, only that he might more securely carry on his ill Designs; He declared, that he had resumed the Command of the Army with the same Fidelity he before held it. At the same time he order'd *Domitius* to take Ship, and avoiding the Shores and Islands, to sail into *Syria* through the Main Sea. He arms the Servants that follow'd the Camp, and forms into Companies the Deserters that came in to him; and as he sail'd with them to the Continent, he intercepted a Regiment of New rais'd Men that were going to *Syria*. He writes to the Petty-Princes of *Cilicia* to send him Succours, and his Son *Piso* was wanting in nothing that was necessary for the War, although he had dissuaded him from Undertaking it².

LXXX. *Piso's*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

dextrous in dissembling their Joy, then even their Hatred. When any one is suspected by them, or gives them Jealousie, their Countenance often betrays their Thoughts; because the Emotion of the Heart diffuses it self to the Eyes, which, according to *Polybius*, are the Interpreters of our Passions; but when they are deliver'd from their Enemies, it is not difficult for them outwardly to act that Part which Policy dictates. *Elizabeth*, Queen of *England*, after she had caus'd the Queen of *Scots* to be beheaded, lamented her Death, as if she had had no hand in it, and order'd magnificent Obsequies for her at *London*, and at *Peterborough*, where she was buried beside Queen *Katherine*, the first Wife of *Henry VIII.* *Posseki's Chronicle*, ann. 1583. *Madam de Nevers*,

saith Queen *Margaret*, being come with us to the Lodgings of the Queen of *Navarre*, who in her life time had hated her above all people; and betwixt whom no reconciliation could be made, approach'd the Bed where the Body of the Deceas'd lay; and after many humble and great Reverences, taking her hand kiss'd it. *Her Memoirs*, Lib. 1.

1. To sound Men's Hearts, and to know their Nature to the Bottom, we need only observe what Counsels they are govern'd by.

2. There is nothing which a brave Man will not do, when his Father's Life and Honour are at stake: But his case is pitiable to the last Degree, who is under a Necessity to declare against

LXXX. *Piso's* Squadron meeting near the Coasts of *Lycia* and *Pamphylia*, with that which was carrying *Agrippina* to *Rome*, the Enmity was so great, that both sides at first prepar'd for a Fight; but being restrain'd by mutual Fears, they proceeded no farther than hard Words. *Marsus Vibius* summon'd *Piso* to come to *Rome* to defend his Cause; who answer'd him scoffingly, That he would appear there when the *Prætor* who took Cognizance of *Poysonings*, should appoint a Day both for the Defendant and the Plaintiff's. In the mean time, *Domitius*, who was come to *Laodicea*, a City of *Syria*, intending to go to the Winter-Quarters of the Sixth Legion, which he suppos'd to be most inclin'd to innovations, is prevented by *Pacuvius*, who had the Command of it. *Sentius* acquainted *Piso* with this by Letter; and advises him to make no farther attempt to debauch the Army by his Emissaries, nor to raise a War in the Province; and drawing together all those whom he knew to have an Affection for the Memory of *Germanicus*, or to be of an opposite Interest to his Enemies, he speaks great things in praise of him; and by the way, often reminds them, that it was against the Common-wealth it self that *Piso* made War; and afterwards marches with a good Body that was ready for Battel.

LXXXI. Notwithstanding, things had not succeeded according to *Piso's* expectation, he was not yet wanting to take the best Measures for his safety in his present Circumstances, but possess'd himself of a strong Fortress in *Cilicia*, named *Celendris*, and of the Auxiliaries which

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

against his Prince, or against his Father; to be a Rebel, or Barbarous; to renounce Country or Nature, and to chuse of two Duties, which are both indispensable.

1. No Man ought to rally with Justice, till he is strong enough not to fall under its hands.

T 3

1. Superior

which the Petty-Princes of *Cilicia* had sent him, and the New rais'd Soldiers which he had lately intercepted, with his own and *Plancina's* Servants, and what Deserters had come to him, formed into a Legion, all of them compleating the Number of one. To whom he made a Speech, declaring, That as he was the Emperor's Lieutenant in *Syria*, it was not the Legions which opposed his Entrance into the Province, (for it was upon their Invitation that he return'd) but *Sentius*, who under pretended Crimes cover'd his own Malice against him. That they might safely range themselves in Battel against Soldiers who would not fight when they saw *Piso*, whom they heretofore stiled their Father, and who, they knew, had the best Right, if it were to be decided by Law, and wanted not Courage, if by Arms. After which, he draws up his Troops in order of Battel before the Fort, on a Steep and Craggy Hill; the rest being environ'd by the Sea. Opposite to them were ranged our Veteran Soldiers in good Order, with a Reserv'd Body. One side had the advantage in Soldiers, and the other side in Ground; But *Piso's* Soldiers wanted Courage and Hope; nor had they any but Countrymen's Arms, which were made in haste for the Present Occasion. After once they were Engag'd, the Victory was no longer doubtful than whilst the Romans were climbing up the Hill, which they no sooner gain'd but the *Cilicians* fled, and shut themselves up in the Fort.

LXXXII. In the mean while, *Piso* attempted to surprize the Fleet which lay at Anchor not far off, but not succeeding, he returned; and as he stood on the Walls sometimes lamenting his Fate, sometimes calling to the Soldiers by Name, and promising them great Rewards, he endeavour'd to raise a Mutiny amongst them, and did so far prevail, that the Standard Bearer of the Sixth Legion went over to him with his Eagle. Whereupon, *Sentius* immediately order'd the Signal to be given

given by Sound of the Trumpets and Cornets; the Works to be rais'd, the Ladders to be set, and the Stoutest Men to make the Assault; whilst others ply'd the Enemy with Darts, Stones, and Fire-works thrown from Engines. At length, *Piso's* obstinacy being broken, he desir'd, that upon laying down his Arms, he might be permitted to remain in the Castle, untill the Emperor was consult'd, Whom he would have to be Governor of *Syria*: But this was not granted, nor could he obtain any thing more than a Passport, and Ships to carry him to *Rome*.

LXXXIII. After the News of *Germanicus's* sickness was noised at *Rome*, and reported, as is usual when bad News comes from far, worse than it was, Grief, Anger, and Complaints, fill'd the City. It was for this, said they, that he was sent to the remotest Parts of the Empire, and *Piso* made Governor of the Province of *Syria*. This is the Effect of *Livia's* secret Conferences with *Plancina*. It is true enough what was said by Old men on *Drusus's* account, that Emperors don't like a Modest

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Superior Ministers, who command in very remote Provinces, ought not to stand still, expecting fresh Orders, when they have pressing Necessities to provide for; for besides that these Orders would come too late, because of the Distance of Places, they ought on these Occasions to take a final Resolution, and the rather because they to whom the Prince hath been pleas'd to commit his Authority, ought to presume that he hath likewise left to them the Conduct of all unforeseen Affairs, which are not in their Instructions. If Cardinal *Jasper Borghia*, had not hasten'd to take possession of the Viceroyship of *Naples*,

and even by dextrous Management, the Duke d'*Offone*, who would not leave it, on pretence that his presence was necessary there, and that he expected another new Order from the Court of *Madrid*. *Philip III.* had run a great Risque of losing that Kingdom, or at least of having an Insurrection in it. *Conjuratio Offic. n. m. n.*

1. The Liberty of the Tongue, saith *Mariana*, punishes the Excesses and the Injustices of Princes, who cannot be Masters of Tongues, as they are of Bodies. *History of Spain, lib. 16. cap. 16.*

Modest and Courteous Disposition in their Sons, for both Father and Son have been destroy'd for no other Reason but because they design'd to restore to the People of Rome their Liberty. But the News of his Death incens'd them to that degree, that without waiting for the Edict of the Magistrates, or the Decree of the Senate, they deserted the Courts of Justice, shut up their Houses, and made a Vacation. In all Places there was either sighing or silence, and nothing was affected or done for Ostentation. And although they neglected not to mourn in their Habits, yet they mourned much more in their Hearts. It happen'd that some Merchants who came from Syria before Germanicus dy'd, brought with them news of his Recovery, which was easily believ'd, and quickly spread abroad: Every one through joy telling it with some addition to the next he met. They run up and down the City, force open the Doors of the Temples. The Night time made some ready to believe it, and others more positive to affirm it. Tiberius thought not fit to put a stop to this False Report, but left the People to be undeceiv'd by time; and then, as if he had been a second time taken from them, they lamented him more passionately than before.

LXXXIV. Divers honours were invented and decreed to his Memory, agreeable to the Genius of the Senators or their Affection to Germanicus: That his Name

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. As the People are Excessive in their Joy; so they are always in their Grief; and especially, when they have been Tantaliz'd with a False Joy. For, according to Cicero, False Joy commonly ends in Desolation and Despair. *Usura fusti gaudii fuit, deinde frangi repente, atque disperdere, ut nulla res ad acquies-*

tem animi postea possit extollere. Epist. Lib. 6.

1. Nothing demonstrates more how much a Prince hath been beloved, than the Extraordinary Honours which are done him after his Death.

1. The

Name should be inserted into the *Salar* Hymn, which was sung by the Priests of *Mars*. That the *Curule* Chair should be plac'd for him amongst the Seats of the Priests of *Augustus*, with a Garland of Oak over it. That his Statue made in Ivory should be carried the foremost in the *Circensian* Games. That none should be elected Priest or Augur in his Place, who was not of the Julian Family. At *Rome*, on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and on Mount *Amānus* in *Syria*, Triumphal Arches were erected to him with Inscriptions, which made mention of his great actions, and that he died for the sake of the Common-Wealth. A Monument was Erected to him at *Antioch*^p, where his Body was burnt; and a Tribunal at *Epidaphne*^q, where he died. But the Places where Statues were set up, or Altars dedicated to him, are almost innumerable. When it was decreed, that a Buckler of Massy Gold of an extraordinary size should be plac'd

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^p The Romans erected Tombs to Great Men and Illustrious Persons in all Places where they had done some memorable Action, although their Ashes were not there, nor ever had been there. These honorary Tombs were call'd *Cenotaphia*, that is to say, Empty Sepulchres. At *Venice*, those of their Doges and their Generals, that are slain in the Service of the Republick, are most of them without Bodies. For the Doges order their Interment in those Places, where their Ancestors rest; and afterwards their Children cause Mausoleums and Statues to be erected in the most frequent Churches of the City, as those of the Jacobins and Cordeliers are, to perpetuate the Memory of their Dogedom.

^q The Suburbs of *Antioch*,

^r In these Bucklers there was the Effigies of the Person in Relievo. And it was one of these Bucklers that *Hortatius* looked on. *Hortensii inter Oratores suam imaginem intuent*, when he presented his Children to the Senate. These Bucklers were ordinarily of Brass, and the Head of Silver. There is to be seen in the Town-House of *Lyons*, a Silver Buckler of 22 Pounds weight, which seems to represent the Generous Action of *Scipio*, who sent back a Beautiful Captive which he had taken; and it is the most curious piece of Silver that is to be seen. *Burnet's Voyage into Switzerland and Italy.*

8 This

plac'd for him among the great Masters of Eloquence, *Tiberius* said, that he would dedicate one to him of the Ordinary size and make, for Eloquence was not to be distinguished by Fortune; and that it was a sufficient Honour for his Son to be rank'd amongst the ancient Authors. That which before was call'd the Regiment of *Juniors*, was by the Knights now named the Regiment of *Germanicus*, who also order'd, that on the 15th of *July* his Statue should be carried in the Head of their Regiment. Many of these Orders are yet observ'd, but some of them were soon neglected, and others are worn out by time.

LXXXV. But whilst this Grief was green, *Livia*, the Sister of *Germanicus* who was married to *Drusus*, had two Sons at a Birth, which being a Thing rare, and welcome to mean Families, was received with such joy by *Tiberius*, that according to his way of turning all things, even the most Casual to his Glory, he could not refrain from boasting to the Senate, that never a Roman of his quality, before him, had the good Fortune to have two Sons at a Birth*. But at this time it had a quite different Effect upon the People, who were concern'd at the Increase of *Drusus's* Family; for fear it should depress *Germanicus's*.

LXXXVI. The same Year the Senate made severe Decrees to repress the Lewdness of Women. It was decreed, that no Woman should prostitute her self for Money,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* This good Fortune happen'd to *Margaret of Austria*, natural Daughter of *Charles V.* Wife to *Ottavio Farnese Duke of Parma*, Grandson of Pope *Paul III.* and there is a Monument at *Rome*, which preserves the Memory of it, as a Fortunate Thing that seldom happens to a Sovereign Family. *Reliquolapideo ad posteror monumento raræ utique fortune in regnatrice domo.* Strada, Lib. 9. dec. 1.

† This

Money', whose Grandfather, Father, or Husband, was a Roman Knight, because *Vistilia* a Lady of a Prætorian Family, had declared to the *Adiles*, that she would prostitute her self according to a Custom establish'd amongst our Ancestors, who thought it a sufficient Punishment for Unchast Women, to make this publick Profession of their Infamy. *Titidius Labeo*, being question'd why he had omitted to punish his Wife according to Law^u, seeing she was notoriously criminal; and he pretending, that the Sixty days allowed by the Law to consult, were not yet expired, they thought it sufficient to proceed against *Vistilia*, and banish'd her into the Island *Seriphos*†. The Senate took into consideration, the Extirpation of the Egyptian and Jewish Religion out of *Rome*, and a Decree pass'd, that 4000 Persons infected with that Superstition, who were of the Race of Freedmen, and of an Age fit for Service should be sent into the Island of *Sardinia*, to suppress the Robberies there, as being

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The Debauchery of Women of Quality, is of so much more dangerous contagion, as it serves for Example to all others. *Tanto conspectus in se crimen habet, quanto major qui peccat habetur.* saith *Juvenal*. Had *Tiberius* suffer'd *Vistilia*, to have led the Infamous Life, which she had resolv'd on; all Wives who had been discontented with their Husbands, would have taken off the Mask, to revenge themselves by

dishonouring them. How many Women in *Paris* do glory in living in Debauchery; some with Great Men, others with Magistrates, and most with Abbots; (a Condition now-a-days consecrated to Gallantry) They are ashamed to have a Husband that has no Coach; and Pride themselves in having a Gallant with a fine Equipage, at the Expence of their Honour.

2. New

HISTORICAL NOTES.

† This Custom is observed at *Venice*.

u The Law, *Julia*.

x One of the *Cyclades*.

y The

being People whose loss would be inconsiderable, if they should perish by the Unwholsomeness of the Air, and that the rest should leave *Italy*, if they did not by such a Day renounce their Prophane Rites².

LXXXVII. After which *Tiberius* propos'd the Election of a Virgin to succeed *Occia*, who for the space of fifty seven Years had presided over the Vestals, with great Integrity. He thank'd *Fonteius Agrippa* and *Domitius Pollio*, because that by offering their Daughters, they vied with one another in their Zeal for the Commonwealth. *Pollio's* Daughter was preferr'd, for no other reason, but because her Mother had always lived with her first Husband, whereas *Agrippa* had lessen'd the Reputation of his Family by a Divorce³; However, *Tiberius* to comfort her that lost it, gave her five thousand Pounds for her Dowry.

LXXXVIII. The People complaining of the Dearth of Corn, he set a Price for the Buyer to pay; and promiss'd

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. New or Foreign Sects and Ceremonies, do by degrees ruine the Religion of the Country; and consequently it nearly concerns Princes not to Tolerate them in their Dominions. They who introduce a New Worship, said *Necenas* to *Augustus*, open a Gap to New Laws, whence at last arise Cabals, Factions, and Conspiracies. *Dio. Lib. 52.*

1. If a Heathen Prince sh^d strictly examined, not only the Personal Qualifications of those who possessed Offices of Religion, but also the

Conduct and Morals of their Parents; with much more reason ought Christian Princes carefully to inform themselves of the Birth of those who sue to them for Bishopricks and Abbeys. I say of the Birth, for it is a Shame to see Bastards and adulterous Slips install'd in Ecclesiastical Dignities. Cardinal *Charles Berromeo*, saith *Ammirato*, had great reason to be astonish'd, that Christians left Pagans the glory of Excelling them in Moral Virtues. *Lib. 11. Disc. 2.*

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mis'd that he would add two *Nummi* & a Bushel¹ to the Seller. And yet for all this, he would not assume the Title of the Father of the Country, which was now again offer'd him²; and he gave a sharp Reprimand to those who stil'd him Lord, and his Employments Divine³. So that there was but little left to be said, and that scarce with safety, under a Prince who hated Flattery, and feared Liberty.

LXXXIX. I find in the ancient Writers of those times, That Letters from *Adgandestrius* a Prince of the *Chatti*, were read in the Senate, wherein he engaged to put *Arminius* to death, if they would send him Poison for

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. In a Famine a Prince may buy the People's Liberty at a Cheap rate; for in such a time the People are best disposed to sell it. People accustom themselves to Slavery, but never to Hunger. The Israelites being in the Wilderness, murmur'd against *Moses*, for having brought them out of *Egypt*, where they had Bread and Meat in abundance, to make them die of Hunger in the Wilderness. It had been better for us, said they, to have serv'd the *Egyptians*, than to die in the Wilderness, *Exod. 14.* Would to God we had died by the hand of the Lord in the Land of *Egypt*, when we sat by the flesh-pots, and when we did eat bread to the full, *Exod. 16.*

2. The Name of Father of the Country, is a Title, which a Prince, who either is so, or desires to be so, ought never to refuse. To accept the Title, is to impose an Obligation upon himself to deserve it. Therefore, *Tiberius* would not promise that, which he knew he never intended to be. So that his refusal was rather the Effect of his Evil Disposition, than of his Modesty. The younger *Pliny* saith, that *Trajan*, (who was a very Modest Prince) wept for Joy, every time that he heard himself call'd *Optimus*.

3. Princes are Mortal; and although they are God's Vicegerents here on Earth, yet the Functions they Execute are Humane.

1. Princes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 A Roman *Nummus* is about Seven Pence half-penny of our Money

2 Tacitus

for that purpose; who was answer'd, That the Romans did revenge themselves on their Enemies, not Clandestinely and by Treachery, but Openly and in Arms; whereby *Tiberius* equal'd himself to the Glory of the old Roman Generals, who prevented the Design of Poysoning King *Pyrrhus*, and discover'd it to him. At last, after the Romans were retir'd, and *Maroboduus* was expell'd, *Arminius* aspiring to Monarchy, made his own Countrymen his Enemies, who taking up Arms against him in defence of their Liberties², after variety of Fortune, he fell at last by the Treachery of his own Kindred. He was the undoubted Deliverer of *Germany*; and which adds to his glory, he did not attack the Romans in their Infancy, as other Kings and Captains had done, but in the most flourishing State of their Empire. His Fortune was various in the Battels which he fought; but he was not conquer'd in the War. He lived 37 years, and commanded 12; and his Memory is still famous amongst those barbarous Nations, who celebrate his great actions in their Songs², although he is not known in the Annals of the Greeks, who admire nothing

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes who make use of Poyson against other Princes, teach them to Employ it against themselves. The safety of Princes consists in a mutual Good Faith betwixt one another. *Charles V.* answer'd *Barbarossa's* Baker, who offer'd to Poyson his Master, and thereby to make him enter *Tunis* without any difficulty, That he would not honour a Moor so far, as to use so much ce-

remony with him. After which, he sent notice to *Barbarossa* to fortifie himself against Poyson, but without naming the Baker to him. *Epitome of Don Antonio de Vera.*

2. There was never any one, saith *Tacitus*, design'd to Rule, who did not make use of the pretence of Liberty. *Hist.* 4.

3. The

HISTORICAL NOTES.

² *Tacitus* saith, That the ancient Germans had no other Annals but their Verses and their Songs. In his *Germany*.

nothing but what is done amongst themselves; nor so renown'd as he deserves amongst us, who whilst we extoll things done long since, are apt to neglect late Examples³.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The Mind of Man is so humourfome, that by much admiring past times, it comes to have a Disgust and jealousy of the Present.

The Past instructs us, but the Present shocks us, because it seems to Eclipse our Glory. *Paters.*

T H E

THE
ANNALS
OF

Cornelius Tacitus,

From the Death of Augustus.

Book III. Vol. I.

By WILLIAM BROMLEY Esq;

I. **A** GRIPPINA continuing her Voyage, notwithstanding the Severities of the Winter, and Storms at Sea, arrived at last at *Corfu*, an Island opposite to the Ports of *Calabria*. She staid there a few days to quiet her Mind, divided betwixt Grief and Impatience. Upon the News of her coming, *Germanicus's* Friends, and the Soldiers that had served under him, and many Strangers also, some out of Duty, and others following either for Company or Curiosity, flocked from the Neighbouring Places to

V

Brin.

Brundisi ^a, where she was expected as the nearest and safest Port. As soon as the Ships were discerned at Sea, not only the Haven and Shores, but the Walls, Houses, and other Places, as far as could be seen, were filled with Mourners, enquiring often, whether they should receive her with Silence, or Acclamation. Neither were they determined which was properest, when the Fleet came in, not rowing briskly as they used to do, but slowly, and with Sorrow in their Countenances. When she came with her two Children on Shore, carrying her Husbands Urn, and her Eyes fixt on the Ground, there was an universal Lamentation, so that you could not distinguish the Grief of Relations from Strangers, nor the Mens from the Womens, only theirs who met *Agrippina* being fresh, exceeded those came with her, which a long Affliction had spent.

II. *Tiberius* sent two Companies of his Guards to meet them, ordering the Magistrates of *Apulia*, *Calabria*, and *Campania*, to pay their last Respects to the Memory of his Son. The Tribunes and Centurions therefore carried the Albes, the Banners were rolled up, and with the reversed Fasces went before. In all the Colonies as they passed, the People in Mourning, and the Nobles in their Purple Habits, according to the Wealth of the Place, burnt Perfumes, and other things that add to Funeral Solemnities. Those that lived out of the Road, met them in great numbers, and shewed their Grief ¹, not only by their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. However magnificent and extraordinary the Funerals of a Prince are, nothing does more Honour to his Memory, than the Grief of the People that lament the loss of him. The History of *Portugal*, says, That upon the Death of *John II.* all the Kingdom went into Mourning, and at *Lisbon* the Barbers were forbid Shaving any Person for 6 Months, which was never done for any King before. *Dialogo quarto Variæ Historiæ*, c. 11.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a Or, *Brundisium*, an Archiepiscopal City in the Kingdom of *Naples*, which has a strong Castle and safe Harbour, and lies upon the *Adriatick* sea. ^b *Cabrera*

their Lamentations and Confused Cries, but by their Sacrifices to the Infernal Gods. *Drusus* went to *Terracina*, with *Germanicus* his Children that were at *Rome*, and *Claudius* his Brother.

The Tear of the City 773.

The Consuls, *M. Valerius* and *M. Aurelius*, (who then entred on their Office) with a great number of the People, filled the way without observing any order ², every one bewailing the loss of *Germanicus* as he saw good; for there was no Flattery in this Mourning, and all knew *Tiberius* rejoiced at *Germanicus's* Death; tho' he pretended to be troubled for it.

III. *Tiberius* and his Mother forbore appearing in publick, believing it a lessening to Majesty to grieve publicly ³, or perhaps fearing lest the People by their Looks should discover their Dissimulation ^b. I find not in any Registers of the City, or our Histories, that *Antonia* had any

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. At the Funerals of Princes it is an infallible sign of great Affliction, when the great Men and Magistrates decline those Honours that are due to their Rank. Now the Masters of Ceremonies have more to do to regulate the Claims of Officers, and to adjust the Disputes among Great Men, than in all the other Parts of their Office: So that Princes Funerals are oftner memorable for the Disorders that happen at them, than for the Universal Affliction.

3. The Laws of Nature are the same to Princes as the rest of Mankind. Grief for their Children and Princes of their Blood is not unbecoming them, provided it does not degenerate into Weakness, nor Excess. *Henry III.* of *France*, in my Opinion, little regarded his Dignity when he assisted at the Interment of Cardinal *Birague*, in the Habit of a Penitent; and it looks as if he had forgot he was a King, when he killed the Bodies of *Quellus* and *Maugiron* his Favourites. *Journal de son Règne*, 1578.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b *Cabrera*, speaking of the Funerals of *Don Carlos*, says, That Cardinal *Espinosa* attended the Body only to the Church Door, because he would not be at the Ceremony of the Service, pretending himself indisposed; tho' he might with more Truth have said it was because his being there would have displeased the King, who was not sorry for his Death. The 5th Chapter in the 3th Book of his History.

any particular share in this Solemnity, tho' *Agrippina*, *Drusus* and *Claudius* are named with other Relations. It may be she was prevented by Sickness, or so overcome with Affliction, she had not the Courage to see the Funerals of her Son ⁴; tho' I should rather believe she was kept at home by *Tiberius* and *Livia*, that they might seem all equally afflicted, and to have it believed the Grandmother and Uncle kept in upon the Mothers Example ⁵.

IV. The day the Ashes were laid in *Augustus's* Tomb, there was sometimes a profound Silence, and at others, great Lamentation, the Streets full of People, and the *Campus Martius* of lighted Torches. The Soldiers in Arms, the Magistrates without their Habits, the People ranked by their Tribes, cryed out, All was lost beyond Recovery, and in this they were so bold you would have thought they had forgot their Governors ^c. But nothing went nearer *Tiberius*, than the great Affection of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Of all the Duties of Nature, there is not any a good Mother is less obliged to observe, than that of assisting at her Son's Funerals. Upon such an Occasion she is too much afflicted to behold what will only encrease her Sorrow, or to endeavour appearing unconcern'd, when it will bring her natural affection in question.

5. A Prince that is not afflicted, but rather rejoices at the Death of one whom the People regret, acts more wisely in not appearing at his Funerals, for fear it be discover'd that his Sorrow is only feigned, or that he is displeased at the Honour paid to the Memory of one he always Hated.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^c In the 18th chapter of *1 Kings*, 'tis said, *Saul* began to hate *David* mortally after the Women of *Israel* sang and played before him for his overcoming *Goliath*, and their using these Words, *Saul hath killed his Thousands, but David his Ten Thousands*: Why have they, said he, ascribed unto *David*, Ten Thousand, and to me that am their King only a Thousand; and what can he have more save the Kingdom? This Song was rather a Satyr against *Saul* than any thing else. What Mortification was it to *Henry III.* to understand, that the Preachers at *Paris* Preached as if they had no King, but that it was through the Courage and Constancy of the Duke of *Guise*, the Atk fell not into the Hands of the *Philistines*, and that *Heretic* Triumphed not over Religion. *Journal du Regne d'Henry III.* 1587.

d The

of the People for *Agrippina*, whom they called, The Glory of their Country ⁶, the only Blood of *Augustus*, and the last Remains of ancient Probity; and prayed the Gods her Children might survive their Enemies.

V. Some thought these Funerals not pompous enough, and compared them with those *Augustus* made for *Drusus*, *Germanicus's* Father: 'For he went in the middle of Winter to *Pavia*, and attended the Body to *Rome*, upon the Herse were the Images of the *Claudii* and *Livii* ^d. His Funeral-Oration was spoke in the Place of Publick Assemblies; he was praised in the *Rostre* ^e, and all Honours done him that either our Ancestors or latter times have invented: But *Germanicus* wanted those that are due to every noble Roman. It signified little, said they, that his Body was burnt without Ceremony in a Foreign Country, considering the Difficulty of bring-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. Those Commendations the People give to one of Royal Birth, whose Merit or Power create a Jealousie in the Prince, always cost him dear, for they not only lose him his Prince's Favour, but make the Prince desire to get rid of one to whom the People give the Preference. Witness *Saul*, who would kill *David* because the Women of *Israel* were so indiscreet as to compare them. The Acclamations of the *Parisians*, in Favour of the Duke of *Guise*, that Day he received the Blessed Sword

Sixtus Quintus had sent him by a Bishop, raised the Jealousie and Suspicion of *Henry III.* against him: And not without Cause, for the Ceremony was performed with as much Preparation and Pomp as a King's Coronation, (1587.) Besides, *Tiberius*, whose Maxim it was, To moderate the Honours done to Women, and even those to his Mother, who had given him the Empire, could not forbear being much displeased with *Agrippina*, whom the People so much adored.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^d The Latin, says *Juliorum*, but that is a transposing the Letters of *Liviorum*. For at publick Funerals they carried only the Images of their Ancestors. The *Julii* were not related to *Drusus*, but the *Livii* were by his Mother. And it appears not that the Images of the *Livii* were omitted in that Ceremony.

^e *Rostre*, a goodly fair Edifice, in which was an Orator's Pulpit, deck'd and beautify'd with the Beaks of many Ships which the *Romans* took from the People of *Antium*, in a memorable Sea-fight, and from thence in Latin *Rostre*, hath this Place taken its Name.

V 3

f The

bringing it so far home, but he should have had the greater Honours afterwards in lieu of those this Accident deprived him. His Brother went but one Day's Journey to meet the Body, and his Uncle only to the Gates. What is become of the Ancient Customs? Why was not his Effigies^f carried, and Verses sung in Honour of his Memory? Why was he not praised and lamented with the usual Ceremonies of Mourning¹?

VI. These Discourses were carried to *Tiberius*, and to put a stop to them, he declares, by an Edict, 'That many Illustrious Persons had died in the Service of the Commonwealth, but none had been so passionately regretted. This was commendable both in him and them, if a Mean was observed: That the same things were not becoming Princes and private Men², for a People that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. If Princes are not really concerned for the Death of those that have done important Service to the Publick, they ought at least to seem so. And that *Tacitus* means by these Words, *Doloris imitamenta*. When the Duke d' *Alva* died at *Lisbon*, the Portuguese thought it strange, that their new King, *Phillip II.* should appear the next day in publick, contrary to the Custom of their Kings, who upon the Death of their Ministers, and others of inferior Rank that had faithfully served the Crown, kept up some days. And to make an odious Comparison, some remembered, that *Emanuel*, his Mother's Brother, leckt up himself for three days, upon the Death of a famous

Pilor. *Livre 9. de Histoire de l'Union du Portugal a la Castille.*

2. It is no wonder the Judgments of the People are for the most part contrary to those of their Princes: For the People not being able to discern right, would have the Prince espouse their Passions, and accommodate himself to their Humour; and he, on the contrary, would have them leave the Government to him without judging what they understand not. The People are not capable of knowing what is fitting or not fitting for the Prince, when a weak Prince generally knows what is agreeable to, or unbecoming his Dignity.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f The word Effigies ought not to be used here, (says *Fremont de Ablancourt*) because it is not spoken here of any thing set up, and that word cannot properly be used but on such an occasion. Nevertheless his Uncle uses this very word in his Translation. The late Monsieur *Ogier* has the same word in his Funeral-Oration upon *Lewis XIII.* when he speaks of the Monuments of the Kings at *St. Dennis*.

g The

that Command the World, and those that Govern Petty Commonwealths: That the Season for Sorrow, is, when Grief is fresh, but after three Months 'twas reasonable to lay it aside, as *Cesar* did upon the Death of his only Daughter, and *Augustus* after he had lost his Children³: That it was not necessary to give ancient Instances, how the People had bore with Constancy the Defeat of their Armies⁴; the Death of their Generals⁵, and the entire Extinction of many noble Families⁶: That Princes are Mortal, but the Commonwealth Eternal⁷; that they should therefore return to their ordinary Employments, and enjoy themselves at the *Megalesian Games*⁸, that were at hand⁹.

VII. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When the Prince would justify an Action, which he knows the People do, or may interpret amiss, he cannot do it better than by the Example of his immediate Predecessors; for the later the Example is, it makes the greater Impression on those to whom it is brought.

4. Kingdoms, says *Ant. Perez*, are in respect of Kings, the same as Species are to their Individuals: The Philosophers say, the Species are Eternal, because naturally they never end, though Individuals perish, like Accidents, Kings make not Kingdoms, but Kingdoms make Kings. *Dans ses secondes Lettres.*

5. Whatever Discontents the People are under, propose to them Plays and Shews, and they soon forget the Causes of them. 'Tis a more easy Transition from Sorrow to Joy, than from Joy to Sorrow. A faroufal or Mascarade sometimes will reduce them to their Duty. They are amused by such sort of Diversions, as Children are quieted, when they cry, by Babies.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^g The loss of the Battels of *Cremora* and *Allia*, both fought on the 17th of July, in different Years, and four others, that of *Ticinum*, *Techia*, *Lago di Perugia*, and *Cannæ*, where so many Roman Knights were killed; that *Hannibal* sent to *Carthage* two Bushels full of Rings, an Account of the number of the Slain by that of their Rings.

^h Of the *Scipio's* in *Spain*, and so many others.

ⁱ All the *Fabii*, who were 306 near *Relations*, perished in one Ambuscade the *Tuscans* had laid for them near the River *Cremora*; but by good Fortune, there was one staid at home because of his being very young, who restored the Family.

^k Games instituted in Honour of the great Goddess, called by the *Romans*, *Magna Mater*. Her Statue was brought in great Pomp from *Pessinum* in *Greece* to *Rome*: These Games consisted only in Scenical Sports, and were a solemn time of Invitation to Entertainments among Friends. They were always celebrated in April.

V 4

Now

VII. The Vacation being ended, every Man returned to his Business, and *Drusus* went to the Army in *Illyricum*, leaving all under great Expectation to see *Germanicus's* Death revenged upon *Piso*. They often complained he marched over the pleasant Countries of *Asia* and *Greece*, to avoid by his Contumacy and Delays, the Conviction of his Crimes. For it was commonly reported, That the infamous Poisoner, *Martina*, sent by *Cincius Sentius* to *Rome*, died suddenly at *Brindisi*, that Poison was found in her Hair, yet no sign thereof appear'd upon her Body ¹.

VIII. But *Piso*, after he had sent his Son to *Rome*, with Instructions how to apply to *Tiberius* for his Favour, went to seek *Drusus*, from whom he expected more Countenance for removing his Rival, than Displeasure for taking off his Brother ². *Tiberius*, to shew he was not prejudiced against *Piso*, received his Son honourably, and made him such Presents as were usual to young Gentlemen of his Quality. *Drusus* told *Piso*, If those things were true that were reported, he should be much troubled ³, but that he wished they might appear false, and the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The most dangerous of all Poisons, is that operates without leaving any visible sign thereof. It was impossible to prove *Germanicus* was poisoned. All the Proof was only from the Correspondence of *Plautina* with *Martina*. The Journal of the Reign of *Henry III.* of *France*, mentions a Servant of the Duke of *Alençon*, called *Blondel*, accused of Poisoning his Master, and was several times put upon the Rack, tho' there was no other Evidence against him, than Suspicion, because he had been a Servant to Cardinal *Birague*, who, according to the Testimony of Admiral *Coligni*, told *Charles IX.* and *Henry III.* They would never have an end of their Enemies, but by the help of their Cooks.

2. Princes are very well pleased to find Persons that will clear the

Way for them to the Throne: but when such Services are done by Poisoning or Murder, if they be wise, they will be cautious how they shew any Acknowledgement for them, when they have no share in the Crime. In these matters, to be Grateful is to be an Accomplice, and to be Ungrateful is a sign of Prudence and Equity.

3. It much concerns Princes to revenge the Death of their Predecessors that are Murdered or Poisoned, for there is no other way to assure their own Lives, than by taking care there be no Example of Impunity for a Prince's Death. If the Successor punish it not, that tells the People, a Conspiracy may be sometimes just and reasonable. An Opinion Princes ought to be careful to prevent. Under *Claudius*, *Chereas* and *Lepus*, who killed.

the Death of *Germanicus* fatal to none ⁴. He spoke this publicly, declining private Conversation with him, which none doubted to be by *Tiberius's* Order, because *Drusus* was of himself too easy and unwary to have practised so much Art and Cunning above his Years. ⁵.

IX. *Piso*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

killed *Caligula*, suffered, tho' this Murder mounted him into the Throne. *Domitian* likewise punished *Epaphroditus* for having only assisted *Nero* to kill himself, tho' he was proscribed by a Decree of the Senate. *Nerva*, on the contrary, exposed himself to the Fury of the Soldiers, because he would not deliver up the Murderers of *Domitian*: From which Danger, nothing saved him, but his adopting *Trajan*. Yet it has been at all times an inviolable Maxim among Princes, Never to pardon those that have killed their Predecessors, nor those that have Murdered any Foreign Prince. Tho' *Albert Duke of Austria*, was chosen King of the Romans, in the Life of the Emperor *Adolph of Nassau*, and after the Death of *Adolph*, whom he killed in a Duel, when he would have had his Election confirmed, or rather a new Election made; some of the Electors, and many of the Princes of the Empire, made a Complaint against him to the Elector *Palatin*, whereby they would set aside this second Election, as a Man that having killed his Predecessor, was incapable and unworthy to succeed him. *Oxenstiern de Ratione Status*, c. 5. part. 1.

4. It always becomes a Prince to speak graciously to those that are accused, and justify themselves, tho' he knows they are guilty; for fear, if he behave himself otherwise, his Passion or particular Hatred be looked upon as the Cause of their Condemnation.

5. A Prince that gives himself the Trouble to Instruct his Son, soon makes him an able Man: For the Schollar is the more Docile, because of the Respect he bears to the Authority of his Master; and the Master more Careful because of the Interest he has in the Education of his Schollar. *Paterculus* ascribes all the Abilities of *Tiberius* to the Divine Precepts of *Augustus*. *Institutum Caesari praeceptorum disciplinis*, Hist. 2. *Cabrera* says, That *Charles V.* when he returned to *Spain* after his Abdication, had thoughts himself of Educating of *Don Carlos*, the Prince of *Spain*, who neither regarded his Governors nor Tutors, but his want of Health prevented. It may be too, he changed his Mind because he would not teach him Maxims of Policy, which are dangerous for an ill Temper, such as *Don Carlos*, to learn. *Diego de Mendoza*, says, That it is the Custom for the Princes of *Leon*, to take their Children with them to the Wars, and to be their Masters in all parts of their Education. [The *Ponces*, formerly Dukes of *Cadix*, now Dukes of *Arcos*, are Hereditary Grandees, and that Honour is always in their Family, as the *Guzmans*, Dukes of *Medina-Sidonia*, their Rivals: These two Houses are distinguished from other Grandees originally, because of the twelve Families that enjoy this Honour, there is yet only the *Guzmans* and *Ponces* that the King of *Spain* hath named and acknowledged such.] Ch. 9. & 14. du liv. 4. de la Guerre de Grenade.

6. When

IX. *Piso* having sailed over the *Adriatick* Sea, and left the Ships at *Acona*, came by *Pisenum*¹, and so by the *Via Flamina*^m, to joyn the Legion that returned from *Pannonia* to *Rome*, to go into Garison in *Africa*. But because it was reported, he intended to Corrupt the Soldiers, by conversing much among them⁶; as soon as he arrived at *Narni*ⁿ, he embarked upon the River *Nare* to avoid Suspicion, or because those that are timorous are always uncertain. But he incensed the People by his landing in their sight, at the Burying-place of the *Cæsars*, with *Plancina*; both were pleasant and cheerful, he attended with a Multitude of Followers, and she with a great Train of Women. Their House, which stood very publickly, was adorned with Lawrels, and Garlands, there was a Festival, and great Rejoycings, and all so publick, as to raise them more Envy⁷ and Ill-will.

X. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. When a great Man is suspected, shewing he fears them not. *Tiberius* by his Prince, or actually accused of any Crime against the State, he cannot be guilty of a greater Imprudence than to Converſe with the Soldiers, especially if he had any Credit before among them. So *Piso*, that was called, *The Father of the Legions*, after he was accused by the Senator *Sentius*, for endeavouring to raise a Civil-war in the Province, encreased the Suspicion of that Crime, by conversing familiarly with the Legion that returned to *Rome*.

7. Pomp, Ceremony, Festivals and Rejoycings, are accounted so many new Crimes in one accused of Designs against the State; for it is indeed to brave a Prince and the Laws, in

rejoyced at *Germanicus's* Death, but that troubled him. *Piso* should have forbore entring with so much Splendour, and making those Shews at his House, which served only to raise a publick Displeasure, by the Comparison was made betwixt his Rejoycings, and the Silence, Sorrow and Mourning at *Agrippina's*. *Ca-brera* says, The Magnificence *Anthony Perez* lived in, while the Wife and Children of the Secretary *Juan Escovedo*, whom he had caused to be Assassinated, prosecuted his Death, so provok'd the People, that *Phillip II.* was at last forced to give him over to Justice, which treated him with great Rigour.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ Now *la Marca d' Ancona*.

^m That is one of the great Ways to *Rome*, made by *Flavinius* the Consul.

ⁿ A City of *Umbria*.

⁶ They

X. The next day *Fulcinus Trio* accused *Piso* before the Consuls but; *Veranius Vitellus*, and others, that had been with *Germanicus*, insisted, That it belong'd to them, and not to *Trio*, and that instead of being Accusers, they would only report, as Witnesses, the last Declaration of the Deceased. *Trio* waved that part, and contented himself with the Liberty to enquire into the Life of *Germanicus*. The Emperor desired Cognizance of this himself, and *Piso* freely consented for fear of falling into the hands of the People or Senate, both too much enclined to *Germanicus's* Family; and knowing also *Tiberius* valued not Reports, and that his Mother had agreed with him the Orders she sent *Plancina*. Besides, Truth is more easily discerned by a single Judge, than an Assembly¹ where Hatred and Envy are too prevalent. *Tiberius* was not ignorant of the Consequence of this Affair, nor the Reflections he lay under. After hearing therefore before some of his Confidants, the Complaints of the Accusers, and *Piso's* Answer, he sent all back to the Senate.

XI. In the mean time, *Drusus* returning from *Scavonia*, came privately to *Rome*, deferring till another time the Triumph the City decreed him for the taking *Maroboduus*, and his great Actions the Summer before. Afterwards *Piso* desiring *T. Aruntius*, *Fulcinus*, *Asinius Gallus*, *Eserninus Marcellus*, and *Sextus Pompeius* for his Advocates, and they excusing themselves² on divers Pretences, *M. Lepidus*, *Lucius Piso*, and *Livencius Regulus* were appointed him. All the City expected with great Impatience to see

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The diversity of Humours and Interests among those, compose an Assembly, opens the way to all Passion, and then it is impossible to discern Truth from Falshood, which has always Prejudice for its Advocate.

2. A Criminal, when the People seek for his Death with Threats that they will cut him in pieces, tho' he should be acquitted by his Judges, would find it difficult getting Advocates to make his Defence. Means are often found to escape the Wrath of a Prince, but very seldom that of the People.

3. When

see the Fidelity of *Germanicus's* Friends^o, the Courage of the Criminal, and whether *Tiberius* would discover or conceal his Sentiments. For the People never shewed greater Suspicion, nor took more Liberty to Censure their Prince.

XII. The Day the Senate met, *Tiberius* made a set Speech, and said, 'That *Piso* had been *Augustus's* Friend and Lieutenant, and that by Authority of the Senate³ he was sent with *Germanicus* to govern the East. They were impartially to judge, whether he had provoked the young Prince by his Disobedience and Disputes, if he rejoiced at his Death, or was the Cause of it. For, says he, if he exceeded what was committed to him, when Lieutenant, disobeyed his General, rejoiced at his Death, and my Affliction, I will banish him my House, and be revenged of him as a Father, not a Prince¹. Nay, if he hath been guilty of any Crime, that deserves Punishment, even the Death of any private Man, give your selves, the Children of *Germanicus*, and us their Parent just Satisfaction. And especially forget not to enquire if he hath corrupted the Military Discipline, if

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When a Prince has chose a Governor, or other Officer, whose Administration is blamed, he commonly divides it with his Council. So *Tiberius* here would have it believed, that the reason why he sent *Piso* Governor into *Syria*, was in Conformity to *Augustus*, who had honoured him with his Friendship, and divers Employments, in which he had well acquitted himself.

1. There is great difference betwixt Offences against the Person, and the Authority of a Prince. He may pardon the first, but ought never to let the others go unpunished, because their Consequences are always dangerous to the State. For that would be, as Cardinal *Richieu* has very well observed, A mistaken Clemency; more dangerous than Cruelty. *Ch. 5. de la seconde partie de son Testament Politique.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^o They had promised *Germanicus*, before he died, to lose their Lives rather than his Death should be unpunished; as *Tacitus* says towards the end of his Second Book of Annals.

p The

'if he hath ambitiously endeavoured to gain the Soldiers Affections, and if he returned into the Province by force of Arms, or if these things be false and aggravated by the Accusers², whose great zeal I have cause to be offended with. For, Why was *Germanicus's* Body stript and exposed naked to the People, and why has it been reported he was Poisoned, if these things are yet uncertain, and to be proved? I lament the loss of my Son, and shall always do it, but will not hinder the Accused making his Defence³, without sparing *Germanicus*, if he hath been to blame. I beseech you, let not my Trouble make you take Accusations for Crimes. If any among you are Relations or Friends to *Piso*, let him not fear to help him with his Eloquence and Care. I exhort his Accusers to the like Application and Constancy. We will only indulge this to *Germanicus*, that his Death shall be enquired into in the *Curia*^p, not the *Forum*^q, before the Senate, rather than the ordinary Judges, all the rest shall be according to the common Form. Lastly, I desire you will neither regard *Drusus's* Tears, my Affliction, nor any Calumnies.

XIII. It

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When a Prince puts a great Man into the Hands of Justice, and there is enough against him, it is wise and honourable in him to Command the Judges not to trouble themselves with the Examination of uncertain and doubtful Crimes, whereof he is accused, to shew he acts without Passion, and will proceed only according to Law.

3. A Prince has a double Obligation upon him, that of Nature to his Children, and of Government to his People. As he is a common Father, he ought to hold the Balance even, especially when he is to Revenge the Death or Complaints of the former.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p The *Curia* is the Place where the Senate used to assemble, to Consult about the publick Concerns of the Commonwealth.

q The *Forum* is the place where the publick Courts of Justice sat.

r See

XIII. It was ordered, the Accusers should have two days to bring in their Accusations, the Defendant three to answer, and six to prepare for it. Then *Fulcinus* began with old and frivolous matters, as his governing *Spain* ambitiously and covetously; a conviction whereof would not have Condemned him, had he justified himself of the rest, nor the clearing himself of that would have acquitted him, if found guilty of the new Crimes he was charged with. *Servus Veranius* and *Vitellius* continued the Accusation with the like warmth, but the latter with more Eloquence, objected, That *Piso*, out of Hatred to *Germanicus*, and desire of Innovation, so corrupted the Soldiers, by too much Indulgence and Licentiousness, at the Expence of their Allies, that the worst of them called him, *Father of the Legions*. On the other hand he had ill used the best Officers, and especially the Friends of *Germanicus*, whom he killed by his Charms and Poison, as the detestable Sacrifices made by him and *Plancia*, for Joy at his Death, do testify: That he was in Arms against the Commonwealth, and had never been brought to Justice, but that he was overcome in Battle.

XIV. His Defence was weak, for he could neither deny his gaining the Soldiers by Ambition, nor exposing the Province to them, nor his Reproaches to the Emperor, he only seemed to clear himself from the charge of Poison, which in truth was not well proved¹. For to say he poisoned the Meat by touching it, as he sate one day above *Germanicus* at Table, that was so absurd, there

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. For Poison, says *Patin*, that is always said upon the Death of Princes, of which they often make a Mystery, *Lettre 69*. As if, says *Strada*, it was a Dishonour to them to Die a

Natural Death, because that would make Princes and others too equal. *Livre 2. de la seconde Decade de sa Guerre de Flandres*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ See chap. 76. l. 2.

f This

there was no probability in it, that *Piso* should dare to do so before the Servants and Waiters, and *Germanicus* himself too. And he desired his Servants and Family might be put to the Question. But the Judges were inexorable², and all on different Motives; the Emperor because of the War in the Province, the Senate out of Prejudice, upon suspicion that *Germanicus* died not a natural Death. Some were for obliging him to shew the Letters his Friends writ him from *Rome*, while he was in *Syria*, but *Tiberius* opposed that as well as he. At the same time the People cried aloud, before the Senate-House, that if *Piso* was acquitted, he should not escape them³; and his Statues were dragged to the *Gemonies*^f, and had been broke there, but that *Tiberius* protected them. *Piso* was carried back by a Captain of the Pretorian Band, which was differently interpreted, some saying he was to guard him from the fury of the People, others to be his Executioner.

XV. *Plancia*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Upon State Accusations, says Cardinal *Richlieu*, You are to shut the Door against Pity, and Despise the Complaints of those that are concerned. To be rigorous against those that Contemn the Laws and Government, is to be good for the publick, against which, a Prince cannot offend more, than in being indulgent to those that violate them. *C. 5. de la seconde Partie de son Testament Politique*.

3. The Prince ought never to suffer the People to take Cognizance of those accused of State-Crimes, nor let them examine, whether the Judges should acquit or condemn. If this Door be once open, the People will be Masters of all Judgments, by the Seditions they will raise in favour of those they would save, or to take of those Ministers and Publick Officers they hate.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f This was a Place where Condemned Persons were dragged and cast into the *Tyber*. It was up stairs, and from thence *Scala Gemonia*, and *Gradus Gemonii*, because, as some are of Opinion, the first that suffer'd in this manner his Name was *Gemonius*, or as others, because it was *Locus Gemitus & Calamitatum*. And from hence they used to throw down the Statues of Criminals. This was upon the *Arventine Mount*.

† In

XV. *Plancina* was as much Hated, but more in Favour¹, and therefore it was doubted whether *Tiberius* would bring her to Trial²: As long as *Piso* had any Hopes, she Vowed she would accompany him in his Fortune, and Death too, if that happened; but she was no sooner Pardoned by *Augusta's* means, than she began to leave her Husband³, and make her Defence apart, which *Piso* took for a certain sign of his Death. Doubting whether he should any more try the Compassion of his Judges, at the persuasion of his Sons, he takes Courage, and goes again to the Senate. He found the Accusations renewed, the Judges set against him, and all conspiring his Destruction. Nothing troubled him more, than the Carriages of *Tiberius*, which appeared without Pity, without Passion, fixt, insensible and unmoveable. When he was brought back, as if he was providing for his Defence, next day, he writes, Seals it up, and delivers it to one who had been his Servant, and then took that Care of himself he used to do. Lastly, his Wife leaving his Chamber at midnight, he orders the Doors to be shut, and was found in the morning with his Throat Cut, his Sword lying by him.

XVI. I

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. It is a fatality in all Monarchies to have a Minister the more loved by his Prince, as he is hated by the People; and to have popular Hatred preserve those, a Prince would willingly give up, when he is informed of their Behaviour, if it were not to gratifie the People. You therefore often see Ministers and Favourites prosper and flourish, when the People clamour against them; and fall from the top of their Grandeur when the People seem weary of hating and affronting them.

2. Nothing is more dishonourable to a Prince, than to suffer a great Man to grow to that Credit or

Power, as shall oblige him to cover his Faults, so that he dares not let him be questioned for Crimes against the State.

3. Every thing is sacrificed to Life, and as *A. Perez* says, There is not a Truer Friendship than betwixt the Soul and the Body, for they would never part. A great many Women make their Husbands all the Promises *Plancina* made *Piso*, but you see none keep them; they are the inseparable Companions of their good Fortune, but instead of comforting them in bad, are oftentimes their Scourges. He is exceeding happy who meets with a good One:

Am

XVI. I remember I have heard some old men say, *Piso* had often a Book in his Hand, which he never made publick, but his Friends said it contained *Tiberius's* Letters and his Commands against *Germanicus*, which he intended to have produced to the Senate, and accused *Tiberius*, but was deluded by *Sejanus's* vain Promises. They said he did not Kill himself, but that *Tiberius* sent one who did it. I affirm nothing⁴, but ought not to conceal what I have heard from Persons⁵ that lived till I came of Man's Estate. *Tiberius*, with some Compassion, told the Senate, *Piso* had found a way to deliver himself from them. He asked his Servant many Questions as to the particulars of his Death. And he answering some of them well, others con-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. An Historian can never be too scrupulous, when he is to relate the secret Actions of Princes. That Itch, which many Scriblers have to search into the Secrets of Princes, and to refine upon the Memoirs communicated to them, gives them not always Reputation in the world, for it with some they pass for Wise and Discerning, others very much doubt their Fidelity and Truth. They are Writers, says *Strada*, value themselves upon publishing Secret and Villanous things, and neglect those that are common. Like those Femons that pass by Houses that are open, and only beset those are fast. *Livre . . . de la seconde Decade.*

5. There are some curious things an Historian ought not to omit, tho' they are difficult to be believed, and none have taken notice of them before, when he knows them from Persons of Credit, who have had some share in them, or that have seen secret Memoirs. Historians, says *Commines*, leave us many things that they do not know to be true, but for my part I will speak of nothing but what I know to be true,

or have had from great Persons that are fit to be believed. And in another Place, says, Tho' I was not in the Places where these things were done, yet I know that they were reported to the King, and by the Letters were writ him, which I often saw, because he commanded me to answer them. *Chap. 13. du Liv. 5. & 4. du Liv. 6.* When *Strada* speaks of the Apparition of Colonel *Pedro de Paz* to his Regiment, at a Battle near *Antwerp*, he appeals to *Debrø*, and says, That after the Testimony of a Man of so great weight, he thought he should do injury to Posterity, if he kept from them so extraordinary an Event, which was acknowledged too by many Officers upon Oath, who were present at the Battle. *Liv. 6. de la seconde Decade.* The Preface to *M. Aubery du Maurier's* Memoirs is one of the best pieces he has given us a long time, and I prefer a little History, like that of the Queen of *Scots's* Death, which he says he learnt from his Father, who had it from Chancellor *de Billieure* himself, to all his Histories he has writ upon Manuscripts, and invisible Memoirs.

X

6. Nothing

confusedly ⁶, he read what *Piso* had left in Writing, which was almost in these words. 'Since neither Truth, nor my Innocence will be received against the Calumnies of my Enemies, I call the Gods to witness, I never have been wanting in my Faith to you, Sir, nor in my Duty to your Mother. I therefore beseech you both, protect my Children, one of them has had no share in my Affairs, having always been at *Rome*, the other was against my going to *Syria*. And I wish to God I had rather yielded to him than he to me. I most earnestly beg of you not to confound the Innocent with the Guilty. I conjure you therefore, by my Forty five years Services, by our Fellowship in the Consulship ⁷, by the Memory of *Augustus*, whose Favour I had, and out of Compassion to a Friend's last Request, have Pity on my Son. He said nothing of *Plancina*.

XVII. *Tiberius* excused the Son from any Crime in the Civil War, because of the Influence of his Father ¹. He spoke at the same time of the Nobleness of their Family ², lamented the Misfortune of *Piso*, however he had

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. Nothing is more difficult than to answer well to the frequent Questions of Princes; the most able are very much confounded, and with greater reason may others be so the first time they appear in a Prince's Presence, that has a severe Air of Majesty, as *Tiberius*, whose Countenance was as doubtful as his Words. *Tiberii Sermo, cultu, adrogantibus & obscuris*, Ann. I.

1. As it is certain, the Authority of a Father can never give him a Right to command his Children any thing against the State; so the Children that are of Age to know what they do, are as guilty as their Fathers when they obey in a plain Rebellion, whether they do it voluntarily, or by force: Otherwise the Duty of Filial Obedience would be a pretence for Rebellion. Now when young *Piso*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ In the Year of *Rome* 746, or 747.

² Which was of the *Calpurnian* House.

y With-

had deserved ². For *Plancina*, he spoke with some shame and concern, pretending it, at his Mother's Intreaty, against whom all good men secretly complained. 'Is it, said they, sitting for the Grandmother to behold the Murderer of her Grandson, speak to her, and take her from the Senate? Is that denied only to *Germanicus*, the Laws allow to all Citizens? *Vitellus* and *Veranius* demand Justice, and *Plancina* is protected by the Emperor, and *Augusta*. What remains for this Woman, after having so fortunately bestowed her Poison and Inchantments, but to use them also against *Agrippina*, and her Children, and satiate the good Grandmother and Uncle with the Blood of this unhappy House? Two days were spent under colour of examining the Cause, *Tiberius* encouraging *Piso's* Children to defend their Mother. And when no Answer was given to the Accusers, and the Witnesses against her, their Hatred gave way to Compassion. The Consul *Aurelius Cotta*, being asked

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Piso dissuaded his Father from returning to *Syria*, shewing him he would raise a Civil War in the East; it is evident he knew the consequence thereof, and saw it as clearly as his Father: And besides, it appeared too by *Piso's* Letter to the Emperor, that his Son was not altogether innocent, as in Truth he was not, since according to the Testimony of *Tacitus*, he was as zealous in the War when it was begun, as he had been first in advising against it. *Haud ignavo ad ministeria belli juvenis Pisonis, quam suscipiendum bellum abmisset*, Ann. 2.

2. Tho' Princes are obliged to punish Crimes, yet it becomes them very well to pity the Misfortune of those suffer for them. After the part of a Prince is over, which is to do Justice, without regard to the condition of those that are guilty, 'tis

but Humanity to shew some Compassion, especially when they are Persons that have done Service to the Publick. I do not see, that those who read *Sixtus Quintus's* Life, approve, or in any sort excuse his extravagant Zeal, which made him say, after he had beheld the Execution of a Spanish Gentleman, who was hanged before his Windows; That it was a Sauce would make him Dine with the better Appetite. *Leti Liv. 2. de la seconde partie de sa Vie*.

3. As Historians ought not to approve the Reflections the People make of a Prince and great Men, yet they ought less to pass them in silence; for the end of their Writing, is, to give Examples whereby we may know Good and Bad, and shun those things which Envy and Evil-speaking may interpret ill.

X 2

4. Judges

asked his Judgment, (for when the Emperor propounds, the Consuls speak first) he gave it, That *Piso's* Name should be rased out of the Annals, part of his Goods Confiscated, the rest given to *Cneius Piso*, on condition he chang'd the name of *Cneius*, that *M. Piso* be degraded 4, 25000 Crowns allowed him, and he banished for Ten years, and *Plancina* pardoned at the intercession of *Augusta*.

XVIII. *Tiberius* moderated the Sentence, and thought it not reasonable that *Piso's* Name should be rased out of the Annals, when *Mark Anthony*, that actually engaged in a Civil War, and *Julius Antonius* that violated *Augustus's* House remained there. And as for *Marcus Piso*, he would not suffer him to be attainted, and granted him all his Father's Estate, for he was never covetous, (as I have often said) and shame for acquitting *Plancina* made him more merciful. When *Valerius Messalinus* proposed the erecting a Golden Statue in the Temple of *Mars the Avenger*, and *Cæcina Severus* an Altar to Revenge, he forbid them, saying, Such Offerings ought to be for Foreign

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Judges should always give Judgment according to the severity of the Laws; 'tis not for them, but the Prince to shew Mercy. This of the Consul *Cotta* was rigorous, but conformable to the Laws, the chief end of which is to strike terror in Offenders. Besides, Princes love to have Judges severe, so that if they please to shew any Mercy, the Criminals may be the more obliged to them. However, the Judges should never exceed those Bounds their Consciences prescribe, and their Complaisance to the Prince ought not to go beyond that rigour the Law requires. For it is a rashness and injustice to condemn a Criminal to more than his Crime deserves, on supposition that the Prince will moderate the Sentence.

5. It is Wisdom in a Prince to stop

those Sentences against great Men, that carry along with them marks of Infamy, and reflect on the Honour of their Family. *Philip II.* of Spain understanding the Circumstances of *Gonzalo Pizarro's* Crime, who was Beheaded in the Reign of *Charles V.* for endeavouring to fix himself in the Government of *Peru*, which his Brother had Conquered, without ever consenting to the Title of King, which those of the Country offered him; declares by an Act, signed with his own Hand, That *Gonzalo* was never a Traitor, tho' condemned as such, commanding that Name should be blotted out of all the Histories where he was called so. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera* dans l'Épître de la Vie de *la Charles V.* Those who have mind to see a Case parallel to *Piso*, need only read there.

1. There

reign Victories, but Domestick Evils should be buried in Sorrow. *Messalinus* was also for giving Thanks to *Tiberius* and *Augusta*, to *Antonjo* and *Agrippina*, and to *Drusus*, for revenging *Germanicus's* Death, but never mentioned *Claudius*. *L. Asprenas* asked him before the Senate, whether that was a willful Omission, and then *Claudius* was entred with the others. The more I consider modern or ancient Histories, I discover the greater Vanity and Uncertainty in Human Affairs; for in Fame, Hope, and Estimation, all were rather destined to the Sovereignty, than he whom Fortune had reserved for the future Prince.

XIX. A

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are often Instances in Elective Governments, that the People, who love much to Discourse of Affairs of State, speak of divers Princes, every one according to his Fancy or Desire, till at last they Name him that is chosen, *Tac. Hist. 2.* And as there is no Court, where so many Changes happen, nor so many unexpected Elections, as at *Rome*, *Scipio Ammirato* had Reason from hence to Discourse of the Election of the Popes; out of which I shall give you an Extract: It seems, says he, those Wise Men that take upon them to point out who will be Elected, make Age the principal Condition of Election, concluding, the young Cardinals are never to hope for the Pontificate; which is very wrong, for *Leo X.* came to it at the Age of 37. *Boniface VIII.* at 34. *Clement VII.* at 45. Others take it for granted, they will never Elect a Foreigner for a Pope, because the Italian Cardinals, that are always more numerous than the *Thamontans*, will never suffer the Popedom to be out of their Nation. Without going farther for an Example, we see the contrary in *Adrian VI.* who was not only a Fleming, but had never seen *Rome* nor *Italy*. And Cardinal *Pool* had

been Pope, but that his Pious Modesty refused the Adoration at midnight. *Calixtus III.* and *Alexander VI.* who are not very ancient, were not they Spaniards? Others say, That the Cardinals of an illustrious House, or that have many Relations can never hope for the Pontificate, and yet *Paul III.* and *Paul IV.* were both very nobly Born, and the last had so many Relations, that there is no Family in *Italy* has more Men, Lands, and Charges than the House of *Caraffa*. And besides, *Clement VII.* was not only very Noble, but an absolute Lord (tho' under the modest Title of Governor) of a great part of *Tuscany*. How oft was it said, that after the Pontificate was out of the *Benedictines*, they resolved it should never return into any Religious Order: Yet besides *Sixtus IV.* and *Pius V.* one a Cordelier, and the other a Dominican, in the year 1585. when of 64 Cardinals, there were only two Religious; *Elis Peretti*, a Franciscan, was made Pope. Testimonials sufficient, that neither young Men, nor Strangers, neither Nobles nor Monks are excluded, as their Politicks would predict. There are those also lay it down for a Rule, that they will never make a severe

XIX. A few days after, *Tiberius* persuades the Senate to advance *Vitellius Veranius* and *Servus*, to the Priesthood; and having promised *Fulcinus* his Vote for any Dignity, advised him not to lessen his Eloquence by too much Eagerness². This was the end of Revenging *Germanicus's* Death, which was differently reported

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Man, nor one that is very liberal, or that loves War, Pope. Can they have a Pope more severe than *Pius V.* more Liberal than *Julius III.* more stout and martial than *Julius II.* From whence *Annirato* concludes, That whatever the world may say, and the Cardinals Cabal together, yet the Election of Popes is without doubt directed by the Hand of God. *Disc. 1, du Liv. 3. de son Comm. sur Tac.* There cannot be a greater Instance of this, than what is mentioned in a Letter of Cardinal *Joyeuse*, where he gives an Account to *Henry IV. of France*, of the Election of Cardinal *Borghese*, who was *Paul VI.* instead of Cardinal *Tosco*, whom the Cardinals *Aldrobrandi* and *Montalto*, the Heads of the two Chief Factions in the Conclave agreed to Elect. Upon that, says he, the great Cardinal *Baronius*, who had always declared to *Aldrobrandi*, he would never go to the Adoration of such a Man, spoke publicly, That he they were going to Elect, was unworthy of that Charge, that it would bring a great Plague upon the Church, that he would make no Schism, but would be the last to Adore him. This was an ardent Zeal for the Honour of God, and an Example very rare, that one Cardinal alone, when they were going to Adoration, and when the rest were agreed, should dare to speak with so much Freedom. The Cardinal *Aldrobrandi* proposed to me Cardinal *Borghese*, conjuring me, by all the Services he had done your Majesty, and by

the Memory of *Clement VIII.* to agree. I consulted Cardinal *Montalto*, if he approved him. He told me he not only liked him very well, but that we should oblige him very much to accept him. *Aldrobrandi* supplicating us to do him that Favour: I answered, I thanked God that in serving two Persons, whom we honoured very much, we might have him Pope, whom your Majesty desired most, so good a Man and of so exemplary a life: And as soon as I said so, *Borghese* was made Pope. Thus, Sir, succeeded this Negotiation, from which I believe your Majesty will have great satisfaction, to see Affairs here in such a Condition, that the Cardinals, your Subjects, are as it were, the Arbitrators of the Conclave, and have prevented the Church having a Head, whose Life and Reputation were a little blemished, and instead thereof to have one that without contradiction is esteemed very good and very wise. I will also believe it will be acceptable to your Majesty, and advantageous to France, that he owes his Election to the Cardinals your Subjects, for it cannot be denied, that they under God, have prevented the Holy See's being filled with another Person, to relieve it for him, to whom God had destined it for the Good and Service of the Church. *Dans l'Histoire du Cardinal Joyeuse.*

2. *Logo-Diarrhaa*, which *Quintilian* calls, *Os Præcep*, is a great fault in an Orator. We see Preachers, whose

ported then³, and in subsequent times. So dark are all great Affairs, some believe all they hear, others disguise Truth with Falshood, and Posterity adds to both.

XX. *Drusus* left the City to enquire his Fortune¹, and entred with a small Triumph²; and within a few days, *Vipsania* his Mother died, the only one of *Agrippa's* Children that died a natural Death. For it is certain, or at least believed, the rest died by the Sword, Poison, or Famine³. XXI. This

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

whose Mouths go like the Alarum of a Clock, and whose Sermons are a continual labour to them. The vulgar calls that Apostolical Preaching, as if the Apostles could not otherwise deliver God's Word. This fault the Italian and Spanish Preachers abound with, whose Gesture was violent as their Pronunciation. I will add to this a Reflection on the Advice *Tiberius* would give *Fulcinus*, It is that the Precipitation and Vehemence of this Advocate displeased him, because very contrary to his easie and composed way of speaking. They that are to speak before Princes ought to accommodate their Discourse to their liking, if they would be well heard. In *Augustus's* Reign the Harangues were long, his being so, because of the care he took to deliver his Thoughts clearly.

Under *Tiberius* they were short and pertinent, because his Style was concise and close. Which shews, Eloquence has its Modes, and that the Fashion and Rules of Gramin and Rhetorick are used according to the conformity they have with the present Genius of the Court.

3. It is very difficult to discover the Truth of those matters that have been differently reported when they happened. The older they are, the more obscure they become, and are intermixed with ingenious Circumstances that make them pass for Romances. Therefore the Chancellor *Chiverny* said in his Memoirs, he thought good to deliver the Truth of the most remarkable Things wherein most Historians deceive Posterity.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. Without which he could not fall again to his publick Employments, which had been interrupted ever since his return to Rome, nor enjoy the Honour of the Triumph was decreed him. This Ceremony consisted in Prayers that those made who took upon them any Civil or Military Employments, to the God's to be propitious to them.

2. The Ovation some fancy to have derived its Name from shouting *Evion* to *Bacchus*, but the true Original is *Ovis*, usually offered in this Procession, as an Ox in the Triumph. The Procession generally began at the *Albanian* Mountain, whence the General, with his Retinue, made his Entry into the City. He went on Foot, with many Flutes or Pipes sounding in Consort as he passed along, wearing a Garland of Myrtle, as a Token of Peace, with an Aspect rather raising Love and Respect, than Fear.

3. *Caius* and *Lucius* by Poison, *Agrippa Posthumus* by the Sword, *Agrippina* by Famine.

XXI. This year *Tacfarinus*, who I told you was beat the last Summer by *Camillus*, begun the War again in *Africk*, first by plundering, in which his quick marches secured him, then he burnt Towns, and carried off great Booties, and lastly, Besieged a Roman Fort not far from the River *Pagys*; *Decrius* was Governor, a Man of Courage and an Experienced Soldier, and looking on such a Siege a Dishonour to him, he encouraged his Men to Fight in the open Field, and drew them up before the Fort¹. They were beaten back at the first Engagement, he run among them that fled, rebuking the Ensigns for turning their Backs to Traitors and Deserters. And tho' he received several Wounds, and lost an Eye, yet he faced the Enemy, and continued Fighting till he was forsaken by his Men and Slain.

XXII. Which when *L. Apronius* (who succeeded *Camillus*) understood, being more concerned for the shame of his own Men, than Glory of the Enemy, he decimated² those

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Tho' Sallies, says *Communes*, are sometimes necessary, yet they are dangerous, for the loss of Ten Men to them is more than an Hundred to the Besiegers, because their number is not equal, and cannot Recruit at pleasure, and if they lose their Commander, (which often happens) it causes the loss of the place. *Chap. 11.*

du Liv. 2. de ses Mem. He that is afraid of losing a Fort, ought not to make Sallies often, for Ten of the Besiegers will not recompence the loss of one of his Men, because they can Recruit, and he has no hopes of doing it. *Dis. 3. du Liv. 26. de son Commentaire sur Tacite.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ *Senece* *maiores nostri*, says *Cicero*, speaking of Decimation, *ut, si a militis esset flagitium rei militaris admissum, sortitione in quosdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, paena ad paucos perveniret. Pro Cluentio.* That is, Our Ancestors have decreed, that if many offend against Martial Law, some only shall be punished by Lot, so that their Punishment may strike Terror to all the rest. *Appian Claudius* seems to have been the first Author of Decimation among the Romans. His Army having forsake him in his Expedition against the *Volsi*, he Decimated them at his return, and cut off the Centurions Heads after they had run the Gantlet. *T. Liv. lib. 2.* The same Historian says, he killed the Roman Soldiers, (*victibus*), and the Foreigners (*subitus*). *Paterculus* says, That the Proconsul *Calpurnius Domitius*

those dishonourable Troops², and drubb'd them to Death. A Punishment rare in those times, tho' practised formerly. Which Severity did so much good, that an Ensign, with no more than 500 old Soldiers, defeated *Tacfarinus's* Army³, as they were going to assault a Fort, called *Thala*. In which Battle, *Rufus Helvius*, a common Soldier, had the Honour to save a Citizen's Life, on whom *Apronius* bestowed a Chain and Spear, *Tiberius* added the Civic Crown, finding Fault rather than offended, that

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Decimation is the most effectual remedy for the Cowardice, Disobedience and Infidelity of Soldiers. It is rarely executed in *France*, but supplied with an equivalent, the breaking of Companies. What *Lewis the Just* did in 1639. is remarkable, *Viz.* The King being well informed how cowardly the Troops of Light Horse of *Fontette*, *Castelet* and *Cuvilliers*, left the Foot at the Battle of *Thionville*, and resolving such Infamy should be taken notice of, and exemplarily punished, ordered they should be broke and never raised again. His Majesty declares the Captains and Officers of the said Troops infamous, and incapable of ever having any Command, reserving himself to appoint them such Punishment as they deserved. And in a Letter to the Viscount de *Lignon*, My desire is, says he, That you break with Disgrace, and expel your Regiment, all the Offi-

cers and Soldiers that were known to fly, on that occasion, and that you let them not serve in other Troops, where the Contagion of their ill Conduct may make the like disorder, as at the Battle of *Thionville*. *Dans le Tom. 4. des Memoires du Ministere du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

3. Sometimes those that are Beat, bring more Resolution, Courage and Conduct to a second Battle, than their Victors; for these are apt to relax, through Haughtiness and Pride, which Victory inspires, when the others have Shame, Anger, and a desire of Vengeance to spur them to recover the Esteem and Favour of their General, Which *Tacitus* says, *Acriter disciplina vult, quam vires agunt: hoc ira, odium, ultionis cupiditas, ad virtutem accendit, illi per subsidium & contumaciam hebescent.* *Hist. 2. Profuisse discipline ipsum pudorem.* *Hist. 3.*

4. Princes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

that caused *Vibullius*, a Lieutenant Colonel, to be slain with his Generals Staff, because he shamefully run away. *Hist. 2. Chap. 78.* Sometimes the Roman Consuls *vigesimabant* and *centesimabant*, i. e. punished only One of Twenty or an Hundred.

that *Apronius* did not give it ⁴, which he might have done as Proconsul. But *Tacfarinas*, seeing the *Numidians* daunted, and resolved against more Sieges, scatter'd the War, giving ground when pursued, and following upon the Retreat, and thus kept the *Romans* in play to no purpose. But greedy of Booty, he got near the Sea-Coasts, and encamped; *Apronius Cæstianus* being sent by his Father, with the Horse and Auxiliaries, and the greater part of the Legions, found a way to Fight him, and drove him to the Desarts.

XXIII. *Lepida*, who, besides the Honour of the *Æmilian* Family, from whence she was descended, had *L. Sylla* and *Cneius Pompeius* for her Grandfathers, was accused by her Husband, *Publius Quirinus*, a Rich Man and Childless, for a Supposititious Child, and also for Adulteries and Poisonings ⁵, and that she had consulted the *Baldeans* against *Cæsar's* House. Her Brother *Marius Lepidus* defended her. And tho' she was faulty and infamous

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Princes are always pleased to have their Ministers leave to them the disposing of Rewards, especially Military Rewards, the distribution whereof draws great Consequences after it, when done by other Hands. After the Battle of *Rocroy*, the Bâton of Marshal was not refused *M. de Gassion*, because the *D. d'Anguien* asked it, but because the Queen Regent and Cardinal *Mazarine* would not let him owe that Dignity to a Victorious General. However, there is nothing gives a Sovereign greater satisfaction, than the Moderation of a Subject, who after he has done great Services will receive no Recompence from any other hand than his. Cardinal *d'Ossat*, speaking of the Presents Cardinal *Joyeuse* had sent him, after his Promotion, said, He accepted only the Silver Balin, which might be worth an Hundred Crowns; for tho' he had not then

what became him to support his Dignity, yet he would not renounce his Abstinence, that he had always preserved, to be obliged to any other Lord or Prince, than the King, *Lettre 171*. The King, saith a Modern Author, should be the only Master and Judge of all Rewards, and ought to dispose them himself, so that they who receive any of them, may be persuaded they owe them to his Bounty. Besides, nothing can give juster satisfaction to Subjects, who have a true Sense of Honour, than to receive a Favour from the King's own Hand, because the Dignity of the Royal Hand adds a Quality to the Present that augments its excellence and value. *Chap. 9. du Traité de la Politique de France.*

5. It is easie to persuade Judges, a Woman that commits Adultery would Poison her Husband;

1. 'Tis

famous, yet *Quirinus's* Prosecution, after he was Divorced from her, made others have Compassion on her. It was hard to guess *Tiberius's* Inclination, he so artfully mixed the signs of his Anger and Clemency. He requested the Senate to let alone the Charge of Treason at that time, then he drew from *M. Servilius*, that had been Consul, and the other Witnesses, what he pretended he would have concealed, and sent *Lepida's* Servants to the Consuls, under a guard of Soldiers, and would not suffer them to be examined on the Rack against her. Lastly, Dispensed with *Drusus*, Consul Elect, giving his Opinion first, which was differently interpreted, that the Judges might not be led by his Son and others, that they might have the greater liberty to Condemn her ¹.

XXIV. During

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. 'Tis very certain, if *Tiberius* had desired to have saved *Lepida*, he would have let his Son have spoke first, to have had the Reputation of it, to which the rest would willingly have consented, because the Conterpt they had for *Quirinus*, her Accuser, would have inclined the Judges to shew her Favour. He would not let his Son declare himself first, under pretence of leaving others to their liberty, but in effect, that they might do what he would not be thought the Author of; and to shew, that instead of imposing a necessity on the Judges to follow *Drusus's* Opinion, he might pretend *Drusus* conformed to theirs, which threw the Odium on them. See how Prince's Actions are covered with shews of Modesty, Clemency and Justice. When *Philip II.* King of *Spain*, preserved the Lady *Elizabeth*, and gained her Liberty, after she was commit-

ted to the Tower upon *Wint's* accusing her, this Action was magnified by the *Spaniards*, as a singular Example of Clemency and Generosity. When he would not consent she should be sent into *Spain* to be shut up in a Convent, the English believed it to be for the Reason he gave the Queen, because the Kingdom would have reason to complain, if the Lawful Heir was taken from them when the Queen and he had no Children. When to prevent the Beheading of her, he told the Queen, That the Prince, who has his Hands in the Blood of his Relations, prepares a Sword for himself, she believed him concerned for her Safety. But all these were only Pretences, as his own Historian *Cabrera* allows. The French, says he, would have it, That *Philip* saved *Elizabeth* only out of State Policy to prevent *England's* being joyned after the Queen's

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. Ita enim apud Romanos, says *Appian*, futuri anni Consul primus censet. The

XXIV. During this Process, the publick Plays being shewn, *Lepida* goes to the Theatre, with divers Noble Ladies, and directs her Prayers and Tears to her Ancestors, calling on *Pompey*, whose Images were placed round the Theatre he built, which wrought so great Compassion in the Spectators, that with Tears they imprecated *Quirinus*, who considering his Age, and the meanness of his Birth, was not a fit Husband for such a Lady, once designed to be *L. Caesar's* Wife, and Daughter-in-Law to *Augustus*: But her Crimes being discovered by Torturing her Servants, *Rubellius Blandus's* Sentence was received, That she should be banished. *Drusus* yielded to it, tho' others would have been more merciful. Then *Seaurus*, who had a Daughter by her, obtained that her Goods should not be Confiscate. At last, *Tiberius* declared he was assured by *Quirinus's* Slaves, she sought to Poison him.

XXV. The Afflictions the great Families were under almost at the same time^d, the *Calphurnii* having lost *Piso*, and the *Emilii Lepida*, were alleviated through Joy, That *D. Silanus* was restored to the *Funii*. His Case I relate in a few words. As *Augustus* was fortunate in publick Affairs^e, so he was unhappy at home

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

* Queen's Death in *Mary Queen of Scots*, who had Married the Dauphin of *France*, by which Union *France* had been formidable to the Low Countries, which was very true. And God suffer'd *Elizabeth* to disturb and divide these Provinces, and to give *Philip* great Trouble for preferring his own

Interest to that of Religion, in favouring one was afterwards the greatest Enemy the Roman Church ever had. Thus God punishes Princes who prefer the Welfare of their Temporal Affairs before their Conscience. Chap. 7. & 10. du Liv. I. de son Histoire, & Aubery du Mauryer dans la Préface de ses Mémoires.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^d The *Calphurnii* and *Emilii* were very considerable Families in Rome.

^e *Tacitus*, says, *Valida in Remp. fortuna*, which rendring Literally, is, He had good Fortune against the Commonwealth. And I believe, that is the

home², in the lewdness of his Daughter and Neice, whom he banished, punishing the Adulterers with Death or Exile. For finding their Offences the subject of common Discourse, he gave them the Name of Sacrilege or Treason to have a pretence to shew no Pity, and to exceed the Laws³. But I reserve for another work, the ends

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is fatal to Princes that are happy in their Government, to be unfortunate in their Families, either by the Disobedience of their Children, as *Charles VII. of France*, *Philip II. of Spain*, or in the Lewdness of their Wives or Daughters, as *Augustus*, *Tiberius*, and many others. Besides, *Augustus* deserved this very well, because he forgot all the Sacred Ties of Friendship when he consulted his Pleasure, and abused *Meccenas's* Wife, who was his first Minister and Favourite, which has given occasion to *Arioste* the Italian Poet, to say,

*Non fù sì santo nè benigno Augusto,
Come la tromba di Virgilio suona.*

i. e. *Augustus* was not so Virtuous, nor so Good, as *Virgil* tells us.

3. The Prince that observes not his own Laws, gives room to think, either that they are unjust, or not necessary, and brings publick Hatred on himself, if he makes others rigorously observe them. The more severe Laws are, the more it concerns a Prince to Authorise them by his

Example, which wins those would otherwise oppose them. *Macchiavel* gives us a very considerable Relation, which shews how dangerous it is for the Maker of a Law to Break it. He says, That *Fryar Hieronymus Savonarolo*, having among other things, for the security of the Government of *Florence*, obtained a Law for Appeals to the People in Matters of State, both from the Senate and the Council of Eight, (which he had a long time solicited, and got with much difficulty at last.) It happened, that not long after, there were five Persons Condemned to Death by the Senate, who endeavouring earnestly to Appeal to the People, were denied it, and could not have the Benefit of that Law, which was greater Diminution to the Reputation of the Fryar, than any thing had ever happened before. For if that Law was of such Importance as he pretended, it ought to have been observed; if not, Why was it solicited so earnestly? And it was the more remarkable in the Fryar, because in his Sermons

HISTORICAL NOTES.

the Author's true Sense, who in my Opinion would take notice of the extraordinary good Fortune he had to make himself by force of Arms absolute Master of the Empire. For if *Tacitus* would only have spoke of his Government, he should have said in *Rep.* and not in *Remp.* Which none of the Spanish, Italian or French Translators have observed, but *Rodolfs*, who says, (as Fortune was very favourable to the Emperor *Augustus*, against the Commonwealth.) But I think it more proper to content my self wth the common Interpretation, making only a Grammatical Note upon it, (which I do seldom) *Non ut arguerem, sed ne arguerer.*

g So

ends of others, and other Matters, if I live to write another Book, when I have finished these Annals. *D. Silanus*, who was accused for Debauching *Augustus's* Neice, was only forbid his House ^g, which he interpreted Banishment, and till *Tiberius's* Reign durst never ask leave of the Emperor and Senate to return home. And then depended on his Brother, *M. Silanus's* Credit and Reputation for his illustrious Birth and great Eloquence. But *Silanus* thanking *Tiberius* on his Brother's behalf, he replied before the Senate, it was matter of Joy to him as well as others, to see his Brother return home after so long Travels; that he lawfully might, because he was not banished either by Decree of the Senate, or other Law ^h. That his Offence against his Father remained, and his return

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

mons and Discourses afterwards to the People, he neither blamed the breaking of that Law, nor went about to excuse it: For being to his purpose, he would condemn it, and excuse it he could not, having nothing to say; which Action having discovered the Ambitious Partiality of his Mind, lessened his Repute, and loaded him

with Scandal. *Chap. 45. Liv. 1. de ses Disc. Sixtus V.* lost a little the Reputation he had of a constant Man, by one or two Promotions he made *extra tempora* in 1587. after his Bull, whereby he decreed, That no Promotions should be made but in *Ember-Week* in December. *Leti livi dernier de sa Vie.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^g So I render, *Amicitia Caesaris prohiberi*; for *Tacitus* says by that the Romans declared they renounced Friendship with those had offended them. *Morem fuisse majoribus, quoties dirimerent amicitias, interdiceret domo, eamque suam gratie ponere.* Ann. 6. To which *Tacitus's* Words to *Tiberius* in his Harangue against *Piso*; *Si obsequium erga Imperatorem exiit, ejusdemque O luctus molatatus est, odere, seponamque a domo mea.* Ann. 3.

^h There were three sorts of Exile; the first was called *Deportatio*, Transportation, this was perpetual, and extended to loss of Estates and Privileges. *Ann. 1. Deportati autem jus civitatis & bona amittebant.* The second was *Relegatio*, by which a Criminal was sent to such a Place or such a time, or perhaps for ever, but not deprived of the Privilege of a Roman Citizen. The third, Depended on the Will and Pleasure of the Prince, by a certain Writing under his Hand to those he suspected, or had offended him, and he recalled them at Pleasure.

ⁱ This

return revers'd not *Augustus's* Decrees ¹. From that time *Silanus* lived in Rome, but as a private Person.

XXVI. They afterwards debated moderating the Law *Papia Poppæa* ¹, which *Augustus*, when he was old, added to the *Julian Laws*, to make Celibacy more Penal, and enrich the publick. Yet Marriages were not more frequent, most finding it better having no Children ². How.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Princes ought to forbear as much as may be, reversing what their Predecessors have done. For besides that, this Respect is of good Example for their Subjects, who have therefore the greater Reverence for Majesty, it is a lesson to their Successors, how to behave themselves towards them. Never any Prince had greater Cause to be discontented with his Predecessor, and despise his Memory, than *David*, and yet he not only flew him that brought the News of *Saul's* Death and his Crown, and lamented him that would often have killed him, he makes his Elegy, magnifies his Valour, his Liberality, his Riches, the Loveliness of his Person, saying to the People of *Israel*, *He was swifter than Eagles, he was stronger than Lions*, 2 Sam. c. 1. *Lewis XII.* of France was very ill used under *Charles VIII.* yet he turned out few of his Officers, but said he would maintain every Man in his Estate,

whereby he gained great Honour. *Commence dans le dernier Chapitre de ses Memoires.*

2. When Men had rather want the Comforts and Pleasures of Marriage than to bring upon themselves the Necessity of Children, and consequently of multiplying the Misfortunes of their Families, 'tis a certain sign of a Tyrannical Government. It was in this Sense, *Pliny* the younger wrote to *Trajan*, that he desired Children in his Reign, because he was assured of being a happy Father. And *Tacitus* says, After the English had lost a Battle, whereby they were at the Mercy of the Romans, they fell into so great a Despair, that many of them killed their Wives and Children, *tanquam miserentur*, in compassion to them, to deliver them from a cruel Slavery that was coming upon their Country. *In Agricola.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ This Law was made by *Papius* and *Poppæus*, when Consuls, and contained Rewards and Punishments. That the Magistrates should have Precedence according to the number of their Children, or a Married Man before a Batchelor. That in Elections, those who had most Children should be prefer'd; That any Person might stand sooner than ordinary for an Office if he had so many Children as to be capable of it. That whosoever in the City had three Children, in other Parts of Italy four, and in the Provinces five, (some say seven) should be excused all troublesome Offices. Hence came the famous *Jus trium Liberorum*, which the Emperor's often indulged to several to whom Nature had denied it. On the other side, Unmarried Persons were incapable of receiving any Legacy or Inheritance by Will, unless from near Relations. ² They

However, the Informers daily ruined many Families, so that their Laws were grown as fatal to them as formerly their Crimes. This leads me to give some Account of the Original of Laws, and to shew from whence it is they are come to such an infinite number as at present.

XXVII. As the first Men were without Malice and Ambition³, they wanted not Correction and Punishment, and as they were naturally enclined to good, they needed no Rewards. Nothing was forbid, where nothing was desired that was not allowed. But after Equality was gone, Ambition and Violence succeeded Modesty and Justice, and by degrees introduced Sovereignty and Tyranny, which have always subsisted in some Countries. Some at first desired to be governed by Laws, others not till they were weary of Kings⁴. The first Laws were simple, as Men's Minds⁵, and the most celebrated

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. *Paglinari* pleasantly asks, Who were these Men had this Simplicity and Innocence *Tacitus* speaks of? The first Man that was Born in the World killed the second, we ought then to conclude, since *Adam's* Fall by Disobedience, there have always been good and bad. *Observation* 341. But probably *Tacitus* never read *Genesis*.

4. Divers Monarchies have been turned into Commonwealths, some through the Inconstancy or Untractableness of the People, but most through the unbounded liberty of their Kings, who would not content themselves with a Legal Authority. Therefore, says *Antonio Perez*, if Princes love and would preserve themselves, they ought not so much to beware of those Physicians, that either through Ignorance or Flattery, or particular Hatred, suffer them to Eat what is contrary to their Health, as Counsellors that give them an Arbitrary Power without Bounds.

For such Counsellors will soon tire out the Patience of the People, and consequently make them Dethrone their Masters. *Dans ses Relations*.

5. Laws ought to bear a proportion to the condition of Men, for they are made like Remedies in Physick, to Sute the Nature of Distempers. A Law-Giver that shall make Laws against Vices and Corruptions, unknown to the People he governs, will debauch their Innocence, by teaching what they should rather be ignorant of. Like imprudent Confessors, that by unnecessary Questions instruct Girls in the Knowledge of Ill, before they know the difference of their Sex. Or like some Preachers, that to Confute Errors and Infidelity, raise such Scruples and Objections as their Answers do not sufficiently clear, and instead of confirming the People in the Faith, make many of them curious and inquisitive, and Scepticks, if not downright Atheists.

6. The

brated, were those *Minos* gave the *Cretians*⁶, *Lycurgus* the *Lacedemonians*, and *Solon* the *Athenians*, but his were more numerous and more refined⁶. *Romulus* ruled as he pleased. *Numa* established a Form for Divine Worship and Religious Ceremonies. *Tullus* and *Ancus* made some Laws, but our chiefest Law-Maker was *Servius Tullius*, whose Laws Kings themselves were bound to Obey⁷.

XXVIII. After *Tarquinius Superbus* was expelled⁸, the People

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. The more cunning and discerning People are, the more numerous the Laws should be, for as a Law-Maker can never foresee all Cases that may happen, nor all the Subtilties and Cavils will be thought on for evading his Law, or at least, the Exceptions will be found, that is the Reasons against obeying it *hic & nunc*; he is obliged to explain his Law, or rather to make as many Laws as new Cases shall arise. There is no Country where there are better Laws, nor more than in *Normandy*, for the *Normans* have always been very cunning, and are in *France* like the *Athenians* in *Greece*.

7. According to *Plato*, Monarchy is the worst and best sort of Government. The worst if absolute, the best if limited. Those that teach Kings and Sovereign Princes the contrary, learn them to Tyrannize, not Reign, nor to keep the People in Duty and Obedience, but to make them Rebel. No Princes have ever been better Obeyed, nor consequently more Princes, than those that have not set themselves above the Laws. *Commines* gives a very good instance in *Charles VIII. of France*, that at his Accession to the Crown, obtained of the States at *Tours*, a Gift of Two

Millions and Five Hundred Thousand Livres, (which was, says he, rather too much than too little) tho' the Kingdom had been under grievous Taxes for Twenty Years. On the contrary, when a Prince will do every thing according to his Will and inordinate Desire, his People will not Obey him, nor Succour him in his Necessities; but instead of aiding him when he has great Affairs upon his Hands, they despise and run into Rebellion against him. *Chap. dernier du liv. 5. de ses Memoires*.

8. See the end of Independent, Arbitrary and Unlimited Authority, which Flatterers make Princes assume. See what happened to *Henry III. of France*, of whom it is said, he forbid the French make any Applications to him, and taught them there was no other measure of Justice than his Will. *Mazaray de sa Vie*. 'One thing that most hurt this poor Prince, says the Chancellor *de Chiverny*, was the Opinion he had entertained of his own Sufficiency, despising others Judgments, which is the greatest Misfortune that can befall a Prince, or any other Person. *Dans ses Memoires*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

A They are now the Inhabitants of the Isle of *Candia*.

1 See

People made many against the Factions of the Senators⁹, to defend their Liberties, and establish Union. The *Decemviri*¹ were chosen to collect the best¹⁰ Laws of other Countries, out of which they composed the Twelve Tables, the sum of Law and Justice. As for the Laws that followed, though some were made against Malefactors, yet they were most commonly brought in, through the Dissensions of the People and Senate, for obtaining unlawful Dignities, driving out Noblemen, or other Disorders. Witness the *Gracchi* and *Saturnini*, the Incendiaries of the People; and *Drusus*, who was no less prodigal in the Name of the Senate, and corrupted his Companions by Hopes, or deluded them. Neither the War of *Italy*, nor the Civil War^m, hindered them making many

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

9. The Nobility always love a Prince, whatever he is, better than a popular Government, where the People never fail bringing them to an Equality, which they cannot bear, being used to Distinction. For it is the same with Great Men, as it was with *Agrippa*, *Augustus's* Son-in-Law, who, according to *Paterculus*, willingly obeyed one, but in revenge would command all others. *Parenti, sed uni, scientissimus, aliis jam imperandi cupidus.*

10. Nothing is more useful to a Prince that has great Dominions, and consequently great Affairs to Transact with other Princes, than an exact Knowledge of the Laws and Customs of other Countries: Besides that, it teaches him to distin-

guish good and bad in every Government, shews him proper Expedients for Reforming Abuses that daily happen in Government, whether in his Revenue, in his Military Discipline, in his Courts of Justice, and in all other Parts thereof. *Marius* says, That *Henry III.* of *Castile*, sent Ambassadors to Christian Princes, and to *Mahometans*, only to inform him their manner of Governing, so to collect the Wisdom of all Courts in his own, and to know the better how to shew the Majesty of a King in all his Actions. What might have been expected from this Prince, who died at 27 years old, and was the ablest that had Reigned in *Spain*? Chap. 14. de liv. 19. de son Histoire.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ See *Decemviri* in the Historical Notes of the Preface to *Tacitus*.

^m That this Recital of the History of the ancient Commonwealth may be the better understood, in which *Tacitus* is so short, it is in my Opinion proper to give an Extract here of some Chapters of *Paterculus*, which relate very well those Dissentions. *Scipio Nasica*, says he, was the first advised

Force

many Laws, and very different, till *Sylla* the Dictator changed or abolished them to make all new. Then there was

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Force against the Tribune *Tiberius Gracchus*, his Cousin, to prevent the Execution of the *Leges Agrarie*, made in favour of the People. Ten years after, *Nasica* was followed by the Consul *Opimius*, taking up Arms against *Gaius Gracchus*, who, either to revenge his Brother *Tiberius's* Death, or to open a way to Sovereignty, which he affected, exercised the Tribunate with greater Violence than his elder Brother, and subverted the Government of the City and State. The *Gracchi* being Dead, *Opimius* caused all their Friends or Servants to be put to Death, which was not liked, as proceeding rather from his particular Hatred to the *Gracchi*, than a desire to make publick Examples of them. The *Gracchi* were succeeded by *Servilius Glaucia*, and *Saturninus Apuleius*, who to keep the Tribunate longer than the Laws allowed, and to prevent others being chose in their Places, (which *Tacitus* expresses by *apisci illicitos Honores*) dissolved by Fire and Sword the meetings of the People, which obliged *Marius*, then Consul the sixth time, to Sacrifice them to the publick Hatred. The Tribunate of *Lucius Drusus*, who would have restored to the Senate the right of judging Causes, which *Gaius Gracchus* had transferred to the Knights, was neither more quiet nor happier, all the Senators opposing him in those things he designed in their Favour, chusing, rather to bear the Insults of his Colleagues, than be beholden to him for the Honour he would procure them. So much envied they his Glory, which appeared to them too great. The Death of *Drusus*, who was killed as the *Gracchi*, for extending the Priviledges of the City of *Rome* to all *Italy*, (which explains *Tacitus*, *Corrupti spe, aut insuli per intercessionem socii*) kindles a War in *Italy*, or of the Confederates, *Secunde Bellum*, who presently demanded this Honour, complaining with good Reason, that they were treated like Strangers by a City, maintained by their Arms, tho' of the same Nation, the same Blood, and *Rome* obliged to them for her great Power. This War was the first occasion of raising, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Marius* and *Sylla*, who turned those Arms against the City they were entrusted with against the Allies. For *Sylla*, that was of a noble Family, but much lessened in their Greatness, valuing himself upon the Credit of ending the War in *Italy*, demanded the Consulate, and obtained it by the Suffrages of almost all the Citizens. At the same time the Government of *Asia* falling to *Sylla*, *Pub. Sulpicius* the Tribune, declared for *Marius*, who at 70 years of Age would Command all the Provinces, and by a Law turn'd *Sylla* out of the Government to give it to *Marius*, whence presently began *Sylla's* Civil War, who drove *Marius* and *Sulpicius* with their Accomplishes out of *Rome*. This War was succeeded by that of *Cimbr*, who was no more moderate than *Marius* or *Sulpicius*. He to Revenge himself of the Senate, that deposed him from the Consulate, and put another in his place, recalled *Marius* and his Son from Exile, and all of their Party that were Banished, to strengthen his own, to which by great Promises he drew all the Officers of the Roman Army at *Nola*. While he made War with his Country, *Cn. Pompeius*, seeing himself disappointed in his hopes of being continued Consul, stands near 'twixt the Commonwealth and *Sylla*, to watch an opportunity to mend his Condition, by going with his Army to that side had the Advantage. (For it often happens in Civil Wars, that great Men Sacrifice their All-

was some Intermiffion, which continued not long, by reason of *Lepidus's* turbulent Demands, and the Licentiousness of the Tribunes, who managed the People as they pleased; and made as many Laws as they had Persons to accuse, so that the Commonwealth being corrupt, the Laws were infinite ¹.

XXIX. Then

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The multitude of Laws, says *Plato, de Republica*, is as sure a sign of the Corruption of a State, as a multitude of Physicians is of a Complication of Distempers. It may truly be said, adds a great Minister, That new Laws are not so much Remedies for the Disorders of States, as Testimonies thereof, and sure tokens of the weakness of a Govern-

ment; if old Laws have been well executed, there will be no need of renewing them, nor making others to stop new Disorders, which then had never been settled. *Chap. 5. de la seconde partie du Testament Politique.* However it be, *Mezeray* had reason to say, That the multiplying Regulations in *France* served only to multiply the Abuses. *Dans la Vie d'Henry III.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

giance to their Interest.) *Pompey* dying after he had given *Cinna's* Battle, he and *Marius* became Masters of *Rome*, whose Entry was followed with the Death of the Consuls, *Octavius* killed by their Order, and *Cornelius Merula*, who cut his Veins to prevent *Cinna's* Revenge, for being in his Place. *Marius* dying next year at the beginning of his Seventh Consulate, *Cinna* that entered upon his Second had all the Power of the Government, but being very violent, the great Men retired to *Sylla* in *Greece*, which made him return into *Italy* to revenge the Nobles, who made him their Chief, as *Marius* was of the People, and *Cinna* was slain by the Soldiers who Mutined against him, when he would have had them Embark to Fight the Nobles. *Sylla* endeavours to end all Differences by a good Accommodation, and upon reasonable Terms, but Peace would not please those that hoped to advantage themselves by Fishing in Troubled Waters. The Ambition of young *Marius*, elected Consul at 26 years of Age, continued the War, but after he lost a Battle, he was slain by some that *Sylla* hired to do it. He was surnamed, *The Happy*, so much was his Courage valued. This Victory made *Sylla* Dictator, who so much abused his Authority, that *Marius* and *Cinna* were regretted. For he was the first invented Proscription, i. e. by publick Authority, gave a Reward to any one should kill a Citizen of *Rome*, so that more was not given for the Head of an Enemy slain in Battle, than for a Citizen's killed in his own House. After *Cinna*, *Marius* and *Sylla*, came *Pompey the Great*, who according to *Tacitus*, was not better than they, but knew more how to Dissemble. *Post quos Cn. Pompeius occultior, non melior.* Hist. 2. As soon as *Pompey* was in the Management of Publick Affairs, not content to be the first, he would be alone, from thence came *Cesar's* Jealousie, which in Conclusion produced another Civil War, where Fortune leaving *Pompey*, *Cesar* became Master of the Empire. *Paterc. Hist. 2. Chap. 6. 7. 12. 13. 15. 17. 19. 20. 21. 22. 25. 28. 33. 47. & 48.*

ⁿ *Paterculus*

XXIX. Then *Cneius Pompeius* was a third time Consul ⁿ, and chose for Reformation of Manners, but being more severe ² than the Offences deserved, was the Subverter of the Laws he made, and lost by Arms what he had gain'd by them ^o. From that time there were continual Troubles for Twenty Years, no Custom, no Law observed, the greatest Crimes went unpunished, and many good Actions were fatal. At length, *Augustus Caesar* being the Sixth time Consul, and settled in his Authority, he abolished those things he commanded in his Triumvirate, and gave new Laws to be observed in time of Peace, and under a Monarch. And that they might be the better kept, he appointed some to look after them. The Law *Papia Poppæa* provided, the People, as common Parent, should inherit their Goods, that left no Children ^p. But the Informers went farther, not only in the City, but through all *Italy*, where any Citizens were, ruined many Families, and frightened all. To remedy ³ which, *Tiberius* appointed by Lot, five that had been Consuls, five that had been Prætors, and as many Senators,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. In making Laws, the Disposition of the People is to be observed. No Laws are worse than those that require Perfection, for the difficulty of observing them brings them into a Disuse. Practice never reaches Speculation, and consequently things are not to be adjusted in such a manner as will be best, but in such a

manner as will last longest. Cardinal *Pallavicini* very properly calls too severe Laws, the Bane of publick Tranquillity.

3. Since the end of Laws is the preserving Order, and the Welfare of Societies, a Prince should moderate or repeal them, when they are no longer profitable to the publick.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ *Paterculus* says, That in this Consulate he had no Colleague, and that this extraordinary Honour gave *Cesar* so much Jealousie, that from that time they were irreconcilable Enemies. He adds, *Pompey* used all his Authority against Canvassing for Offices. *Chap. 47.*

^o All good Men, says the same Author, would have *Pompey* and *Cesar* both quit their Commands, *Pompey* agreed with those would have *Cesar* do it, but was against doing it himself too. And thence began the Civil War. *Chap. 48.*

^p By the *Lex Papia*, those who had never been Married, *nihil capiebant* en

tors, to explain the Doubts in that Law, and by a favorable Interpretation to give the People some Relief for the present.

XXX. About the same time he recommended Nero, one of Germanicus's Children, then 17 years of Age, to the Senate; and requested he might be dispenced with for the Vigintivirate⁹, and be Quæstor five years sooner than the Laws permitted¹, pretending the same was granted him and his Brother at Augustus's Request². I doubt not but some then secretly laughed at this. These were the beginnings of Caesar's rising, the ancient Custom was in every Man's Eye, and a less Relation lookt upon to

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. The Education Prince's Children have, and the Privilege of their Birth, are such Advantages that they ought not to be subject to the Laws of Age, because they are ripe for Business sooner than others. Whence it is said,
Gesaribus virtus contigit antè diem.

It is impossible, says Cardinal Perron, but Princes should know every thing; for they have the Fruits of their Labours that Study, and Learn in a quarter of an hour, what a good Wit has laboured for a month. *Perroniana.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ex testamentis, they were incapable of taking any thing by Will. But the *Orbi*, i. e. those who had been Married, but had no Children, lost only a Moiety. And it is in this Sense Juvenal makes the Adulterer say to the Husband;

*Quod tibi filiolus, vel filia nascitur ex me,
Tua parentis habes; propter me scriberis hæres,
Legatum omne capis, nec non & dulce caducum.* Sat. 9.

The Emperor Antonine took from the People the Right of *vacantia tenere*, and ordered such Goods to fall to the Prince's Treasure. *Hodie*, says Ulpian, *Ex constitutione Imperatoris Antonini, omnia caduca fisco vindicantur.* In *fragm. Ut. 18.*

⁹ The *Vigintiviri* distributed Corn to the People, they had the Care of the High Ways, and to see the Money was not altered.

¹ According to the Laws, no Man could be Quæstor till he was 25 years of Age.

² Augustus to do a popular thing, and to give the People an empty shew of Grandeur and Liberty, pretended he wanted their Consent to grant his Wives Children a Dispensation he had in his own Power.

† And

to be betwixt a Father-in-Law and his Wife's Children, than an Uncle and his Nephew¹. The Pontifical Dignity was also bestowed upon him, and the first time he appeared in publick, he gave the People a Donative, who were joyful to see a Son of Germanicus at full Age. Their Joy was encreased by his Marrying Julia, Drusus's Daughter¹. But if this Marriage was universally approved, there were great Discontents upon Claudius's Sons being to Marry Sejannus Daughter², as a Disparagement to him, but Sejannus, whose Ambition was suspected, was much exalted upon it.

XXXI. The end of this year died two great Men, L. Volusius and Sal. Crispus. The first of an ancient Family, but never in higher Employment than that of Prætor; he was made Consul and Censor for chasing Bands of Horsemen; he got vast Riches, which made that House so great. The other was Grandchild to Caius Salustius's Sister, the famous Historian, whose Name he took by Adoption. Though he might easily have got Honours, yet after the Example of Me-

cenus

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Equal Marriages are always liked.

2. Princes of the Blood, when they have any thing to obtain, commit not so great an Error as some imagine, by Marrying the Daughters or Neices of Ministers. For besides, 'tis a means to keep in a Prince's Favour, it will also make them great; but Ministers that have the Ambition to be Allied to Princes, expose themselves very much to Envy; and when the Reverse of Fortune comes, as it often happens, they have little Protection from them but for their Interest, and

when that ceases, consider them only as Relations that are Discredit to them. There is also another Reason should keep Ministers from aspiring to this Honour, because those Princes are very liable to be suspected by him that Reigns, which often falls upon the Minister that is concerned to protect them because of the Relation. And the Prince that will be Master of all, and be chiefly regarded by his Creatures, can never love much, nor long, a Minister that divides his Affection and Complaisance betwixt him and the Princes of the Blood.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

† And therefore Tiberius should be more concerned for the Advancement of his Grandson, than Augustus for his Wives Children.

cenas ^u, was never Senator, but had greater Power and Authority than many had triumph'd and been Consuls. His manner of living was very different from his Ancestors, either for his Apparel or Table, where the Plenty was such as to be near Luxury. He had a Capacity for great Affairs ³, and very vivacious, though he affected to appear heavy and slothful. While *Mecenas* lived, he had the second place in the Ministry, and the first afterwards. He was privy to the Murder of *Posthumus Agrippa* ⁴, and as he grew in years, had rather the Name than Power of a Favourite. The like happened to *Mecenas* ⁵, so rare is it for a Prince's Favour to continue al-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. For the most part, those that have managed, or are capable of managing great Affairs, have been Voluptuous. Never any Man was more vigilant than *Mecenas*, when the State Affairs required it, and never any Man loved Quiet, Laziness, and the Pleasures of Life more than he. So *Salust* imitated him in all his Virtues and his Vices.

4. Sooner or later Princes forbear seeing, or at least having a Kindness for those have been Witnesses, Accomplices, or have assisted them in their Crimes, either through Shame or Repentance. *Voi la Note 3. du Chap. 1. du Liv. 1.*

5. The disgrace of the Chief Ministers is not always an Effect of their ill Conduct. The wisest and most moderate lose Favour as well as those who abuse it. *Mecenas* was without dispute one of the best and

most understanding Ministers. *Augustus* could have, and yet he found his Master loved Change. *Gonçalo Hernandez* conquered the Kingdom of *Naples*, and the first Recompence he had, was, *Ferdinand the Catholic* gave Ear to all the Complaints and Calumnies of his Enemies, and was glad to have an Occasion to reform and preserve his Authority. After which, calling him into *Spain*, he confined him for 7 or 8 years to his own Estate, while he was unblemished he refused him the Com-manderie of *Leon*, and then that of *Hernackor*, vacant at the same time. *Marians*, ch. 9. du liv. 28. & 14. du liv. 30. de son Histoire. At the end whereof he gives a Commendation of this great Captain, in these words, He had, says he, a very beautiful Personage, and was altogether the bravest and happiest Warriour *Spain* has

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^u *Paterculus* says, *Mecenas* contented himself all his Life with being a Roman Knight, without regarding those Dignities he might easily have obtained from *Augustus*, who loved him as well as *Agrippa*, if he had been of a Temper to have desired them. *Hist. 2. Chap. 88.*

* The

always ^{*}, or because both have their Satiety, those when they have given all they can, these when they have got all they desire ⁶.

The Year of the City, 774.

XXXII. This Year is Memorable for having Father and Son Consuls together. Which was the Fourth time with *Tiberius*, the Second with *Drusus*. Two years before, *Germanicus* was *Tiberius's* Colleague, who was not very agreeable to him. The beginning of this Year *Tiberius* goes for his Health to *Campania* ⁷, where he thought to withdraw himself wholly, and by his absence leave the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

has bred a long time. The Ingratitude he met with, added to him Glory, and preserved him from those Errors he might have fallen into in his old Age. For it rarely happens that a Man puts often to Sea without meeting with a Tempest.

6. The Favour of Princes, (says *Anthony Perez*, who knew it by Experience) rises or falls. When it

can go no higher, it necessarily falls. When Princes have no more to give, they are ashamed to see their own want of Ability; and when Favourites have no more to ask, they forbear their Compliances. For, according to *Commynes*, more serve in hopes of the good Things to come, than those already received. *Cap. 11. Lib. 3.*

I. A

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* The Chancellor *Chiverrin* says, It has been fatal to the Race of the Valois to hate those at last, they loved most at first. *Philip de Valois*, the first of that Line, was obliged to the Count *d'Artois* for his Crown, and afterwards did all he could to spoil him of his Possessions. *Lewis XI.* ruin'd the Duke of *Burgundy*, with whom he lived six years. *Lewis XII.* persecuted the *Marschal Gie*; and *Francis I.* the Duke of *Bourbon*, whom he had entirely loved, and the *Messieurs de Montmorency* and *de Biron*, that had been his Favourites. *Henry II.* did the same to *Montieur de Dampierre*, and the *Marschal de Gie*, by whose Hand he would be made a Knight; *Charles IX.* to *Messieurs Montmorency* and *de Cossé*. *Henry III.* to the *Messieurs de Ligneroller*, *de Bellegarde*, *le Guast*, *St. Luc*, *de Villequier*, *Beauvais-Nangis*, and above all the *Messieurs de Guise*, whom he lov'd so much in his Youth, and all of his Council that had served him best. *Dans ses Memoirs*. The same may be said almost of all Princes.

^y Now called *Terra di Lavoro*.

* The

the Affairs of the Consulate to his Son¹. And it happen'd a small thing causing warm Disputes gave *Drusus* an Occasion of gaining great Credit². *Domitius Corbulo*, who had been Prætor, complain'd to the Senate of *L. Sylla*, a Young Nobleman, that he gave him not Place at a Play of the Gladiators. His Age, Custom, and all the Old Men were for *Corbulo*; *Mamercus Scaurus*, *L. Arruntius*, with some others, were for *Sylla* their Kinsman. Speeches were made on both sides, and old Presidents cited; severely rebuking the Irreverence of Youth³, till *Drusus* qualify'd the Matter with a proper Discourse, and *Corbulo* was satisfy'd⁴ by *Scaurus*, Uncle and Father-in-Law to *Sylla*, and the Best Orator in his time.

XXXIII. The same *Corbulo* complain'd, that through the Fraud of the Surveyors, and Negligence of the Magistrates, the High-ways were much out of Order, and scarce Passable, and willingly accepted finishing them. Which turn'd not so much to a Publick Benefit, as the ruine of Particular Persons¹, whom he oppress'd in their Estate

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. A Prince that instructs his Son in the Offices of Government, does as becomes a Father and a Prince; as a Father, because he gives his Son such Education as he should have; and as a Prince, because he does his Duty to his Subjects, in endeavouring to leave them a good Successor. *Commines* blames the Emperor *Frederick* the Third, that his Son knew nothing, had been ill Educated, and was utterly unacquainted with Matters of State. *Cyp. 3. Lib. 6.*

2. From very small Things we often see great Events. The Quarrels that happen among great Men, should never be neglected; because they often carry them into Factions, Cabals, and Parties.

3. It is not only good Breeding and Decency, but the Interest of a Prince and State to have old Men respected by the Young; and particu-

larly in the Publick Assemblies and upon Ceremonies, where the Irreverence of Youth, to those whom Age makes Venerable, is of very dangerous consequence.

4. It concerns a Prince not to let those Offences go unpunish'd, that the young Lords at his Court commit against his Judges and Magistrates. For he'll not be obey'd himself, but as he makes them respected that are the Guardian of the Laws. There are every where, but more in *France* than any other Country, a great Antipathy betwixt those of the Sword and the Gown; what would become of things, if these restrain'd not the other?

1. There are always People, that have the Confidence to believe, they are capable of managing Affairs, they understand not at all. Those that find themselves in Credit with Princes,

Estate and Credit, by condemning them, and setting their Goods to Sale².

XXXIV. Not long after, *Tiberius* writ to the Senate, to give them notice, that by *Tacfarinas's* Incurfion *Africk* was again in Arms; and that it was necessary for them to chuse a Pro-consul, skilful in Military Affairs, and of able Body and fit for this War. *Sextus Pompeius* takes this Occasion to vent his Malice against *M. Lepidus*; he accused him as a Coward, Beggarly, and a Dishonour to his Ancestors¹; and therefore not to be admitted a Candidate for the Government of *Asia*. The Senators on the other side look'd on *Lepidus* as a Moderate Man, more worthy Praise than Blame; and his Father leaving him a small Estate, his Living without reproach they judg'd a Credit, rather than Disgrace. He was therefore

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Princes, think themselves fit for any Employ; and upon this false Foundation do what they can to obtain them. Yet, 'tis very certain, that he is able to serve the Publick in some Offices, who will ruine it in others. *M. de la Chastre* said, the Bishop of *Beauvais* did what he could to ruine *M. Chasteauneuf* with the Queen *Ann* of *Austria*, that so he might have none joyn'd with him in the Management of Affairs, of which he thought himself very capable. The Queen, he goes on, could not have chose better for Fidelity, nor scarce worse for Capacity, this good Prelate having not a Head for such a Charge. *Dans ses Memoirs.*

2. Reformation is more dangerous than the Evil to be reform'd, when it is committed to Persons have neither Abilities nor Moderation that is requisite. Upon Complaints made against certain Reformers that ruine more than they establish'd, Cardinal *Perron* said to the Council,

These have reason to call themselves Reformers, but it is Master William's Sense. This was a Buffoon, who call'd Ruining, Reforming, Perromians.

1. The greatest Men have at all times found Enemies, who would not only deprive them of their Employments and Dignities, but ruine their Credit, and endeavour to destroy the Opinion has been entertain'd of their eminent Worth. *M. de Montresor* says, That Cardinal *Richelieu* in all he undertook, was more oblig'd to Fortune, than the State to his Counsels and Advices. And in another place, he adds, He never found any thing in him of foresight nor a Great Man, but only that he was very happy, that Fortune carried him through Difficulties more than the Prudence many would value him for. *Dans ses Memoirs.* The Bishop of *Beauvais* said, Cardinal *Mazarine* was not an able Man, because he understood not the Revenues. *Memoirs de M. de la Chastre.*

1. There

fore sent into *Asia*, and for *Africk*, they referr'd the Nomination to *Tiberius*.

XXXV. Upon this, *Severus Cæcina* propos'd, their prohibiting Women going with their Husbands to their Governments; Often declaring how happily he lived with his Wife, by whom he had six Children; and that he had advis'd nothing for the Publick, but what he observ'd himself, not suffering his to go out of Italy, though he had commanded abroad forty Years. He added, It was with very good Reason our Ancestors forbid it, That the Company of Women was burthensome and injurious by their Luxury in Peace, and Fear in War¹; and made a Roman Army like the Barbarians going to War². That Sex was not only weak and unable to Labour, but they got the Ascendant, Cruel, Ambitious, and Arbitrary. That Women have lately been seen to march among the Soldiers, and commanding the Centurions, were present at their Musters and Exercises. That they should consider when any have been charged with Corruption, much was objected to their Wives. That the greatest Villains in the Provinces have applied to them, who have undertaken and transacted their Affairs. From hence it is, two are courted and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is nothing more contrary to that Application is necessary for Publick Affairs, than the Engagement of those to Women that have the Administration. As a Woman lost the World, nothing is more capable of hurting States, than that Sex, when they have those in their Power that govern, they make them do what seems good to them, and

consequently, what is ill. The best Thoughts of Women being always bad in them that are guided by their Passions, which is commonly their Reason, when Reason it self should be the only Motive to animate and actuate those that manage publick Affairs. *Señ. 5. du c. 8. de la premier Partie du Testament Politique du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2. The Latin is, *ad similitudinem barbari incessus*, because it was the Custom of Barbarous Nations to carry their Wives with them to the Wars, as *Tacitus* remarks, *Ann. 4. Adstantes plerisque matres & conjuges.* *Ann. 14. Britannorum copie animo adeo fero, ut conjuges quoque testes victoria secum traherent.* And in his account of Germany, *Feminarum ululatus audiri, vagitus infantium. Hi enique sanctissimi testes, &c.*

^a Because

and two Judgment Seats. That formerly they were restrain'd by the Oppian Laws, but have broke through those Ties, they govern not only their Families, but the Courts of Justice and the Armies².

XXXVI. Few agreed with him, many interrupted³; saying, That was not the Matter before them⁴, and *Cæcina* not a Censor of weight enough for such an Affair. And *Valerius Messalinus*, *Messala's* Son^b, who had much of his Eloquence, reply'd, Many hard Customs of their Ancestors¹, had been changed for others better and more agreeable. That the

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Since Interest is that commonly makes Men behave themselves ill in Office, Ecclesiasticks are generally preferable to others, says Cardinal *Richelieu*; not as being less subject to Interest, but as having neither Wives nor Children, are free from those Ties engage others. *Chap. 7. de la seconde partie du Testament Politique.*

3. 'Tis always dangerous speaking of Reformation, for there are ever more that fear, than desire it. Cardinal *Richelieu* declar'd he durst never begin a Reformation of the King's House, because he could never do it, without encountering the Interest of many that were constantly near the

King, and in that Familiarity with him, they would dissuade him from what was most necessary in the State, to prevent the Regulations of his Family, that would be very profitable to him. *Chap. 7. de la premier partie du meme Testament.*

1. There are things Convenient and Necessary at one time, that may be Pernicious at another. Those that have the Government of States, whether Princes or Ministers, should accommodate themselves to the Present, which commonly has no agreement with the Past. All Politicians agree in this. *Machiavel* says, That the Occasion of every Man's good or bad Fortune, consists in his correspondence

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a Because not propos'd by the Consuls, nor the Prince, to whom it belong'd to propose Matters that were to be consider'd, and therefore what *Cæcina* offer'd was not to the purpose; and he was not considerable enough himself to undertake a Reform of Pro-consuls, and other great Magistrates that went to govern the Provinces. Yet *Tacitus* says in two places of his second Book, that it was allow'd them to quit their Subject they were upon, when they had any thing to offer more important to the Publick; and that was commonly practis'd by the Senators. *Erat quippe adhuc frequens senatoribus, si quid e rep. crederent, loco sententiæ premere.* And three Pages after. *A majoribus concessum est credi aliquando relationem, & quod in commune conducit loco sententiæ proferre.*

^b *Messala Corvinus*, of whom *Quintilian* says, *Cicerone mitior & dulcor, & in verbis magis elaboratus.* *Diologo de Oratoribus,*

^c If

the City was not besieged as formerly, nor the Provinces in Arms, and some Regard should be had to the Satisfaction of the Women, who are so far from being troublesome to the Allies, they are not so to their Husbands. They share with them in all Conditions, and are no inconvenience in time of Peace. 'Tis true, we should go to the Wars without Incumbrances, but when we return, what Comfort more Commendable than that a Man enjoys with his Wife? 'Tis said, some Women have been Ambitious and Covetous. What shall we say of the Magistrates themselves, most of them have their Failings; will you therefore send none to the Provinces? But the Wives have corrupted their Husbands; are therefore single Men uncorrupt? The Oppian Laws were once in force, the State of the Common-Wealth requiring them; but after, their Rigour was moderated, because that was judged Expedient². 'Tis in vain to cover our own Miscarriages with other

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

pondence and accommodation with the Times. Which is the Reason why a Prince's Fortune varies so strangely, because she varies the Times, and he does not alter the way of his Administration. Chap. 9. l. 3. of his Discourse. The Duke of Rohan says almost the same thing in his Epistle before his *Interest des Princes*, Dedicated to Cardinal Richelieu. That there is no immutable Rule in the Government of States. Upon Revolutions in States, a Change even in Fundamental Maxims is necessary to govern well. Therefore those that in these Matters observe more Examples of what is past, than pre-

sent Reasons, necessarily commit great Errors.

2. When a Government is first fram'd, 'tis reasonable to make the most perfect Laws Humane Society is capable of; but Prudence admits not the same in an ancient Monarchy, where Imperfections are grown Customary, and where some Disorders are made a Part of the State. In which Case we must submit to such Infirmities, and be content rather with a moderate Rule, than to establish one more severe and less agreeable, because the Severity of it may give Disturbance. Sect. 1. Chap. 4. de la premiere Partie du Testa. Polit.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

c If Pilate had taken his Wife Claudia Procula's Counsel, who sent a Message to him to the Judgment-Hall to have a Care how he condemn'd the Innocent. His Wife sent unto him saying, *Have thou nothing to do with that Just Man*. Matt. 27. He had never given up Jesus Christ to the Jews. If there were many such Wives, as this Procula, it were to be wish'd all the Governors of Provinces would carry their Wives along with them.

d 'Tis

other Names; for if the Wife does amiss, it is the Husband's^a Fault³. Besides, for the Failings of one or two, it is not reasonable to deprive all Husbands these shares in their Prosperity and Adversity; and to leave a Sex naturally weak, expos'd to their own Wanton Desires, and the Lusts of others⁴. For if their Husbands presence is scarce sufficient to keep them Virtuous, what shall become of them when an Absence of many Years separates like a Divorce? We should take care of the Disorders abroad, and not forget those may happen at home. Drusus added something of his own Marriage; and that Princes often visit the remotest Provinces: That Augustus had several times carried Livia with him to the East and West⁵; That he had been in Sclavonia, and was ready to go into other Countries, if necessary, but should do it with reluctance, if he was to be separated from his dear Wife⁶ and Children. So Cæcina's Advice took no Effect⁷.

XXXVII. At

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. The foolish Vanity of Husbands that encourage their Wives in extravagance of Cloaths, is the first Occasion of their Faults. Those who maintain the same, when they find their Allowances not sufficient, are glad to make use of a Lover's Purse. This is the Fact, and you may see who is to blame.

4. If Extravagance was laid aside, it would not be difficult to remedy the Vices of Women. For as they are more given to Vanity than Love, and the greatest part love Men only as they supply their Vanity and Ambition, if Extravagance, which is the Incentive, was once gone, 'tis certain their Disorders would cease too, and Chastity and Modesty succeed them. But the general Depavation of Manners gives us no room

to hope for so great a good.

5. A Prince can offer nothing better to justify himself, than the Example of a Predecessor, universally approved.

6. When Princes are young, and undertake long Voyages, they can have no better Company than their Wives, who may prevent their falling into Debauches, if they have Beauty and Complaisance. For without those advantages, 'tis impossible they should have Power enough over their Husbands to restrain the Natural Inclination to Voluptuousness.

7. A Prince need only give his Opinion, for that is generally follow'd by those that sit in Council with him.

8. Princes

HISTORICAL NOTES.

d 'Tis in vain, says *Abnascourt*, we cover our own Faults with other Names, and that Womens Failings are often owing to their Husbands.

e *Pliny*

XXXVII. At the next Meeting of the Senate, *Tiberius's* Letters were read, which gently reprov'd their casting all the Cares of the Government⁸ upon him, nominated *M. Lepidus* and *Junius Blæsus*, one of them to be chosen Pro-consul of *Africk*. Both were heard, *Lepidus* earnestly excus'd himself⁹ for want of Health, his Childrens Age, and a Daughter he had to marry; considering too, that *Blæsus* was *Sejanus's* Uncle, and therefore sure to carry it¹⁰. *Blæsus* seem'd to refuse too, but less earnestly; and was heard favourably by the Flatterers.

XXXVIII. Then many secret Complaints were made, for every Villain that could lay hold on *Cæsar's* Image, might freely reproach honest men¹¹, and raise Envy against

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

8. Princes Hearts and Tongues seldom agree, when you hear them speak you would think they were very Modest; but when you see what they do 'tis always the contrary. *Tiberius* complain'd the Senate should leave it to him to name the Pro-consul of *Africk*, and yet accepted what he seem'd to refuse. He offer'd two to them, to leave a Liberty of Choice, but in effect they had no Choice, since he propos'd *Sejanus's* Uncle for one, whose Fortune they worshipp'd.

9. A good Courtier will avoid a Competition with the Relations of a Favourite or Chief Minister. On such Occasions there is more Safety and more Honour to give way than to be a Competitor.

10. Whatever Merit a Pretender may have, he ought never to flatter himself that he shall prevail against a Competitor that hath the Prince's Favour, or the first Minister's. There is almost the same Difference betwixt Merit and Favour, as the Divines make betwixt Sufficient and Effectual Grace. The Duke d'Alva had Merit, and the Prince d'Eboli Favour, in the year 1558, both ask'd for the Dutchy of *Bais* in the Kingdom of *Naples*, from whence the Duke drove out the French Army. This Service

was fresh, and many former Services spoke for the Duke; but the Competition of the Prince d'Eboli hinder'd *Philip II.* giving this Recompence to one to whom he and his Father had so much Obligation. So true is the Maxim of *Lewis XI.* That a Prince naturally loves those more that are oblig'd to him, than those to whom he is oblig'd. *Commines, Chap. dernier du Livre 3. de ses Memoires.* Yet it is an ill Omen for a Prince when he that is most considerable for his Merit, is not also most considerable in Favour. Merit ought to ballance, and when Justice is on one side, Favour cannot prevail without Injustice. *Chap. 7. de la seconde Partie du Testament Politique*

11. A Prince should never let any Man make use of his Name or Authority to do Injustice. *Lewis XI.* says *Commines*, oppress'd his Subjects, but would never suffer any Favourite or other Person to do it. *Sixtus Quintus* sent *Bellochio*, his Gentleman and old Servant, to the Gallies, for setting the *Annulus Piscatoris* to a Brief he would not grant. (It was a Brief that commanded one to sell *Bellochio's* House, who had a Mind to build a stately Palace there.) *Leti libro 3. della Seconda Parte della vita di Sisto.* 1. Sagr.

gainst them. Even Freed-Men and Slaves were fear'd, insulting their Masters^e and Patrons with Words and Blows. Therefore *C. Sestius*, a Senator, spoke to this Effect, 'That indeed Princes were like Gods, but the Gods heard only just Prayers, That neither the Capitol nor Temples of the City were a Refuge to any for their Crimes¹. There was an end of the Laws, if *Anna Rufilla*, whom he Condemned for Fraud, might threaten and reproach him before the Senate and in publick and not be questioned for it, because she had *Cæsar's* Image before her². Others deliver'd themselves to the same purpose, but some with warmth, beseeching *Drusus* to inflict some exemplary punishment on her, so she was called for, Convicted and Condemned to Prison.

XXXIX. At *Drusus's* Request, *Consulius Aequus*, and *Celius Cusor*, two Roman Knights, were condemned by the Senate for falsely accusing *Magius Cecilianus*, the Praetor, of High-Treason. These Matters were to *Drusus's* Honour², for by his means Conversation was made free and

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Sanctuaries were instituted for those who desire the help of the Law, but not for such as make it their Business to injure others.

2. A Prince cannot gain himself more Love and Respect than by speedy Justice. There cannot be a better Action than that of *John III.* of Portugal, who being before the

Altar to Communicate, a Gentleman coming in, cried out aloud to the Priest that held the Host, to defer the Communion till the King had heard him, and done him Justice, and this good Prince did not Communicate till he had done it. See the Treatise, Intituled, *Audiencia de Principes.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^e *Pliny* the younger speaks of this Misfortune of Masters, when he says to *Trajan*; You have deliver'd us from Domestick Accusations, and have at last extinguish'd, (as I may call it) *Bellum Servile*. *Philostratus* mentions a Master that was Condemned as Impious and Sacrilegious for beating his Slave, who had a piece of Silver with *Tiberius's* Image upon it. *Dani in Vie d'Apollonius.*

^f *Suetonius* says, The Senate forbid their laying hold on the Statues and Images, Condemning those to the Mines that should do so to injure others. *Dani in Vie de Tibere, Chap. 37.*

and safe, and his Father's secret Designs qualified. They found no Fault with his Riots, thinking it better for one of his Age to spend the Day in the publick Shews^g, and the Night in Revels, than to live Solitary³ without Plea-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. Solitude does Princes no good, especially when they are young. It only makes them cruel, fantastical, untractable, and averse to those Duties that belong to Sovereignty. I cannot give here a better instance of the mischief of Solitude in the Education of Princes, than that of *John II. King of Castile*, according to the Description of the judicious *Mariana*. All the Virtues of this King, says he, were obscured by the little care he took of his Affairs and the Government. He gave no Audience willingly, nor never any but in haste. He had no great Capacity, nor a Head fit for Affairs of State. That brought his Courtiers into Favour, and particularly *Alonso de Luna*, who began to be more familiar with him than all the rest. Queen *Catherine* his Mother had good Reason to drive this Favourite from Court, and send him back into his own Country; but shewed little Wisdom in keeping her Son shut up in a House for six years together, without suffering him to go out, or any Person to visit him, besides some Domesticks of the Court. Whereby she pretended to prevent the Grandees making themselves Masters of him, and Innovations in the Kingdom. A miserable Education for a King! an unworthy thing, not to allow a Prince liberty to speak, to see, or be seen;

but to keep him in a Cage to make him cruel and violent, and to mew him up that was born for Labour, and the Fatigues of War. Why would she soften and emasculate his Courage, who ought to be day and night on his guard, and watch over all the Parts of his State? Certainly such an Education will bring great Mischiefs upon the Subjects of any Kingdom. For the Prince's manly Age will be like his Infancy; he will pass the best of his Days in dishonourable Pleasures and Idleness, as *John II. did*. For after the Death of Queen *Catherine*, his Carriage was always like a Child, and as if he had never seen Light. The multitude of Affairs troubled him and perplexed his Head. Therefore he was always governed by his Courtiers to the great prejudice of his States, which were in perpetual Commotions. *Mariana*, says too, he was subject to Startings, which would take him all of a sudden, and his Careless were all out of Season, so that he was more despitied than feared, *Chap. 11. du 20. liv. de son Hist. d'Esp.* The Life *Henry III. of France* led after his Minions had persuaded him, not to appear any more to his Subjects, but to be shut up from them, like the Kings of the East, had the same Effects. His Deires, says the Chancellor *Cobverghy*, shewed his Judgment was not

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^g It is in Latin, *Ædificationibus*, but the Commentators think it ought rather to be, *Editionibus*.

^h *Aqua*

Pleasures⁴, and to let Melancholly prevail upon him and draw him into ill Practices and Devices. For *Tiberius*, and the Informers gave disquiet enough. *Anicurius Priscus* accused *Cestius Cordus*, Proconsul of Crete, of Extortion, and of Treason too, a Supplement in all Accusations⁵.

XL. *Tiberius* displeased with the Judges for acquitting *Antistius Verus*, one of the chief Lords of *Macedonia* of Adultery, sent for him to *Rome* to answer for Treason⁶, as an Accomplice with *Rescutoris* in his Designs of making War upon us, when he had slain his Brother *Cotis*. He was Banished^h into an Island⁷ that had no Commerce

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

not as it used to be, that he was too much locked up and involved in other Pleasure, his Minions had engaged him. And I shall take the liberty to say, that foreseeing long before his Death, 4 years at least, how impossible it was for him not to fall into some great Misfortune. I often laid before him the great Injury he did himself, and the Evil he and his State would undoubtedly receive. *Darius* ses *Memoires*.

4. A Prince should have some Relaxation from his serious Affairs, and after he has been at the Head of his Army. It is not possible the Soul should be always bent to grave and painful Administrations, without any Refreshment, or the Diversion of other more agreeable Thoughts. *Ninus*, who is recommended for one of the wisest Princes ever governed, was desperately in love with *Berenice*, but his Love never hindered his Bu-

ness. *Harangue de M. d'Aubray dans la Satyre Menippée.*

5. When all Crimes are turned to Treason, 'tis a certain sign of a Tyrannical Government, and that a Prince sacrifices Justice to his Interest.

6. When a Prince sets up new Accusations against a great Man, that the Judges acquit of what he is charged with, 'tis plain he resolves to destroy him.

7. The less Evidence there is against a man, the more severely is he treated, if it be for Treason; Mathematical Demonstrations of Conspiracies and Cabals, says Cardinal *Ricklieu*, are not to be expected; those are not to be met with till the Event, that is, not till they are past Remedy. *Tome 5. des Memoires de son Ministre.* And consequently what appears by strong Conjectures, should sometimes be thought sufficiently proved. *Chap. 5. de la seconde partie du Testament Politique.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^h *Aqua et ignis interdictio*, was the Phrase used in Banishment, which was not a Punishment immediately, but by consequence. For the forbidding the use of Water and Fire, which were necessary for Life, the Condemned Person was obliged to leave his Country.

merce either with *Macedonia* or *Thrace* 8. For since *Thrace* was divided betwixt *Rhemetalces* and *Cotis's* Children, to whom *Trebellienus Rufus* was Tutor, by reason of their Infancy, being not accustomed to our Government; the People were full of Discontents, and complained of *Rhemetalces* and *Trebellienus*, that they never punished the Oppressions of the Country 10. The *Celaletes*, *Odrusians*, and other Potent People of *Thrace*, took Arms under divers Captains, but for want of Experience 11, came not to any formidable War. Some wasted the Country, others passed the Mountain *Hæmus* 1, to raise those lived remote, others Besieged *Rhemetalces*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

8. If a great Man is potent in a Frontier Country, and behaves himself so, as to give cause to suspect his corresponding with the Neighbouring Princes, the Prince is in the Right to secure his Person, either by calling him to Court, or arresting him there if he comes not out. And tho' there be not sufficient Evidence against him, yet there is no Injustice done him in preventing his return, for it is not reasonable Princes should live in Fear and Uneasiness for any Subject, nor that the Interest of a particular Person should be considered more than the publick Safety.

9. It is absolutely necessary a Governor should know the Customs, Laws, and Manners of the Country where he is sent; otherwise he will commit a thousand Errors that will make him be hated or despised, which will be in prejudice of his Prince's Authority. Cardinal *Richieu* says, in the first Chapter of his *Testament Politique*, that he was forced to put the Marshal *de Vitry* out of the Government of *Provence*, tho'

his Courage and Fidelity made him very fit for it, because being of an insolent haughty Temper, he was not proper to govern a People jealous of their Liberties and Privileges, as the *Provençals* are. And in *Araragon*, they pretend the King of *Spain* cannot give them a Stranger for their Viceroy, that is, one that is no Native, without breaking the Laws. So they call their Liberties and Immunities, in Defence whereof all the Kingdom rose for *Antonio Perez* against *Philip II.* (1591.)

10. A Governor that suffers the People to be insulted by Strangers, whether he can remedy it, or not, may however be assured, that upon the first occasion they will Rebel against him.

11. The Event of Rebellions is almost always unfortunate, because of the Incapacity of those that Command. For on such occasions, the People, who know not what is fitting for that time, commonly take him for their Captain who first or-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1 a Mountain of *Thrace*, continually cold, at the foot whereof are the pleasant Fields of *Thessaly*. k He

metalcæ, and the City of *Philippopoli*, built by *Philip* of *Macedonia*.

XLI. *Velleius* k, that Commanded an Army near 1, having advice of these Disorders, sent some Horse and light Footmen against those pillaged the Country, or got Recruits, while he went himself to raise the Siege. All ended prosperously, the Foragers were slain, and a Dissension arising among the Besiegers, *Rhemetalces* made a seasonable Sally upon the arrival of the Legions. This deserved not the name of an Army 12, or Battle, in which a few unarmed Men were defeated, without any Blood-shed on our side.

XLII. The same year the Cities of *Gallia* began to Rebel, by reason of the excessive Debts they had contracted. The Incendiaries were *Julius Florus* and *Julius Sacrovir*, both nobly descended, whose Ancestors, for their great Services, were made Citizens of *Rome*, an Honour at that time rare, and only a reward for Virtue 1.

By

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

12. A good and faithful Historian should relate things plainly, and without Aggravation. If Truth be the life of History, those that write ought carefully to avoid Aggravation, which has always a mixture of Lying. *Comminas*, speaking of the Battle of *Morat*, where the Duke of *Burgundy* was beat by the *Swissers*, says, *Many talk of Millions, and reported they know not what, making Armies five times greater than they are. This is a Fault very common with the greatest part of modern Historians.*

1. Those Honours that are rarely conferred, and only upon Persons of

extraordinary Merit, are great Rewards to those that have them. *M. de Marquemont*, Archbishop of *Lion*, speaking of the Prince of *Poland's* arrival at *Rome*, and the Difficulties they were under how to treat him, says, he received no publick Honours, but though himself well recompensed in being made a Canon of *St. Peter*, and to be allowed in the Habit of a Canon to shew the Holy Relicks of that Church, which was never done by any but *Charles V.* and another Emperor. *Dans une lettre du 5 Janvier 1625. Tome 1. des Mem. du Ministère du Card. de Rich.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

k He writ an Epitome of the Roman History, in very elegant Latin, but full of gross Flattery.

1 The Army in *Missa*.

Z 3

m They

By Conferences they gain'd those whose Poverty or Crimes had made desperate. *Florus* was to raise the Low-Countrymen, and *Sacrovir* the French. In their Meetings they talkt Seditiously of their Taxes, the Excess of Usury^m, the Pride and Cruelty of their Governors, and that since *Germanicus's* Death, there were great Discontents in the Army. And that if they considered the Strength of the French, the Poverty of Italy; the weakness of the People of Rome, who understood nothing of War, and that the Strength of our Armies consisted of Foreign Troops, they would see this was a proper time to recover their Liberty.

XLIII. There was scarce a City free from this Contagion, but *Tours* and *Angiers* revolted first. The latter was reduced to its Duty by Lieutenant *Acilius Aviola*, who marched speedily thither with some of the Garison of *Lyons*. And those of *Tours* by those Forces *Vifellius Varro*, Lieutenant of Lower Germany sent *Aviola*, with the Succours he had from some of the great Men of France, who waited a more favourable opportunity to Rebel themselves. *Sacrovir* fought bare-headed, as he said, to shew his Courage, but the Prisoners said, he did it to be better known, and that the Romans might not draw upon him.

XLIV. When *Tiberius* was consulted upon this Rebellion, he slighted the Discovery, but fomented the VVar by Irresolution². For *Florus* pursuing his Designs,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

² The want of Resolution in many Inconveniences. *Dans ses Relations.* In great Affairs, says Cardinal

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^m They were forced to borrow Money of the Roman Bankers to pay their heavy Taxes, which ruined them with Usury,

ⁿ They

laboured to corrupt a Regiment of Horse, raised at *Treves*, and used to our Discipline, inciting them to begin the VVar with destroying the Roman Merchants there: A few only were gained, most continued in their Duty. Other Bankrupt Men, and some of his Dependants took Arms, and would have thrown themselves into the Forest of *Arden*, but the Legions from both Armiesⁿ, which *Ursellius* and *C. Silius* sent, prevented them. And *Julius Indus* being sent before with a Detachment, glad of an occasion to shew himself against *Florus*, his Countryman and particular Enemy³, defeated the disordered multitude. *Florus* escaped by sculking in divers places, but finding all Passages stoppt, and that he was like to be taken, killed himself. And thus ended the Rebellion at *Treves*.

XLV. That at *Angiers* was greater, because that City was more populous, and the Army distant. *Sacrovir* made himself Master of this City, where all the Youth of France studied to oblige their Relations and Friends to him by such Pledges, and distributed Arms among them.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

dinal *d'Offat*, for avoiding a great Evil and obtaining great Good, something must be attempted, and a Resolution taken to get out of ill Circumstances the soonest and best that may be. *Lettre 127.* *Charles Colonna*, an able Man both in Government and War, has given a good reason for it. Wavering in Counsels, says he, has never been found good, and whatever probability there may be that time will furnish better Expedients, yet 'tis safer to resolve to master the present Difficulties, than to expect they will cease, for

we know not nor can certainly, but greater may happen. *Livre 8. de son Histoire d. Guerres de Flandres.*
3. Great Men often revenge the Injuries done to a Prince or State, out of Malice to the Offenders. Cardinal *Richlieu* had reason to say, Such Men did good upon an ill Principle. When a great Man Rebels in a Province, a Prince cannot do better, than to give another great Man of the same Province, who has been his Rival and Enemy, a Commission against him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁿ They were encamped upon the Rhine. *Duo apud ripam Rheni exercitus erant; cui nomen superioris, sub C. Sillio legato; inferiorem A. Gacina curabat.* Ann. 1.

Z 4

p Thut

them, His Troops consisted of near Forty thousand Men, a Fifth Part were arm'd as the Legions, the rest with Hunting-staves, Hangers, and such other Arms as Huntsmen carry. These were join'd by some Fencers, cover'd over with Armour of Iron, they were call'd *Crupellarii*, (Cuirassiers) unfit to assault, and impenetrable. The Forces daily augmented by a Confluence from the Neighbouring Cities, not that they declar'd for them; but all long'd for Liberty. To which contributed the Dissentions of the Roman Generals; both coveting to command the Army. But *Visellius* being Old, yielded to *Silius* who was in his Prime.

XLVI. In the mean time, it was reported at Rome, that besides *Tours* and *Argiers*, 64 Cities had rebell'd, that the *Germani* had join'd them, that *Spain* was wavering, all (as the Manner of Report is) made much greater than they were. Every good Man was concern'd for the Common-wealth; many out of Hatred to the Present Government, desir'd a Change, and rejoyc'd in their

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is not a better Opportunity to revolt, than when there are Dissentions, and consequently Disorder in the Armies of a Prince, whose Authority you would shake off. So a Prince that hath discontented Subjects ought at any rate to prevent a Misunderstanding among his Generals. For when he is ill serv'd by them (as ever happens, when they differ) he is exposed to the Practices of his Enemies.

2. Health of Body is almost as necessary to a General, as a Capacity of Mind; for it is an Employ will exercise both. According to Cardinal *Richelieu*, a General to be Excellent, should be young in Years, but not in Service and Experience. And though those that are Old are commonly the wisest, yet they are not the Best to undertake, because

they often want the heat of Youth, that is requisite on such Occasions. Besides, that 'tis certain, Fortune smiles upon Youth, and turns her back upon Old Age. *Section 4. du Chap. 9. de la seconde partie du Testament Politique.*

3. The Great Men in a Kingdom, govern'd by such a Prince as *Tiberius*, that is, by a Prince, that will endure no Companion, are apt to desire he may have Troubles and Wars, either to make them the more necessary, or to have the Pleasure of seeing him perplex'd and his Affairs in an ill Condition. The Count *S. Paul*, Constable of *France*, says *Commines*, and certain of the Duke of *Guise's* Servants, with several others, desir'd rather War than Peace, betwixt the King and the Duke of *Burgundy*, for two Reasons, the one because they

fear'd

their Dangers. Blaming *Tiberius* for employing himself in reading Informers Accusations when there was so great Commotions. 'What, said they, have the Senate found *Julius Sacrovir* guilty of Treason? Some have had the Courage to suppress by Arms the Bloody Libels of a Tyrant; War is a good Change for a Miserable Peace. But he neither chang'd Place nor Countenance; affecting to shew he was not afraid, either through Courage, or that he knew things to be less than they were reported.

XLVII. *Silius* march'd with two Legions, having sent some Auxiliary Troops before; he laid waste the Towns in the *Franche Comte*, which joyn'd to the *Anjovins*, and were their Confederates. Then march'd speedily to *Autun*,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

fear'd their great Offices and Pensions would be lessen'd, if Peace continu'd, for the Constable paid four hundred Men every Muster without controul; and besides the Profits of his Office, aboye thirty thousand Livres a year in Pension, and the Revenues of many good Places he held; the other was because they were persuaded the King was of such a Disposition he could never be idle, so that unless he was busied with Princes abroad; he would be with his Servants and Officers at home. The Constable offer'd to take *Saint-Quentin* when he pleas'd, and boast'd of Intelligence in *Flanders* and *Brabant*, and that he could make many Towns revolt from the Duke. The Duke of *Guise* and his principal Servants, offer'd to serve the King in this Quarrel; but their De-

sign was other than the King expected, *Chap. 1. du Livre 1. de ses Memoires.* *Claudian* explains in three Words, Why great Men hate Peace.

—*Mandatque fortius urget Imperiosa quies.*

4. Able Princes little regard the Censures of the People, it satisfies them to arrive at their End, which is the good of the State. Pope *Urban VIII.* used to say he would willingly sacrifice his Reputation to the Good of the Publick, and to Peace, provided he could any way obtain it, repeating *St. Paul's* words, *per gloriam & ignobilitatem, per infamiam & bonam famam.* *Lettres de M. de Marquemont, Ambassadeur a Rome dans le 1. Tome des Memoires du Cardinal de Richelieu.*

5. When

HISTORICAL NOTES.

That is the Secret Orders a Prince gives to his Centurions and Soldiers, to Murder Men in their Houses, that they suspect. They are called in other Places, his Letters, his Codicils, and the Execution of his Orders. *Ministeria militum.* *Ann. 1.*

9 *Autun*

sump, the Standard-Bearers striving who should make most haste; the Common Soldiers said they would march Night and Day, and if they could but see the Enemy, would answer for Victory'. Twelve miles from the City, *Sacrovir* appear'd with his Troops in the open Field, drawn up in a Line of Battle. The Cuirassiers in the Front, his own Troops in the Wings, and those that were ill-arm'd in the Rear. Among the Principal Officers *Sacrovir* was on Horse-back, riding through their Ranks; Magnifying the Exploits of the *Gauls*, and how oft they had beat the *Romans*; laying before them how honourable their Liberty would be if they were Conquerors, and how insupportable their Slavery, if Conquer'd⁶.

XLVIII. His Harangue was not long⁷, nor pleasing; for the Legions drew near in Battle Array, and the Citizens and the Peasants unskill'd in War, could neither see nor understand what they were to do. On the contrary, though *Silius* might have spared his pains, through the Assurance

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

5. When Soldiers have a great desire to fight, a General should not let it cool, for it is almost always a Pre-sage of Victory.

6. Those that fall into the hands of their Prince against whom they have rebell'd, should expect to be treated with extreme Rigour. Which makes Princes for ever lose those States, they might recover, if the Rebels despaired not of a sincere Pardon. Which made the Hollanders persevere in their Resolution rather to drown themselves and their Country in the Sea, than be Subject again to *Philip II.* concluding what his

Resentment would be from the Cruelty of the Duke *d'Alva* his Minister.

7. Short Harangues are best for Soldiers, who can give no long attention, nor weigh the Reasons are urg'd. Nothing makes greater Impression upon them, than this *Imperatoria Brevitas*, whereby they retain all that is said to them. Such was the Speech of *Hen. IV.* of *France*, one day when he was going to give Battle; *I am King*, says he, *and you are Frenchmen, and you cannot thin but Conquer.*

1. There

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^p *Autun*, an ancient City in the Dutchy of *Burgundy*; in Latin *Augustodunum*, and *Hedun*.

^q In

Assurance he had of his Men, yet told them: "That it was a shame for them who had conquer'd the *Germani*, to be brought against the *French*, as if they were their Equals. One band lately reduc'd the Rebels of *Tours*; a few Troops of Horse, those of *Treves*; a small Number of theirs, those of the *Franche Comte*. These of *Autun* are richer, but weaker, and more enervate with Pleasures. Conquer them then, and look after those that fly. The Army answer'd with Acclamations, and at the same time the Horse compass'd the Enemy, and the Foot engag'd their Front. The Wings made little Resistance, except the Cuirassiers, whose Armour was Proof against the Swords and Arrows, which oblig'd our Soldiers to fall on with their Axes and Hatchets, as if they were to make a Breach in a Wall. Some knock'd them down with Poles and Forks, and these Poor Men, unable to help themselves, were left for Dead on the Ground. *Sacrovir* retires first to *Autun*, then for fear he should be deliver'd to the *Romans*, goes with a few of his trustiest Friends to the next Village; where he kill'd himself, and the rest one another, having first set fire to the Place, that they might be burnt.

XLIX. Then *Tiberius* writ the Senate an Account of the Beginning and Ending of the War; neither adding nor lessening the Truth; ascribing the good Success to the Courage and Fidelity of his Lieutenants, and his Counsels. And gave Reasons why neither He nor *Dru-sus* went to the War, magnifying the Greatness of the Empire; and that it was not fitting for Princes to leave *Rome* which governs the rest, for the Rebellion of one or

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are no worse Arms than those a Man cannot stir in. *Saul* having armed *David* with his Armour, he put an Helmet of Brats on his Head, put on his Coat of Mail, and girded his Sword upon his Armour; but when *David* had try'd these Arms, that they were too heavy for him, he said unto *Saul*, *He could not go with them, and took only his staff in his hand, and five smooth stones he had chose out of the Brook and put in his Scrip, to conquer Goliath*, 1. *Sam.* 17.

2. When

or two Cities. But now, that the State had no longer cause to fear any thing, he would go and settle that Province. The Senate decreed Vows and Supplications for his Return, with other Honours. *Cornelius Dolabella*, when he endeavour'd to exceed others, fell into an absurd Flattery, proposing *Tiberius* should return in Triumph from *Campania*. Upon which he writ to them, that after he had conquer'd warlike Nations, and receiv'd or refus'd so many Triumphs in his Youth, he wanted not Glory so much as to accept vain Honours² in his old Age, for taking the Air near *Rome*.

L. About the same time he desir'd the Senate, *Sulpicius Quirinus*³ might have publick Funerals. He was not of the Noble and ancient Family of the *Sulpicii*, but born at a Free City⁴ called *Indovina*; and having served *Augustus* well in the Wars⁵, was honoured with the Consulship, and after, with a Triumph for taking the Castles of

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. When Princes have acquir'd a solid Reputation, they despise false Honours, because their Glory needs it not; and what their Flatterers give them, serves only to blemish the Good Opinion of their true Merit. Therefore *Alexander* threw into the River *Hydaspes* the History of the Victory he gain'd of *Porus*, telling the Author, when he read it to him, it was very rash in him to insert false Exploits; as if *Alexander* had not true ones sufficient to recommend him without Lying. *Prius* King of *Bithynia*, was despis'd by the Senate of *Rome*, for delivering an Harangue full of Flattery, upon a Victory the Romans gain'd in *Macedonia*.

3. There is no Kindness more sincere than that Princes shew after the Death of those Ministers who have served them well. The Portuguese

accuse *Philip II.* of Ingratitude, because he did not forbear, (according to the Custom of their Kings on the like Occasions) appearing in Publick, that Day the Duke d'*Alva* died, that conquer'd the Kingdom of *Portugal* for him. And *Henry IV.* was commended by all the Court of *Rome*, and all the Princes of *Italy*, for celebrating the Obsequies of Cardinal *Toledo* in the Church of *Nostre Dame* in *Paris*, and of *Nostre Dame* in *Rouen*, he having chiefly promoted his Absolution. And 'tis a wonderful thing, says the Wise Cardinal d'*Ossat*, that out of *Spain*, from whence came all the Opposition to so good a Work, God should raise a Person of so great Authority to Procure, Solicite, Direct, Advance and Perfect, what the Spaniards most deprecated. Letters 24, and 80.

1. To

HISTORICAL NOTES.

9 In Latin 'tis render'd *Municipium*.

7 The Latin has it, *impiger militum, & acribus ministeriis*.

f *Paterculus*

of the *Homonadenses* in *Cilicia*. Then being Governor to *C. Caesar* in *Armenia*, he made his Court to *Tiberius* at *Rhodes*, which *Tiberius* open'd to the Senate, commending his Dutifulness, and accus'd *Lollius*¹ as the Author of *C. Caesar's*² Sedition and Lewdness. But his Memory was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. To be heartily loved by Princes we should court their Friendship in their private Condition, or when persecuted by their Predecessors. The Friendship of particular Persons is never acquir'd but by time, with greater reason then, that of Princes should be acquir'd with long Services. They have little value for those that come to them, when they are in their Thrones, because they are commonly such as make Court rather to their Fortune than Person, and look upon their Reward as near; when those that adhere to them in the time of their Rivals and Enemies, as *Quirinus* did to *Tiberius* while *C. Caesar* was alive, and next Heir to the Empire, have full Right to a Prince's Favour, who confides them as disinherited Friends. So the Duke of *Beaufort*, at his return from *England*, was the Favourite of Queen *Ann* of *Spain*, who not only spoke of him with all marks of Esteem; and commanded her Creatures to have a Friendship for him; but when the Physicians one day thought *Lewis XIII.* dying, chose him to be Governor of the Dauphine and Moniteur. A Trust that shewed sufficiently to what Honours and Dignities he was destin'd, if he had known how

to manage his Fortune. *Memoires de la Chastre. Henry IV. of France* never left asking the Promotion of the *Sieur Serasin* to be a Cardinal, till he obtain'd it, because this Prelate (he was Auditor of the *Rota* above 30 Years) was always for him and his Crown, in the most difficult and dangerous Times. So says Cardinal d'*Ossat*, *Dans sa Lettre 61.*

2. An ill Governor or Tutor is very dangerous for a Young Prince.

Testa recens imbuta diu servabit odorem.

Plato says, That Kings should have four Masters or Governors for their Children, to teach them the four Virtues necessary for those that Reign. The first teaches them Prudence, the Second Justice, the Third Temperance, and to despise Pleasures, the Last, the Art of War, and sets Examples before them of the Courage and Constancy of their Glorious Ancestors. *Dans son premier Alcibiade. Paul Emilius* says, that *Giles Roman*, Arch-Bishop of *Bourges*, exhorted King *Philip* the Fair, in that to imitate the Kings of *Persia*. Livre 8. de son Histoire de France.

3. There

HISTORICAL NOTES.

f *Paterculus* says so of *Lollius*, That he was a Man that more desir'd to grow rich, than to live well, and with all the Care he took to conceal his Vice. Yet he was, and also appear'd to be very vicious. Cap. 97, du Livre 2. de son Epirome. And in the 102 Chap. He adds, *Augustus* chose *Lollius* to be *C. Caesar's* Governor. *Quem moderatorem juvenis filii sui Augustus esse voluerat.* That

was not very agreeable to the Senate, because he accused *Lepida*, and was sordid and insolent in his Old Age.

LI. The end of this Year *C. Lutorius Priscus*, a Roman Knight, who had compos'd an Excellent Elegy on *Germanicus*, and received a Reward from the Emperor for it, was accus'd for making it for *Drusus* when he was sick, in hopes of a greater Gratuity if he had died. *C. Lutorius* was so vain as to read it in *P. Petronius's* House to several Noble Ladies. And when the Informer cited them to give Testimony, only *Vitellia* denied she heard it read; but greater Credit was given to others that testified against him. *Haterius Agrippa*, Consul Elect, delivers his Opinion, that he should die. *M. Lepidus* spoke to this Effect.

LII. If we consider only how *Lutorius Priscus* hath debauched his Mind and his Auditors Ears, neither Prison, nor Halter, nor any servile Punishments were enough for him. But though his Crimes are without measure, yet the Moderation of a Prince, their own, and your Ancestors Examples, will qualify

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. There is nothing more disagreeable to Princes, than what puts them in mind of their Death. In whatever Condition they are they would not be told they shall die. When *Lewis XI.* answer'd those that told him, he was a Dead Man, *It may be I am not so bad as you think me.* He shew'd, That those who took upon them this Commission, did him a piece of Service he should not thank them for, if he recover'd. It seems, the late King, who was much a better Prince than *Lewis XI.* was displeas'd with the Credulity of the Queen, and would have her hold a Council, as she had done the day before by his Order, and made her go out of his Chamber, as he was Departing. So easily do Princes flatter themselves with hopes of long Life. So *M. de Chiverny* acted very wisely, when he

refused to assist at a Consultation of Physicians upon *Charles IX.* because belonging to the King of *Poland*, his Brother and Lawful Successor, he would have been look'd upon at that Meeting, as one that desir'd the King's Death, and the Accession of his Master to the Crown. *Dans ses Memoires.* If *Lutonius* did ill in making an Elegy upon *Drusus's* Death, which he thought certain, these are no less Criminal, that make Funeral Orations upon Princes in their perfect Health, to be early enough with them when they die, and to get the Reputation of great Orators; persuading the World they have made a Discourse in five or six days, which sometimes has cost them more years. However, these People shew their Vanity more than their Eloquence.

4. How

life the Punishments. *Vanity* differs from *Wickedness*, and Words from ill Deeds. There may such a Way be found to punish him, that we may neither repent our Clemency, nor Severity. I have heard our Princes complain, when any through Despair have prevented their Mercy. *Lutorius's* Life is yet safe, and the preserving it will neither endanger the Common-Wealth, nor can the taking it away be any Example. As his Studies were full of Folly, so were they senceless and soon over. Neither have we reason to fear any thing great or serious in one that betrays himself to the Women. Yet let him leave the City, his Goods be seiz'd and he banish'd, which I take to be as bad as if he was convict of Treason.

LIII. Among all the Consuls only *Rubellius Blandus* agreed with *Lepidus*, the rest were of *Agrippa's* Opinion; so *Lutonius* was carried back to Prison, and soon suffer'd. *Tiberius* writ to the Senate with his usual Ambiguities, extolling their Zeal for severely punishing the least Offence against their Prince, desiring them not rashly to punish Words for the future. He commended

Lepidus

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. How cruel soever a Prince is, he takes Pleasure in being praised for his Clemency. It some times happens, that the Commendations given him for Vertue he has not, create a desire in him to merit that by his future Practices.

5. A Subject that has his Prince against him, never finds many Judges to protect his Innocence; and if little guilty all ways are thought on to condemn him. *Dangerous,* (says *Anthony Perez*) is that Justice where there is an Inclination to condemn. What will it be then, if accompanied with absolute Power, Displeasure, and Flattery? *Aforismes de ses Relations.* That puts me in mind of the Spanish Proverb, *alla van Leyas, do quieren Reyes.* The Laws go as the Kings please.

6. Bloody Princes are wont to put on Clemency after Blood is spill'd, to cast the Odium on those have served them in it. After Queen *Elizabeth* had cut off the Queen of Scots Head, she committed Secretary *Davis*, son to Prison, who carried the Warrant for her Execution, pretending he had surpriz'd her in signing it. And *Philip II.* of Spain let Process issue against *Antonio Perez* his Secretary for the Murder of Secretary *Escovedo*, though he had his Order under his hand for it. And *Cabrera* that pretends to write in Favour of *Philip*, cannot forbear declaring the violent Death of this Man, wrought no Compassion in him. *Chap. 3. du Livre 12. de son Histoire.*

1. When

Lepidus, and blamed not *Agrippa*¹. And a Decree pass'd the Senate, that their Sentences should not be carried to the Treasury before the Tenth Day², to give the Condemn'd so long time to live. But the Senate could not alter the Sentence³, and time never mollify'd *Tiberius*.

The Year of Rome 775.

LIV. C. *Sulpicius* and *Decimus Haterius* were the next Consuls. This year there were no Troubles abroad, but great severity was apprehended against Luxury at home; which grew to excess in all things that were expensive. Yet some of their Expences, however profuse, were covered by concealing their Cost^{*}. But all their Discourse was of their Gluttony, which they feared *Tiberius*, a Prince of Frugality equal to the Ancients, would restrain. For *C. Bibulus* beginning, the other *Ediles* shewed that the Sumptuary Laws were neglected, and that notwithstanding any Prohibitions, the price of Necessaries daily encreased, and that such Disorders were not to be redressed by ordinary Ways. And the Senate, after Deliberation, referred the whole matter to the Prince. But

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. When a Prince blames not sign he is easie, or at least not trou-
cruel or severe Actions, 'tis a sure bled at them.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

¹ That is, that those who are sentenced shall not be executed till ten days after Sentence given.

² The Roman Laws allowed not the Magistrates to change any thing in their Sentences, nor so much as a Letter. *Proconsulis tabella sententia est; quæ semel lecta neque augei litterâ, neque minus potest, sed utcumque recitata; ita Provinciæ instrumento refertur.* *Apul. Lib. 11. Hor.* Therefore *Pilate* answered the Jews, that would have had him alter the Inscription upon Christ's Cross, *Quod Scripsi, Scripsi.*

³ The price of Jewels, Vessels of Silver and Gold, and rich Stuffs, being not commonly known, those that Bought them took care not to tell what they cost.

y Tho

But he, after he had considered, whether such Extravagances could be redressed, whether a Reformation would not be more to the prejudice than benefit of the Commonwealth², how dishonourable it would be to him to undertake what he could not effect, or if he did, that it would require the punishing some noble Persons. He writ thus to the Senate.

LV. 'It were perhaps more proper, My Lords, in other Matters, to ask my my Opinion in your Presence, and to have me there tell you what I thought expedient for the Commonwealth, but in this 'tis better I am absent, lest by the Fears and Countenances of some among you, I should discover those who lead this shameful life, and as it were, take them in the Fault. If the *Ediles* had first consulted me, I cannot tell but I might have advised them rather to connive at those Vices that have taken deep root and are inveterate³, than

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The first thing a Reformer should well consider, is, That his Reformation bring not greater Mischiefs than those he would Reform. *Pius V.* after he had shut up all the Courtisans in a separate place, was acquainted by the Confessors, that Adulteries, Incests and Sodomies plainly encreased. *Pagliari dans son Commentaire sur Tacite, Observ. 389.* *Sixtus V.* who understood the best of any Man how to make himself Obeyed, succeeded no better than *Pius*. He drove many of them out of Rome, where they were in very great numbers, and shut up the rest, but the Confessors laying the same things before him as before *Pius*, he commanded the Governors of Rome to revoke the Order, and gave leave to those were gone away, to return. *Leti Livre 1. de la seconde partie de sa Vie.*

3. A Prince that would establish an absolute and despotick Government, if he be wise, will have a care how he reforms Luxury, the best and

most agreeable Instrument of Slavery. *Ciriacus de Lentz* says, speaking of *Tiberius*; Therefore a Prince will not reform Luxury, because the great and rich Men that live in Pleasure and Magnificence, are so many Pledges and Hostages of Slavery. If *Vespasian* could by his Example recover the ancient manner of living, and restore Frugality: If *Lewis XIII.* could by an Edict remedy the Excesses and excessive Expences in Cloths, Why might not *Tiberius* have done the like, if he had the like Inclinations? *Dans son Augustus.* He adds, in his *Julia Tiberiana*; That the *Car's*, *Druses's*, and *Helvidius's*, are never acceptable to Tyrants; and that *Socrates*, tho' very poor, was suspected to the Thirty Tyrants, because he contemned the Pleasures of Life: So that ill Princes, look as ill upon those as they do upon Ambitious Persons, that prefer their Reputation before the Engagements of Pleasures. *Aphorism 6. du Liv. 3.*

A 2

4. Tho

than hazard shewing there are some we are not able to remedy: But these worthy Magistrates have done their Duty, as I could wish all others would. For me, I think it neither honest to hold my Tongue, nor expedient to speak, for I am neither an *Edile*, *Prætor*, nor *Consul*: Something more is expected from a Prince; and when every man assumes to himself the Praise of what is well done, the blame of what succeeds not falls upon him alone. Where shall I begin to Reform? Shall it be your large and spacious Country Seats? The multitude of your Servants of several Nations? The Quantities of your Silver and Gold? Your painted Tables,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Tho' the Complaints made against inveterate Vices are reasonable, yet Princes will tolerate them, because we are not capable of that Perfection those Censors expect that understand not the Government of States. The most reasonable Orders are not always best, because some being not suitable to those who are to observe them.

5. Great Princes are not to trouble themselves with all Affairs, nor to descend to little matters. While they are employed on the greater, their Ministers and Magistrates dispatch the lesser. Their Application to these would make them forget, or at least Postpone others, which were very prejudicial to the good of the State. *Juan Antonio de Vera*, says the Emperor *Charles V.* tho' a pious Prince, never had much Communication with Monks, out of Confession, while he Governed. And one day that *Father Francis* of *Madrid* consulted him upon some Abuses of their Order, which he thought worthy Reformation, he answered in

some displeasure: *Father Francis*, of all you have said to me, I find nothing concerns the Emperor, but would have you apply to the Pope, or the General, rather than to me, who lose not my time in discouraging the Affairs of a Cloister. *Dans l'Epitome de sa Vie.* I beseech your Majesty, says *Cardinal Richlieu*, to apply your self to those great matters, concern your State, and despite the lesser, as unworthy your Care and Thoughts. — You will not only be far from receiving any Advantage from employing your self in things not considerable, but on the contrary much Damage, by diverting you from others that are better, and also because little Thorns being more apt to prick than bigger, which are more easily perceived, it were impossible to prevent Discontents, useless to your Affairs, and very contrary to your Health. *Chap. 5. de la premiere partie de son Testament Politique.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

1. The way *Henry III.* of *Castile* took to put down Excess in Entertainments, deserves to be mentioned here, as a great instance of what a Prince may

Tables, and brazen Statues of exquisite Work? The promiscuous Habits of Men and Women? Or the Extravagances of the Women only in their Jewels, for which our Money is carried away to Foreigners and Strangers? I am not ignorant you blame these things at your Entertainments, and a mean is wished for. But if a Law should be made against them, and punishments appointed, those that complain now, will cry out, that the City is subverted, the Destruction of the Nobility sought for, and none free from those Crimes. But we see, old Maladies are not to be Cured without sharp

HISTORICAL NOTES.

may do that has Wit and Courage: One day, when his Table was ill served, he was told, The Grandees of his Kingdom lived much better, and that there was nothing so Magnificent as the Entertainments, they gave one another. The same day he had notice, the Archbishop of *Toledo* gave a Supper to several Lords, he went in Disguise, and saw the Magnificence of the Entertainment, where nothing was wanting, and what was worse, he heard them relate their great Estates, and the Pensions they held out of the King's Demesnes. The next morning, he caused a Report to be spread, That he was Sick, and would make his Will, upon which they all went to Court. About Noon he came into the Room where he usually gave Audience, and they waited for him, and as soon as he sat down, he directed his Discourse to the Archbishop, and asked him how many Kings of *Castile* he had known, and asked all the same Question: Some said, they had known three, others four, others five, &c. How can that be, says the King, when I have known twenty at my Age. And seeing them surprised at what he said, he proceeded, 'Tis you my Lords are the Kings, to the great Damage of this Kingdom, and Dishonour of your King, but I will prevent your Reign continuing long, and carrying the Merriment any farther you make of me. The Archbishop threw himself at his Feet, and asked Pardon, as did also the rest. The King gave them their Lives, but made them Prisoners till they restored the Castles they held of the Crown, and all they had got from the last Kings. An Action that gained him so much Glory and Authority, that the great Men were never so humble and obedient. Besides, it brought him in such a Treasure, that he left a great Sum behind him, without over-charging his People. *Murius, Chap. 14. du Liv. 9. de son Histoire d'Espagne.* 'Tis observable too, the King did this at 15 or 16 years of Age. He was called, *Henry the Infant*, because of his Sickly Countenance, but deserved the Title of *Henry the Brave and Valiant*, for his Courage. Which Example plainly shews, as *Richlieu* says, Kings can do any thing, when constant and resolute, and that those things which seem the most difficult, and almost impossible, are so, only because of the negligence and indifference of their Execution.

sharp and harsh Remedies ¹. A corrupt Mind is not to be regulated with gentle Methods, when inflamed by inordinate Appetites. So many Laws framed by our Ancestors, so many by *Augustus*, have only given greater Establishment to our Luxury, the former have been forgot, the latter (which is worse) have been contemned ². For when we love what is not yet forbid, we fear it, may be, but when we transgress the Laws, and are not punished, there is neither Fear nor Shame left ³. Why was Frugality formerly used? because every Man moderated his Desires; we had only one City, and our Dominions not reaching out of *Italy*, we had not the same Provocations; by Foreign Conquests we learn the use of Foreign Commodities, by Civil Wars our own ⁴. That which the *Ediles* com-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Desperate Diseases must have desperate Cures.

2. There is no Remedy when Vice is turned into Virtue. Then we are to accommodate our selves to *Hippocrates's* Aphorism, to administer no Remedies where Diseases are desperate.

3. While Abuses are tolerated, Men observe some Rules of Decency, because they fear, if they take too much liberty, the Prince or Magistrate will Reform them. But if a Reformer wants Power to make himself Obeyed, as it sometimes hap-

pens, or wants Courage to punish the Great Men, who are commonly the first that break new Regulations, the Examples of such Impunity opens the Door to Contempt, and from Contempt they go insensibly to Licentiousness. Therefore a Prince should not meddle with Reformation, if he finds himself wanting in Power, or of a Temper to be wrought upon by Intercessions: or if he will Reform, should take a Resolution to be inexorable, as *Sixtus V.* was, when any dared to break his Laws.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

2. *Paterculus* imputes the Luxury of *Rome* to the two *Scipio's*, surnamed *Africans*. The first, says he, opened the way to the Roman Greatness, but the other to their Luxury. For when *Rome* no longer feared *Carthage*, which was burnt, they left not their Virtue by degrees as before, but run impetuously into all Pleasures and Vices. The ancient Discipline was despised, and gave way to new Customs, and all the City turned presently from their Vigilance to Laziness, from Warlike Exercises to Looseness, and from Labour to Idleness. At last, the publick Magnificence was succeeded with

plain of, is a small matter in comparison of others ⁴. But no man puts us in mind that *Italy* wants the support of other Countries, that the Life of the People of *Rome* is tossed with the uncertainty of Sea and Tempest ⁵, and were it not for the Plenty of the Provinces, 'tis not our Farms and Possessions would maintain us and our Slaves. These, My Lords, are the Cares employ your Prince, without which the Commonwealth could not subsist. For the rest, every Man should apply the Remedy himself, let Shame amend us, Necessity the Poor, and Satiety the Rich ⁵. But if any of the Magistrates finds he has Courage and Ability enough to put a stop to this Evil, I shall be glad of his Help, and shall own he eases me of a great part of my Labour. But if they only complain of these Faults, and think to gain themselves Credit, and raise me Hatred, and then leave me. I assure you, My Lords, I will not make my self Enemies to no purpose ¹, and though I may have many, and for the most

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Some People think all is lost, if what offends them is not immediately Remedied, but a Prince should not be drawn away by anothers Passion. He is to foresee the Inconveniences may arise from the Reformation is desired, and to consider well if he can undertake it with success, so that he may satisfy more than he shall displease. For so you see the Wisdom of a Reformer.

5. Pleasures leave us when they entertain no longer. Many Voluptuous Persons become Abstemious because they want new Pleasures.

1. There is this Difference betwixt a Prince and his Ministers: The Prince should avoid all he can what may draw upon him the Hatred of the People, or of the Great Men, because the keeping his Authority depends upon the Affection of his subjects,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

with the wastful Expences of particular Men. *Au Commencement du Liv. 2. de son Epitome.*

2. For all their Corn came out of *Egypt*, and consequently by Sea.

most part unjustly² for the Commonwealth, I desire I may not make my self more, when it is neither of Advantage to you, nor me.

LVI. After these Letters were read, the *Adiles* were discharged that Care. And the Luxury in their Tables which had been very profuse from the End of the Battle at *Actium*, till the Accession of *Servius Galba* to the Empire, that is, for about 100 Years^b, was by Degrees less^c. The Causes of this Change, were these: Formerly the most considerable Families for their Birth or Riches were ruined by their Magnificence. For then they were permitted

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

jects. On the other side, his Ministers being obliged by the Duty of their Places, to sacrifice their particular Interests to the Publick Good, and their Master's Service, are never to suppress any good Advice, for fear it should make them odious to the People or to the Great Men: For, according to *Richelieu*, the Probity of a Minister of State should be Proof against all Interests, and so constant, that neither Calumnies nor Opposition, should discourage him doing well, nor turn him from those Ends he has propos'd to himself for the good of the State, *Chap. dernier de la premiere Partie du Testament Politique*. Cardinal d'Osse speaking of a Knight of *Malta*, from whose Importunity he could not quit himself without promising, tho' coldly, to recommend him to *Henry IV.* of France, for a Favour he unseasonably ask'd. I repent my self says he, and will another time conquer this Pusillanimity, without expoling again the Impertinences of such Importuners, nor my own co-

wardly shame to refuse them. *Letter 197.*

2. It is common for Princes to do well, and their Subjects to approach them. There are scarce any Princes have Justice done them, while they live, because Men naturally hate those whose Authority they fear.

3. In France, Excess in Entertainments begins to moderate, but it is to give place to another Extravagance in their Cloaths and Furniture, which is more dangerous. 'Tis this has so multiplied Ladies that Persons of Quality and Birth are not to be discover'd from Citizens Wives and Daughters, but by their Civility and Modesty. In the last Age, the first Prelidents *de Thou* and *de Harlay* were content to eat upon Pewter; now the meanest Officers of the Revenue are served in Plate. The Chancellor *de Bellievre* gave his Daughters only 20000 Livres, now one of the King's Farmers gives his 100000. *Adeo precipiti curis a virtute defecitum, ad vitia transcursum.*

4. Great

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^b The Battle at *Actium* was in the Year of the City, 724. and *Galba* came to the Empire in the Year 822.

^c People

permitted to court the People, their Allies and Princes, and be courted by them. And the more splendid any man was in his Houses, Furniture, and Attendants, it gained him the greater Reputation and more Clients^c. But after they began to murder one another, and their Greatness was a Crime^d, others grew wiser. And new Men that were oft taken into the Senate from the free Towns, the Colonies, and Provinces, brought with them the Frugality they had been used to; and though several through Fortune or Industry had great Riches in their Old Age, yet they never chang'd their manner of living. But *Vespasian* was chiefly the Occasion of this Frugal way of living, who conforming himself to the ancient Economy, rais'd in every Man a desire of Imitation^e, which prevailed more than all the Laws, or Fear of Punishment. Unless there be a Circulation in all things, that Manners change as well as Times and Seasons, all things were not better formerly^f than now, and our Age has set Examples worthy

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

4. Great Reputation is as dangerous as ill Reputation. If it revives the Dead, it often makes the Living die. Princes cannot bear Merit that is too much taken notice of. It is therefore a great piece of Knowledge to know how to conceal it well, not only from the Prince but from the People, whose Applauses are fatal.

5. Nothing establishes Virtue more than the good Life of a Prince; which is a speaking Law, and prevails more than all they make. If it be true, that whatsoever Fault a Prince commits, he offends more by his ill Example, than the Nature of it; tis not less certain, that let him

make what Laws he will, if he practices what he prescribes, his Example will go as far to make them executed as the Penalty he lays. A Prince that never Swears, shall sooner suppress Swearing and Blasphemies among his People, than the Security of his Magistrates against those are subject to such Impieties, *Chap. 1. de la second partie du Testament Politique*.

6. All our Veneration is for what is past, and we despise the Present; for the Present Troubles and Disquiets us with Objects that displease, when what is past instructs us, without shewing us any thing we can repine at, or that can put us into ill

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^c People that made Court to Great Men for their Protection.

A 2 4

^d These

worthy Praise and Imitation. But let such Disputes continue between us and our Ancestors.

LVII. *Tiberius* having got a Reputation for his Moderation, for suppressing Informers, writ to the Senate to make *Drusus* Tribune. *Augustus* found out this Title, instead of that of King or Dictator, and yet by that Name had a Sovereignty above the other Magistrates. He chose

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

ill Humour. It is certain, as the Word is fram'd, we should judge the same of those, we admire because they were some Ages before us, as we do of our Contemporaries, for Vices are as old as Men.

7. When Princes have done any thing that gives them Reputation, they are wont to make use of it, as a Right to obtain what they desire, and they generally succeed in the first Heat of popular Applause.

8. New Titles great Men take, give them often a sort of Title to usurp States that belong not to them. *Paul Emilius* observes very well, that the Title of Prince of France, which *Charles Martel* took instead of Steward of the King's House, was the first Step to raise his Family to the Throne. The Countess of *Montmorency* shewed good Policy when he opposed the *Guises* that would have

taken the Name and Arms of the House of *Anjou*, from which they were descended by *Toland* of *Anjou*, their Great Grandfather of their Mother's side; because this new Name would have strengthen'd their old State Pretention, (so Cardinal *d'Ofsat* calls it, *Letter 123.*) to *Provence*. And for the same Reason, when *Henry 4.* gave the young Duke of *Guise* that Government, the Chancellor *Chiverny* protested in full Council against it, and would have his Protestation registred in the Parliaments of *Paris* and *Aix*, before he would seal the Letters-Patents. *Memoirs de Chiverny*, 1594. The Duke of *Oliveres*, first Minister of *Spain*, soon repented making the Duke of *Braganza* General of the Portuguese, which new Power, together with the Right he had to the Crown, was a Step to get it him.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

That would have Inform'd against their Luxury.

We may observe here, the Dexterity of *Augustus*, when he quitted the odious Name of Triumvir, he took that of Consul, *Consulem se ferens*. *Ann. 1.* But when the Tribunes of the People oppos'd the Consuls, and diminish'd their Authority, by the Right they had to protest against the Proceedings of the Senate, and by the Prerogative of their Dignity, which made them Sacred and Inviolable, *Augustus* who saw the Consulate distinguish'd from all other Consuls, resolves to make himself Tribune, by virtue of which he could oppose the Resolutions of other Magistrates, and none of them but so many out of two Offices that sprung from Liberty, which he was oblig'd to defend (*ad tuendam plebem Tribunitio jure consentum*) he made himself a real and perpetual Dictator, as absolute as *Julius Caesar*, but less odious, because he pleas'd the People with the Title of Tribune. A Digest in *l. 1. c. 37* Years, as *Tacitus* observes, *Ann. 1.*

fA

chose *M. Agrippa* for his Associate, and after his Death, *Tiberius Nero*, that his Successor might be known, thinking thereby to restrain the Unlawful Hopes of some others, trusting to *Nero's* Modesty and his own Greatness. After his Example, *Tiberius* advanced *Drusus*; while *Germanicus* liv'd he carried himself indifferently between them. His Letters began with a Prayer to the Gods to prosper his Counsels for the Good of the Common-wealth; then added a few Words, and those truly of his Son's Behaviour, That he had a Wife and three Children, and of his own Age when *Augustus* called him to that Honour; neither could it be said, this was precipitately done; but after he was tryed eight years, had suppress'd Seditions, ended the Wars, triumphed, and had been twice Consul.

LVIII. As the Senate expected this Demand, so their Flattery was the more Artificial; but they could think of nothing more to decree, than that their Princes Images, Altars to the Gods, Temples, Arches, and such customary Honours, should be erected for him, Only *M. Silanus* by dishonouring the Consulate thought to do Honour to the Princes, and propos'd, that Publick and Private Acts should be dated for the Future, not from the Consuls, but Tribunes. And *Q. Haterius* moving the Decrees of that Day should be writ in Gold Letters, was laugh'd at, that an old Man to his shame should fall into such filthy Flattery.

LIX. At this time, the Government of *Africa* was continued to *Junius Blasius*, *Servius Maluginensis*, a Priest of *Jupiter*, desir'd that of *Asia*, saying, It was a Mistake to think the Priest of *Jupiter* might not go out of *Italy*, there was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. The higher a Man is in Dignity, the more shameful is Flattery in him; but especially if he be in such a Station as makes it his Duty to preserve and maintain the Authority of the Laws. It was pleasant to see *James* Five, who called *Henry III.* of *France*, the Saint of Saints, harangued the Parliament, and say he deserv'd Canonization, better than any the Kings of *France* his Predecessors, though he abandon'd the Government of his Kingdom to his Favourites. *Journal de son Regne.*

2. The

was no other Law for them, than the Priests of Mars and Quirinus; and if these had govern'd Provinces, why not they? That neither the Laws nor Ceremonials were against it. That the High Priest had often officiated for the Priest of Jupiter, when sick, or employ'd in publick Affairs. That after Cornelius Merula died, there was no Man in his Place for 62 Years, and yet the Rites wasted not. And if his Creation could be omitted so many years, without interruption to the Sacrifices, how much more easily may he be absent a Year with the Proconsular Dignity? Formerly they were forbid by the High Priests out of Ill-Will, now (Thanks to the Gods) the High Priest was the best of Men, not subject to Emulation, Malice, or private Affection. Against this Lentulus the Augur,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. The Clergy have always been ingenious in finding Reasons, or rather Pretences to exempt themselves from their most indispensable Duties. Residence was so strictly observed by the Roman Priests, that Seneca says their Priests were like Exiles that could never quit the Place of their Punishment. *Quosdam exilia, quosdam sacerdotia uno loco tenent. De tranquillitate vitæ. Visus est sibi quis, says Artemidorus, ad firmitatem templi Neptuni catenis alligatus esse: factus est sacerdos Neptuni: oportebat enim ipsum inseparabilem esse sacerdotem. Lib. 5. de somniorum eventibus, somnio 1.* A Pagan looks upon his Priesthood as an indissoluble tie upon him, that confines him for his Life to Neptune's Temple; yet the Christian Priests and Prelates make no scruple of spending all their Lives in a manner from their Churches, without doing the State any Service. *Filii hominum, usquequæ gravi corde?*

3. A fault is a fault though it has lasted a long time, and consequently a Prince should not lose an occasion to remedy it, when he finds one.

4. The Priesthood and Sovereignty are so far from being incompati-

ble in the same Person, that on the contrary, one is a strengthening of the other; so Tacitus observes of the Kings of the Jews, amongst whom *Honor sacerdotii firmitatem potentie assumebatur, Hist. 5.*

5. There is no Quality more essentially necessary in a Pope, than to be a Common Father: All Popes have equally this Title, but do not equally perform their Duty. The Partiality they all have, one for this Crown, another for that, never fails to produce ill Effects. As it is impossible a Partial Pope should be Just, 'tis likewise impossible those Princes should have any Reverence for him who suffer by his Partiality. Besides those he favours, often reap no other Fruit from it than War with their Neighbours. What made the League betwixt Henry II. of France, and Paul IV. but the loss of the Bartels of S. Quintin and Gravelines, which was a just Punishment for the Breach of the Truce of Vaucelles, and altogether a convincing Evidence, that the Absolutions a Violent and Passionate Pope gives, are not always sure signs of a Divine Absolution. So the wise Cardinal d'Osset had good reason to say, *that a Pope should be a Man*

Augur, and others differently spoke; at last it was resolv'd to refer the Matter to the Emperor's Decision.

LX. Tiberius desers giving his Opinion in it, and moderates the Honours decreed Drusus with the Office of Tribune, reproving by Name the Insolence of that Proposition that the Decree should be writ in Letters of Gold, contrary to Custom. Drusus's Letters were read, which were taken to be very arrogant, though they had a turn of Modesty too. They said, "Things were come to that pass, that Drusus upon receiving so great Honour, would not vouchsafe a Visit to the Gods of the City, nor shew himself in the Senate, or begin at least, his Authority

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Man of Virtue and Understanding, that he may not be deceived by the Artifices of ill Men, and to make him a common Father, in holding the Balance equal, not doing ill to any at the Desire and Suggestion of others. Letter 330. Gregory XIV. at the beginning of his Papacy declar'd he pretended not to govern according to the Maxims of State, but according to the Laws of the Gospel. That was speaking like a Pope, but as a good Milanese he could not keep his word; for he soon declar'd for the League in favour of the King of Spain, and the Guises; As if Partiality had been an Evangelical Precept for a Common Father, *Herrera c. 16. du Livre 6. de la 3. partie de son Hist.* If the Piety of the Faithful, says *Sanavedra*, has given the Popes Temporal Power, it were more for the Security of their Grandeur never to use it against Princes, but when the Universal Good of the Church made it necessary. When the Triple Crown is turn'd into an Helmet, there is no Respect paid it, but as a temporal Thing; when it makes use of Politick Considerations, it is lookt upon only as the Crown of a Politick Prince, and not a Pope's, whose Authority should be supported by

Spiritual Power. His Pastoral Duty is not for War but Peace. His Staff is crooked, not pointed, for 'tis to lead, not hurt. *Empresa 94.* I will conclude this with a very judicious Reflection of Don Juan Antonio de Vera, in the Second Discourse of his Ambassador. What ancient or modern Example, says he, can be brought in comparison of that which Cardinal Bembo and Thomas Porcachi relate of Pope Julius II. who being more an Enemy to the French King (*Lexis XII.*) than was fit for an universal Pastor of the Church, orders the King of Spain's Ambassador, and the Venetians, his Allies, to acquaint their Masters, he had made Peace with France, but that they should not be alarm'd at it, for he continued still his ill Will to that Crown, that his Heart was Spanish, and that this Peace was only to lay the French asleep, to take them afterwards, unprovided. If there be then so little Security and Faith in a Pope, what may we expect from Secular Princes? How can we trust those that are not Catholics, or are born Infidels? Words worthy this Spaniard, who took for his Motto, *Veritas Vincit.*

" Authority in his own Country, if the War, or his Distance hinder him? However, he is entertaining himself on the Shores and Lakes of *Campania*^e; Thus is he bred that is to govern the World. This he learn'd from his Father's Counsels. *Tiberius* might excuse himself from appearing in Publick, by reason of his Years and Labours; but what hinders *Drusus*, besides his Pride?

LXI. *Tiberius* daily strengthen'd his Sovereignty; but to leave some shew of their ancient State to the Senate, he sent them the Petitions of the Provinces to examine. The Licentiousness and Impunity of Sanctuaries grew to that in *Greece*, the Cities set them up as they pleased. The Temples were filled with Slaves, Debtors that defy'd their Creditors, and Persons subject of Capital Crimes^e. Neither was any Authority able to suppress the

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^f A Province near *Rome*, call'd now *Terra di Lavoro*. *Florus* says *Campania* was the finest Country in the World. *Terrarum pulcherrima*.

^g As *Greece* was a Province almost all Maritime, and where, according to *Thucydides*, Piracy prevail'd much, and those that exercised it were in good Esteem; the Inhabitants built Temples to protect themselves from the Insults of the Pyrates; So these Temples were not like our Churches, but like Castles and Forts, with Vaults under ground, and were not for the Retreat of Criminals, but for honest Persons, that fled from Oppression. And if they were abused, they lost the Privilege of the Sanctuaries, which at first was allowed to very few Places. But the Wickedness of Men, ingenious enough in finding out ways to abuse the most sacred things, wrought so great a Change, that what was instituted in *Greece* for a Protection against Oppression, became one against Justice and the Laws; so that the Sanctuaries that were at first only a Refuge for honest Men, and such as were afflicted, served afterwards only for Criminals. This made the Senate of *Rome* to regulate them, and take from the Temples in *Greece* the Privilege of Sanctuaries, except Nine that gave better Testimony than the rest of their Original. Too small a Number for to great a Province, that was more than a thousand Miles extent. There was at this time another kind of Immunity, not Instituted in Honour of any God, nor in Favour of any Temple, but only in consideration of Justice. It was for those had any Potent Enemy they could not oppose, they run to some Statue of the Prince, embraced it, calling for Publick Authority, and then no one durst offer them the least Violence. Yet this was not an Immunity, but rather an Appeal to Justice; For as soon as the Judges took Cognizance of the Matter, if their Cause was good, they awarded them Satisfaction; but if Unjust, a double Penalty was inflicted, one for the Crime, the other for their boldness in running

the Seditions of the People, protecting Villanies, as much as the Rites of the Gods¹. It was therefore ordain'd the Cities should send their Deputies with their Privileges. Some voluntarily quitted them, as Usurp'd; others justified theirs on old Superstitions, or an account of Services to the People of *Rome*. The Pomp of that Day was great in shew, when the Senate consider'd the Grants of their Ancestors, the Agreements of Confederates, the Decrees of the Kings before the Roman Power prevail'd there, and the Religion of the Gods, being at the Will of the Senate to confirm or alter them, as formerly they had done.

LXII. The *Ephesians* appeared first, setting forth, That *Diana* and *Apollo* were not Born in the *Island of Delos*,² as was commonly believed, that in their Country was the River *Cenchiris*, and a Wood called *Ortygia*, where *Latona* leaning on an Olive-Tree, which yet remains there, was delivered

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

¹ As Princes are obliged to establish the true Worship of God; they ought to be careful to banish false Appearances, which are to the prejudice of States. For we may truly say, That Superstition and Hypocrisy are often coverings to wicked Designs. Chap. 1. de la seconde Partie du Testament Politique. The Conspiracy of the Marchioness de Verneuil

against *Henry IV. of France*, was contrived by a Capuchin, called *Father Arcange*, under pretence of Confession, which cover'd the frequent private Conversations he had with her, and the Count *d'Arvergne* her Brother, who pretended he had taken a Resolution to become a Capuchin.

² There

HISTORICAL NOTES.

running to the Princes Statue, when guilty. Would to God Churches were only Sanctuaries for the Innocent, and that Criminals resorting to them, were not only punish'd for their Crimes, but also for their Rashness in believing God and the Churches will protect Assassins, Thieves, Rebels, incestuous Persons and Villains. *Fra Paolo Sarpi*, chap. 7. de son Traite des Affaires. *Philo Judaeus* explaining the Law in the 21. of *Exodus*, If a Man come presumptuously upon his Neighbour to slay him with Guile, that thou shalt take him from mine Altar that he may die, says, That Wicked Men should find no Sanctuary in Places consecrated to Piety and Worship. *Profani in sano nullum esse receptum*, lib. de spec. legib. In *Petrarch's* Letters there is one to the Pope, in which he congratulates his repressing the Liberty of the Cardinals, who protected any Offenders pursued by Justice. *Epist. lib. 7.*

³ During

delivered of these two Deities, and that the Wood was Sacred by the Command of the Gods: And that *Apollo*, after he had killed the *Cyclopes*, fled thither from *Jupiter's* Anger. That *Bacchus*, when he conquered the *Amazons*, pardoned those that humbling themselves took hold on the Altar. That *Hercules* added to the Rites of that Temple after he was Master of *Lydia*, and their Privileges were not lessened when under the Dominion of the *Persians*, and afterwards the *Macedonians* preserved them.

LXIII. Next, the *Magnesiens* insisted on the Constitutions of *L. Scipio* and *L. Silla*, who conquered *Antiochus* and *Mithridates*; and in acknowledgement of the Felicity and Valour of the *Magnesiens*, commanded *Diana Lucifryne's* Temple should be inviolable. Then the People of *Aphrodisium* and *Stratonica*, produced a Decree of *Cæsar* the Dictatorⁱ, and another since of *Augustus*, for the Services done them, and opposing an Invasion of the *Parthians*, never departing from their Fidelity to the *Romans*. Those worshipped *Venus*, these *Jupiter* and *Diana* surnamed *Trivia*. From *Hierocæsarea* was brought greater Antiquity, they having a Temple dedicated by *K. Cyrus* to *Diana Persica*, and that *Perpetua Isauricus*, and many other Emperors, had not only acknowledged this Temple for Sacred and Inviolable, but the Country two miles about it. The *Cyprians* pretended Franchises for three Temples, whereof the ancientest was built by *Aerias*, and consecrated to *Venus Paphia*^k, the second dedicated by his Son *Amathus* to *Venus Amathusia*^l, and the other to *Jupiter*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

ⁱ During the Civil War betwixt him and *Pompey*.

^k So named, because this Temple was within the City of *Paphos*, now called *Baffo*.

^l There was in this Island, a Place called *Amatonte*, now *Lamisso*, but it is little more than a Village.

piter Salaminus, built by *Teucer*^m, when he fled from his Father *Telamon*.

LXIV. The other Ambassadors had their Audiences too, but the Senate growing weary with hearing so many, and their Canvassings, a Commission was given to the Consuls to examine their Titles, and make a Report. They made it very favourable for a Temple at *Pergantium*, dedicated to *Esculapius*ⁿ, but that the Claims of the rest were grounded on obscure beginnings^o, by reason of their Antiquity. *Smyrna* and *Tenedos* pretended both an Oracle of *Apollo*, that commanded one of them to Dedicate a Temple to *Venus Stratoniceis*, the others a Statue and Temple to *Neptune*. Those of *Sardis* and *Miletum* insisted on later Grants, one of *Alexander* in Honour of *Diana*, the other of *Darius* in Honour of *Apollo*. The

Cre-

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There are a great many Privileges and Exemptions of which we may say, as a Doctor did of *Constantine's* Donation, That it was read by the Blind, heard by the Deaf, and related by the Dumb.

If, according to Cardinal *Perron*, all the Letters of the Pope's were forged by the Monks in *Obalennine's* time, there is great Reason to believe they are the Authors of the greatest part of their Registers.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^m He called this Temple of *Jupiter*, *Salamine*, in Honour of his Country.

ⁿ The Church of *Orleans* is the most famous and authentick Sanctuary now in *France*; and it may be in *Europe*. The Privilege the Bishops have upon their Entry to free all the Criminals that fly thither from all Parts of the Kingdom, except Traitors, has been preserved by a Possession and uninterrupted Enjoyment ever since *S. Aignan*, and confirmed by the Consent of all the Kings of *France*, and allowance of all the Courts and Magistrates of the Kingdom; that have never disputed this Right: So the Learned Historian, *Adrian Valois*, has reason to wonder at the neglect of the People of *Orleans*, who feast and celebrate by a general Procession the 8th of May, because on that day they were delivered from a Siege of the English, 1429. and feast not on the 14th of June, the day their Ancestors drove out *Attila* and the Huns that closely Belieged them. *Quem diem si quidam fortè celebrare voluerint, sciatis anno 451. 18 Kal. Julii, qui est Junii dies quartus decimus, Humor urbe expulso, ac majores suos captivitate miserâ ac vinculis esse liberatos. Notitia Galliarum, tit. Genabum.*

Cretensians desired the Image of *Augustus* might have some Privilege. Upon the whole, the Senate made several Decrees, whereby great Honours were allowed, but Moderation² prescribed to all, commanding them to have the same in Tables of Brass, and set them up in some publick Place in the Temples, to preserve a Memorial, and prevent their falling into vain and ridiculous Superstitions^o under pretence of Religion.

LXV. About

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Princes should religiously forbear violating the Rights of the Church, but when they degenerate, and are abused, they are obliged to apply necessary Remedies. *Theodorick*, King of *Italy*, commanded the Magistrates to protect the Church, and maintain it in its Rights, without prejudice to his Authority, *Salvâ Civilitate*, says *Cassiodore*. And it was in this Sense, that *Charles V.* coming to be Crown'd Emperor in *Italy*, answered the Pope's Legats that received him at *Genova*, That he would never Violate the Rights

and Privileges of the Church; but so as to support those of the Empire, without suffering the Church to change them. *Saavevra empresa* 94. *Don Juan Antonio de Vera dans l'Epitome de sa Vie*. The Immunity the Ecclesiasticks have is good to Privilege, but not exempt them from their Duty; it is to straiten the Circumference in which they are to live, and not to give them head, nor to suffer them to exceed those bounds of Modesty are requisite for their State.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

o if the *Genoueses* remember the miserable Condition their City was reduced to by the French Fleet 1684. they will trust no longer to *St. Bernard's* Letter, the Original whereof, they say, is kept yet in their Archives, in which the Saint promised never to forget them. *In æternum non obliviscar tui, plebs devota, honorabilis Gens, Civitas illustis*. *Epist. 129. ad Januenses*. They may make Solemn Vows, and Dedicate Churches to him to protect them against the Arms of *France*, but he will let their City be Bombarded, and their Republick destroyed if they keep not themselves within the Bounds of Respect and Modesty. In 1625. this Republick being in a War with the Duke of *Savoy*, they made a Vow to *St. Bernard*, to reckon him among their Patrons, to Celebrate his Festival for ever with a general Procession, to Build him a Chappel, and to give yearly Portions to Twelve poor Girls. *Don Jam Mabillon in Notis ad Epistolas D. Bernardi*. This good Saint, and all the rest in Paradise, says a Prelate, Conform themselves to God's Will, who gives Peace and War as pleases his Providence, and Laughs at the pretended Wisdom of Mortals. *Lettre Monsr. Mirquemon Archev. de Lion, du 5 May 1625. dans le 1. Tome des Memoires pour l'Histoire du Cardinal de Richelieu*.

p Men

LXV. About the same time, *Livia* falling dangerously ill, *Tiberius* hasten'd to *Rome*; there was yet a good Agreement betwixt the Mother and Son, or only Secret Hatred. A little before she had dedicated a Statue to *Augustus* near *Marcellus's Theatre*, and set *Tiberius* his Name after her own, which it was believed he resented as an Indignity to him¹, though he shewed it not. But when the Senate decreed Publick Prayers to the Gods, and the Plays, call'd *Magni*, to be exhibited, by the Chief Priests, the Augurs, the Fifteen together with the Seven, and those of the Fraternity of *Augustus*, call'd *Augustales*. *L. Apronius* propos'd the Heralds² to be Overseers; but *Tiberius* was against it, making a Difference in the Rights of the Priests, and producing Examples for it. And that therefore the *Augustales*⁴ were joyn'd with them, because a peculiar Priesthood

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. Majesty knows no Superior. Kings, as Kings have no Mothers, and consequently their Natural Mothers should pay them the same Regard as their Subjects do, whereof she is one. What *Margaret of Austria*, Queen of *Spain*, did at *Ferrara*, in her first Visit to *Clement VIII.* with her Mother the Arch-Duchess of *Gretz*, in giving the Arch-Duchess the Chair provided for her, and taking another Place her self, may be an Example of filial Piety, but was not an Action becoming Majesty. It may be also said, that on this Occasion she violated the Rules of good Breeding and Justice, when to honour her Mother, she was wanting

in that Respect was due to her Husband's Dignity. To recover which, *Clement* caused another Seat to be presently brought for the Queen, who could not sit in that of the Arch-Duchess, without injuring the Majesty of the King of *Spain*. *Gracian dans le 59. Discours de son Agudeza*. The Person of a Prince, says *Antonio Perez*, may have a Companion, but his Office cannot. And 'tis that the Ancients mean, when they say, *Jupiter* distributed to the other Gods, the White Wand, the Trident, and other marks of Sovereignty, but always reserv'd the Scepter and Thunder to himself. *Dans les Assemblées des secondes Lettres*.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

p *Nyma* first instituted this Order at *Rome*, consisting of Twenty Persons chose out of the ancientest Families in the City, and settled in a College. Their Office was properly to be the chief Arbitrators of all Controversies relating to War and Peace, nor was it Lawful to take up Arms till they had declar'd all Expedients for an Accommodation rejected.

q Who had no more Right, than the *Fœciales* to preside at the Publick Plays.

B b

r Besides

Priesthood of that House, for which the Prayers were made.

LXVI. It is not my Intention to relate here all Propositions, but only such as are memorable for their Honesty, or shameful for their Infamy. For I look upon the chief Part of an Historian to be, not to conceal Virtues, nor Vices. That therefore every one may be afraid of doing or speaking ill, lest they become Infamous with Posterity². But those times were so corrupted with base Flattery, that not only the best of the City were forced to keep their Reputation in that manner, but also the Consuls, most of the Prætors, and many pedary^{*} Senators, strove which should propound things most base and mean. 'Tis reported, *Tiberius* never went out of the Senate, but he said in Greek, *O how ready these Men are for Slavery!* so much did he abhor base and servile Submission, who could not bear Publick Liberty.

LXVII. From Dishonourable things they fell by degrees

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. Who can stop the Mouth of Posterity, and hinder their speaking of those, that make no other use of their Power than to commit Crimes with Impunity? Whatever Laws are made, ill Persons can never escape this Punishment; and if they gratifie themselves while they live, they have yet this Displeasure, to know, that the People will scan their Actions and curse them secretly; and that Writers will not spare them when they are Dead. See the End

of the late Discourse of the Satyr *Menippeæ*. A Satyr, says the Chancellor *Chiverni*, which is a Matter-piece and Monument to the Eternal Reproach of those who were the Authors of the League, and serves for an Example to such others to turn them from the like Enterprizes. *Dans ses Memoires*. As fear of Infamy creates an Aversion to Vice, so the Example of Virtue recounted in History, should excite us to imitate those have left them.

3. When

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^{*} Besides the proper Senators, any Magistrate might come into the House, while he was in Office, and those who had born any Curule Office. They were not allowed the Privilege of giving their Votes; yet they tacitly expressed their Mind by going over to those Senators whose Opinion they embraced, and on this account had the Name of *Senatores Pedarii*.

f This

greets to wicked Practices. *Mamercus Scaurus* that had been Consul, *Junius Orbo*, Prætor, and *Brutidius Niger*, the Edile, prosecuted *C. Silanus*, Pro-consul of *Asia*, accus'd for his Corruptions in the Provinces, Charging him with prophaning the Divinity of *Augustus*, and contemning the Majesty of *Tiberius*. *Mamercus* justified himself from ancient Presidents, alledging that *L. Cotta* had been accused by *Scipio Africanus*, *S. Galba*, by *Cato the Censor*, and *P. Rutilius*, by *M. Scaurus*. A very unlikely thing, *Scipio* and *Cato* should ever take such Revenges, or *Scaurus*, Great Grand-father to this *Mamercus*, who dishonour'd his Ancestors by so infamous an Action. *Junius Orbo*, who formerly taught School, and afterwards was made a Senator by *Sejanus*'s Interest, brought his obscurity beginning into Reproach by these Villanies¹. *Brutidius* was a Man well qualified, and if he had taken a right Course, might have come to Preferment; he was too impatient, which made him first endeavour to outgo his Equals, then his Superiors; and at last, even his own Hopes. Which hath been the ruine of many good Men, who have hastned to gain that before their time, which they might have had with a little Patience, and possessed with Security².

LXVIII. *Gellius*

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When Magistrates give themselves up to servile Flattery, they soon fall into Cruelty. Those Judges that seek to make their Fortune, are always ill Judges. It is for that Reason the Preacher saith, *Ask not of the King the Seat of Honour, and seek not to be made a Judge, lest thou be not able to take away Iniquity, and lest thou, fearing the Person of the Mighty, shouldst commit an Offence against thine own Uprightness*, Eccle. chap. 7.

1. Great Men have no worse Enemies than those that have raised themselves from a mean Birth to a share in Publick Affairs. It were odious and unnecessary to give Domestick

Examples of this Kind, every Man has a hundred before his Eyes. The Cause of this Hatred, according to *Tacitus*, is, *Quia minoribus majorum damni cura*, Hist. 4. Because these little People are naturally ill-disposed to them. But there is another Reason has a better Foundation, because few of them but have received some ill Usage from Great Men; or have been oppressed by them. So that scarce any of them rise without Resentments. A Man is an Enemy to the Law, because he lost a Trial, and the like Instances hold in other Cases.

2. A wise Spaniard says, He that will not obey another, takes the

D. b 2

w. a y

LXVIII. *Gallius Poplicola* and *M. Paconius*, one *Silanus's* Treasurer, the other his Lieutenant, encreased the number of Informers. There was no doubt he was guilty of Cruelty and Avarice, but many other things were accumulated, dangerous to the Innocent. For besides so many Senators that were his Enemies, he was to answer himself the most Eloquent of *Asia*, that were pick'd out to be his Accusers; he was ignorant in Pleading, and in dread of his Life, (which was enough to have confounded the ablest Person.) *Tiberius* refrained not pressing him with hard Expressions, and a severe Countenance, he ask'd many Questions, but gave him not Liberty to answer, or reply; he often confess'd, what he might have denied, that *Tiberius* might not seem to ask in vain. And his Slaves were sold, that so they might be examin'd upon the Rack. And he was also accus'd of Treason to make it

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

way not to command himself. The Means should be suitable to the Ends we propose. We would have Passive Obedience be taken for a Principle in us, when it is often only an impudent Pride. When a Man has once gain'd Honours, his manner of rising to them is forgot. Suffering much, to arrive afterwards to great Employments, is neither Meanness, nor want of Spirit, but Discretion. There are those can wait for nothing, which proceeds from their Excessive Ambition, for they will almost at the same time out-go their Equals, then their Superiors, and out-strip even their own Expectations. Push'd on by their natural Impetuosity, they neglect the surest means, as too slow, and embrace the shortest, though most hazardous. The same thing commonly happens to them as to Buildings erected in haste, without giving time to the Materials to settle, they fall down presently. Those Trees that upon the first warm Weather put out their Buds soon lose them, not staying till the Severities

of the Winter are past. He never reaps any Benefit from his Affairs that precipitates them, his Impatience makes them abortive, and serves only to hasten Danger. *Snaveadra empresa polit.* 34. In less than an Year *N. . . Naugot* was Master of Requests, First President of *Bourdeaux*, Secretary of War, and Keeper of the Seals; but as he understood little of this last Place, they were forced to restore the Seals to *Monfieur du Pair*, his Predecessor. The Duke of *Beaufort* lost his Credit with the Queen-Regent, for pretending too much to her Favour and Confidence in him. For not being satisfied to rest upon the Pretensions the Duke of *Vendosme* his Father had to the Government of *Britagne*, he supported those also of all the Great Men that suffer'd under *Richelieu's* Ministry, to make himself Creatures, and to give such clear Testimonies of his Power, that every one might ascribe to that whatsoever could satisfy his Ambition and Vanity. *Memoires de M. le Duc de L.R.*

3. When

it necessary for his Friends to be silent, and leave him. He desir'd a few days, then let fall his Defence, and had the Courage to send Letters to *Tiberius* mixed with Prayers and Complaints.

LXIX. *Tiberius* to justify the Proceeding against *Silanus*, caus'd the Records of *Augustus* against *Volesus Messala*, Pro-consul also of *Asia*, to be read, and a Decree of the Senate against him³. Then asked *L. Piso's* Judgment, who after a long Discourse of the Prince's Clemency, concluded he should be banish'd to the Island *Gyarus*. The rest agreed with him, only *Cn. Lentulus* thought it fit that the Goods of his Mother *Cornelia* (for he was by another Woman) should be separated from the rest, and given her Son, to which *Tiberius* consented. But *Cornelius Dolabella* to flatter more⁴, after he had blamed *Silanus's* Morals, added, That for the future, no Person of a Scandalous and Infamous Life, should draw Lots for the Government of the Provinces, and that the Prince should be Judge thereof. The

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

3. When Princes would do an hard thing they are used to seek for Examples to authorize, or at least excuse their Injustice. After *P. II. of Spain* had arrested *Don Carlos*, he sent his Officers to *Barcelona*, to take out of the Archives the Process against *Don Carlos*, Prince of *Viana*, Eldest Son of *John III. King of Arragon*, which he caus'd to be translated into Spanish, to be a Precedent to him in proceeding against his Son. *Cabrera, chap. 22. du Livre 7. de son Histoire.*

4. No Princes are so much commended for Clemency, as those have least of it. *Piso*, according to *Tacitus's* Character of him in his Sixth

Annals, was a very wise Man, and hated base Flattery, yet commended *Tiberius* for a Virtue he wanted, not to flatter him, but to make him in love with the Reputation of it, and thereby to make him more merciful. For this Prince knew very well, *Que fama clementiam sequatur. Ann. 4.*

1. This is one of those Counsels appear well, but under colour of encreasing the Prince's Power, in effect destroy it. *Dolabella* would have furnished *Tiberius* with a way to exclude from Government all that displeas'd him; but on the other side it expos'd him to the Hatred of most of the Great Men, if he expected it, Cardinal

HISTORICAL NOTES.

³ This was the same Man was for *Tiberius's* entering *Rome* in Triumph, which *Tiberius* expos'd in his Letter to the Senate, that it was not fit for him to accept a Triumph for taking the Air.

B b, 3

4 The

The Laws punish Crimes, but how much better were it for us to provide none shall be committed?

LXX. Against which *Tiberius* spoke. 'That he was not ignorant of the Reports of *Silanus*, but common Fame was not always to be believed. Many had behaved themselves otherwise in the Provinces, than we hop'd or fear'd. For some being employ'd in weighty Affairs, have been excited to better Behaviour, others became

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Richelieu speaking of the Selling of Offices, concludes it better to continue than suppress it, and give them freely. Though the Suppression of selling Offices, says he, is most agreeable to Reason and the Laws, yet there are such inevitable Abuses in the Distinction of them, when they are at a Prince's Pleasure, as make the Selling tolerable, for then the Artifices at Court go farther than Reason in the Disposing of them, and Favour beyond Merit. And a little after he says, A Suppression would be so far from serving Virtue, it would promote Cabals and Factions, and fill the Places with Men of mean Birth. The Weakness of the Age is such, that we sooner yield to Imporunity, than are led by Reason, and instead of being guided by Justice, are commonly carried away with Favour. From what is past we ought to fear the future, because we have always seen, that those in greatest Favour, have always carried it against Virtue. And since Princes and those they trust cannot know the Merit of Persons, but by the Judgment of others, they often mistake the Shadow for the Body. *Sect. 1. du c. 4. de la premiere Partie du Testament Politique.* Formerly the Popes pre-constituted those they design'd to make Cardinals, to have time to learn Peoples Opinion of them, before they proceeded to their Promotion; but the Malice of Men that used a thousand Artifices and Lies to exclude those they hated, was the Reason this was abolish'd.

2. I have often thought, says *Amirato*, from whence it comes that some Men behave themselves better in Business, others worse than was look'd for. For Example, *Vespasian* was better and more Moderate, after he was Emperor; when on the contrary, 'tis said, *Galba* would have always been thought worthy of it, if he had not Reign'd. *Pius IV.* who may be compar'd to the first, exceeded all was expected from him; when *Clement VII.* whom every one thought fit to be Pope, exceeded no better than *Galba*. To seek this Difficulty, we will use a Comparison. There are two Vessels, one small and full, the other large and almost empty; The full Vessel is like a Man in an Employment suitable to his Abilities; Those who see him carry himself so well in it, conclude he would do the like in a Greater, not taking notice, that his Vessel is as full as it can hold, and if more be put in, it will run over. So *Galba*, while a Private Man, seem'd much greater than he was. The large Vessels, almost Empty, or at least not Full, are the Men of great Capacity, who having neither Estates nor Employments suitable to their Merit, are not much esteem'd, whether it is that they use not all their Diligence or Exactness in what they do, or not being proportionate, we cannot judge what may be expected from them. But when their Condition is such as to fill their Vessel, they shew, contrary to common Expectation, that greatness of Soul and sublimeness of

Amirato,

became more sloathful. That a Prince could not foresee all things; Neither was it Expedient he should be led away by the Ambition of others. That Laws were made against Facts, because future things are uncertain. So was it ordain'd by our Ancestors, That Punishments should follow Offences. Therefore they were not to alter what was so wisely Decreed. That Princes had Charge sufficient, and Power enough; That as their Power encreas'd, the Laws grew weak, and Absolute Power was not to be used, where the Laws would do. This Answer was the better received, because *Tiberius* was seldom Popular. And as he was Wise in moderating things (unless transported with Passion) he said, The Island *Gyarus* was Barbarous and Uninhabited, and was

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

nus, that their lower Fortune buried. *Vespasian* taking not all the Care he should to have cleansed the Streets, *Caligula* order'd the Skirt of his Gown to be fill'd with Dirt and Filth, and in *Nero's* Reign, he had like to have lost his Life for sleeping while *Nero* play'd. Which is not to be wonder'd at, considering he was not born for these Trifles, and that to fill his Vessel he wanted the Government of the World, which he afterwards held. *Discours onzieme du livre 3. de son Commentaire sur Tacite.* The Father of *William Duke of Mantua*, would have had him a Priest, because he was little and Crooked, judging of his Soul by his Body; but he would not, and when he was Duke he shew'd by his Acquisition of *Molferrat*, and some other Places, that a Great Soul may be lodg'd in a little Body. To conclude, how many excellent Men are without being known, who would have been admir'd, if employ'd? How could *Armand d'Orleans* have shew'd his Abilities, if *Henry IV.* of France had not made him his Procurator, to sollicite his Absolution at Rome?

3. What judicious Princes have done, cannot reasonably be changed, unless Experience shews some Inconvenience; and 'tis plainly seen the same may be mended. *Sect. 1. du chap. 4. la premiere Partie du Testament Politique.*

4. There is no greater Charge than doing Justice, if a Prince would be a perfect Sovereign. Sovereignty, says *Antonio Perez*, is a Charge, and consequently the Actions of him who exercises it, depend not on his own Will; but on the Rules and Conditions the People have requir'd and he accepted. And if a Prince observes them not, because they are only Humane Contracts; yet he cannot depart from those the Laws of God and Nature have precrib'd, which are Superior to Kings, as well as Peasants. *Dans les Assemblies de Relations.* And in another place he says, That Kings Crowns are made Circular, as an Emblem of the Bounds of Humane Power. *Erasmus* the Catholick said, The surest way to keep a Throne, was to ballance the Interests of the Kingdom and People.

5. There

was for their shewing so much Favour to one of the *Ju-
lian Family*, and that had been of their own Body, as to
send him rather to *Cythera*; Which *Torquata*, *Silanus's* Si-
ster, a Lady of eminent Virtue, desir'd, and all conde-
scended to.

LXXI. Afterwards the *Cyrenians* were heard, and *Ca-
sius Cordus*, upon the Accusation of *Ancarius Priscus*, was
condemn'd for Corruption. *L. Ennius*, a Roman Gen-
tleman, was accus'd of Treason for converting the Prince's
Statue into common uses in Plate, *Tiberius* acquitted him,
yet *Ateius Capito* openly complain'd, and with great Li-
berty said, 'That the Determining such a Matter ought
'not to be taken from the Senate, nor so heinous a Crime
'go unpunish'd; That the Emperor might be as merci-
'ful as he pleas'd, in punishing Offences committed a-
'gainst himself, yet ought not to pardon those against
'the Common-Wealth'. *Tiberius* understood these
things rather in the sense they were intended, than as
they were spoken, and persisted in acquitting *Ennius*. This
was the more Dishonourable in *Capito*, that he who was
so learned in Humane and Divine Laws, should so ble-
mish himself the Publick and the good Qualities that
were so Eminent in him'.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. There is no Flattery more agree-
able, nor more refin'd, than what
pretends to Correction or Liberty,
for that catches Men, and especially
Princes, by their weak side, Self-love.
Plutarch says, this pretended Liberty
is like Blows from Ladies, which in-
stead of hurting, irritate and pro-
voke to Pleasure. Princes have com-
mon Flatteries so continually in their
Ears, that they would be wearied
with them, if this Court-Food was
not dress'd different ways, which re-

covers the Appetite their Favourites
are concerned should not be cloy'd.

1. Ill Men, says *Commines*, are the
worst for their Knowledge, but it
mends those that are well dispos'd.
Gentlemen of the Long Robe, are
very requisite for Princes when ho-
nest; but if otherwise, they are very
dangerous. *Livre 2. Chap. 6. &
Livre 5. Chap. dernière.* Pope *Ni-
cholas III.* was used to say, Know-
ledge without Honesty, was Poison
without Remedy. *Pagli. Observ. 411.*

HISTORICAL NOTES.

* The Latin is, *egregium publicum*, *Emmanuel Suegro* renders it *la reputa-
cion de la Republica*; *Don Carlos Coloma*, *la reputacion publica*; *Adriano Po-
liti*, *la reputacione publica*; *M. de Charvallon*, *l'Etat*; *Rodolphus* with this
Paraphrase;

LXXII. Then a Question arose, in what Temple the
Offering should be placed, which the Roman Knights
had Vowed to *Fortuna Equestris*, for *Augusta's* Recovery;
For tho' that Goddess had many Temples in the City,
none bore that Name x. There was one found so called
at *Antium*, and all the Rites in the Cities of *Italy*, the
Temples and Images of the God's being subject to the
Roman Empire, they appointed it should be placed at
Antium. And this matter being in Debate, *Tiberius* takes
occasion to give his Opinion, which he had deferr'd, a-
bout *Servius Maluginensis*, Priest of *Jupiter*. He pro-
duced, and read a Decree of the Pontiffs. 'That when
'the *Flamen*, *Dial*, or Priest of *Jupiter* fell into any sick-
'ness, he might with the High Priest's Permission, be
'absent from *Rome* two days, provided it was not on the
† Days of Sacrifice 2, nor more than twice in a year!
Which

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

2. It is melancholly thing to con-
sider, that Pagans should make their
false Priests so strictly keep Resi-
dence, and that the frequent Injun-
ctions and Laws are not sufficient to
do the like among Christians. A
Priest of *Jupiter* could not be absent
from *Rome* above two days, and those
when he had no Religious Duty to
perform. Now it is too common to
see Bishops and Clergymen whole

years absent from their Diocesses and
Cures, and are little known but by
their receiving Rents and Tithes.
What would *S. Bernard* say, who so
passionately desired to see the Church
of God in the same Condition as in
the Apostle's time, when *laxabant
retia in capturam*, says he to Pope
Eugenius, *non in capturam auri vel
argenti sed in capturam animarum.*
Epist. 237. However, says *Lewis XIII.*
of

HISTORICAL NOTES.

Paraphrase, That *Capito* had tarnished the Lustre of his publick Actions and
Domestick Virtues. A Sense which appears very reasonable, considering this
Senator had been Consul, and consequently a Publick Magistrate. *Tacitus*
had perhaps a mind to speak of his different States of Life.

* *Livy* in his 42th Book says the contrary, mentioning, That *Q. Fulvius
Flaccus*, when Praetor in Spain, vowed a Temple to *Fortuna Equestris*, which
he built after at *Rome*, when *Livius Posthumus Albinus* and *Marcus Popilius
Lenus* were Consuls, and he Censor: But this Temple being never dedicated,
whether by reason of *Fulvius* his Death, who died the year after he was
Censor, or because this Building was not then finished, 'tis probable *Tacitus*
therefore said, there was no Temple of that Name in *Rome*, for the Name
was not given but at the Ceremony of Dedication.

y The

Which being ordained in *Augustus's* time, sufficiently shewed they could not be absent a whole year, nor consequently govern Provinces. He remembered likewise the Example of *L. Metellus* the High-Priest, who kept *Aulus Posthumius*, *Jupiter's* Priest in the City. And therefore *Asia* came to his share, who was next among the Consuls to *Maluginensis*.

LXXIII. Then *Lepidus* desired leave of the Senate to Repair and Beautifie at his own Charge, *Paulus Emilius's* Basilica ^y, the Monument of that Family. For at that time, particular Men endeavoured to shew their Magnificence by publick Buildings, and *Augustus* forbid ^z not

Taurus,

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

of *France*, in a Circular Letter that he writ to the Clergy about Residence, there is not one can be ignorant that the Canons of the Church, (which King's are to see observed) and the Laws do oblige to an actual Residence, (upon which chiefly depends good Order and Discipline in their Diocesses. *Tome 5. des Memoires du Cardinal Richlieu.* Bishopricks, says Cardinal d'Ossat, are the greatest and most important Charges of the Church, which cannot be well administered without the Presence and Residence of Prelates, especially in so disorderly a time as this is, for a Bishop has enough to do to discharge it well when he is present; however careful, diligent and zealous he is. *Lettre 328.* What *Denis de Marquemont*, Archbishop of *Lyons*, writ to Cardinal *Richlieu* to be recalled into *France*, is stronger and more affect-

ing. ' *Rome*, says he, which was formerly my *Eden* and Delight, is become so insupportable in this my last Voyage, that I have no Heart, nor Health, nor Desire to stay there longer. 'Tis not fit for an Archbishop of *Lyons*, and an old Man, to pass his time in Anti-Chambers. I forbear mentioning what is most considerable, the Reproaches of my Conscience, and those Comforts I am deprived of, and continually thirst after, which I have had the Experience of in the Exercise of the Duties of my Function. *Dans les Memoires du Ministre du Cardinal de Richlieu.* Don *Francisco Sarmiento*, Bishop of *Jaen*, refused the Office of President of *Castille*, which *Philip II.* pressed him to take, telling him he could not in Conscience do it, since he believed Residence of Divine Right.

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^y The Basilicæ were very spacious and beautiful Edifices, designed not only for the Senate to sit in, but for the Judges to, in Decision of all sorts of Causes, and for the Lawyers to receive their Clients.

^z *Statilus Taurus* built an Amphitheatre, *Philippus* the Temple of *Her-culer*, surnamed of the Muses, and *Balbus*, a Theater. *Taurus* and *Balbus*, who had both made their Fortune in the Wars, laid out only the Spoils they took from the Enemies, but *Philippus* built out of his own Estate.

a So

Taurus, *Philippus*, and *Balbus*, bestowing the Spoils they had taken from the Enemy, or their great Riches, for the Ornament of the City and Glory of Posterity. In imitation of which Examples, tho' *Lepidus* was not very rich, yet would he revive the Honour of his Ancestors. *Pompey's Theatre*, that was accidentally burnt, the Emperor promised to rebuild at his own Charges, there being none of that Family left able to do it, and that it should still retain *Pompey's* Name ³. On this Occasion he much commended *Sejanus*, to whose Vigilance he imputed it, that the Fire did no more mischief; and the Senate Decreed, *Sejanus's* Statue should be erected in the Theatre.

LXXIV. A little after, when *Tiberius* honoured *Junius Blæsus*, Proconsul of *Africa*, with a Triumph, he said, he did it in regard to *Sejanus*, whose Uncle he was; yet *Blæsus* had deserved those Honours. For *Tacfarinas*, tho' routed several times, rallied his Troops together in the middle of *Africk*, and had the Insolence to send Ambassadors to *Tiberius*, to require a Country for himself and his Army, or else threatened perpetual War. 'Tis said, *Tiberius* was never in greater Passion for any Affront to him or People of *Rome*, than to have a Traitor and Robber deal with him like a just Enemy ¹. *Spartacus*, after

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

³ An extraordinary Example of Modesty, that is followed by few or no Princes, or great Men, who often take the Honor of that to themselves that has cost them nothing. In Innocent X's time; *S. Peter's Church* in *Rome* was called *S. Peter's Dove-Coat*, to expose the ridiculous vanity of this Pope, that set up his Arms there in a thousand Places. *Eutropius*, said *Constantine*, called the Emperor *Hadrian*, *The Pelitory of the Wall*, because his Name was writ every where. This Vanity is now very common: 'Tis seen upon the Walls, upon the Glass, upon the Hangings, and even upon

the Altars. I speak not of Kings, Princes, or other great Men, but Upstarts and Citizens, whose Arms we meet with every where.

¹ A Prince should never admit his Rebel Subject to treat with him; for besides, that it is an Example of dangerous consequence, 'tis in some measure making a Subject his equal, or independent. *Robert de la Marek*, says Don *Juan Antonio de Vera*, came a third time into *Germany*, from whence he was driven by the Emperor's Captains, for *Charles V.* would never march in Person against this Rebel, who deserved only Contempt.

40

after he had with Impunity harrassed *Italy*, defeated so many Consular Armies, and burnt so many Towns, was never Capitulated with, tho' the Commonwealth was then weakned with the Wars of *Sertorius* and *Mithridates*, and when the City is in a flourishing Condition shall she make Peace with *Tacfarinas*, a Robber, and give him Lands? He committed this matter to *Blæsus*, with order to promise Pardon to those would lay down their Arms, and to take their Captain what Rate soever he cost him.

LXXV. Most of his Men accepted Pardon, and made War upon him in the like manner as he had done upon others. For as he wanted strength, and understood pil-laging better than they, he commonly divided his Army into several Parts, would fly when attacked, and draw the Romans into Ambuscades, if they pursued. Their Army was divided into three Parts, one of which was commanded by *Cornelius Scipio*, *Blæsus*'s Lieutenant, who was to march where *Tacfarinas* wasted the *Leptins*, and the Retreats of the *Garamantes*. *Blæsus*'s Son led another Body to keep the *Cirtensians* from joyning him. The General marched in the middle, erecting Castles and Fortresses in fitting Places, which brought the Enemy into great Streights. For which way soever he went, he found the Roman Forces in his Front, on his Flanks, or his Rear, and so had many killed, or taken. Afterwards *Blæsus* divided these three Bodies into several Parties, the Command of which he gave to Captains of Experienced Courage. And when Summer was over, he drew not his Men out of the Field, and sent them into Winter.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

remembring what *Herodotus* writ of the Slaves of *Scythia*, that had taken Arms against their Masters, and made Head against them in the Field, being proud of the regard had to them in going against them as just Enemies; but when their Masters laid down

their Arms, and took Scourges and Rods to meet them, these Wretches submitted, when they saw the Contempt their Masters had for them. Dans l'Építome de la Vie de Charles Quint.

Winter-quarters in *Old Africa*^a, as was usual, but as if it had been the beginning of War, having built new Ports, he followed *Tacfarinas* with light Horsemen, that were well acquainted with those Desarts, who daily changed his Quarters^b, till his Brother was taken, then retired with more speed than was for the quiet of the Country, leaving those behind him might revive the War. But *Tiberius* concluding it ended, allowed *Blæsus* the Honour to be saluted *Emperor* by the Legions. An ancient Honour victorious Armies formerly gave their Generals, upon the first transports of their Joy. And had sometimes several Emperors together, all of equal Dignity. *Augustus* granted some of his Captains this Honour, and *Tiberius* at last to *Blæsus*.

LXXVI. This year two great Men died, *Asinius Sabinus*, Nephew to *M. Agrippa* and *Pollio Asinius*, and Brother to *Drusus*^c, designed to have been Married to one of *Germanicus*'s Daughters; and *Capito Ateius*, who was mentioned before, and had raised himself by his Studies to the highest Dignity in the City, but his Grandfather *Sullanus* was only a Centurion, and his Father Pretor *Augustus* hastened him the Consulship, that by the Dignity of that Office, he might be preferr'd before *Labo Antistius*¹, who was not inferiour to him. For that Age

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

1. 'Tis very usual for Princes to advance one Man thereby to lessen another of greater Merit, they hate. For this Reason, *Philip II.* of Spain preferr'd almost in every thing, the Prince d'*Eboli* before the Duke d'*Alva*. At the beginning of the Regency of the late Queen Mother of France, Cardinal *Mazarine*, continued the Seals to the Chancellor *Segnier*, who was hated both by him and the Regent, that he might have a Man of Wit and Quickness to oppose to *M. de Châteauneuf* that pretended to them,

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^a So they called at Rome, that part of the Province the Romans gained from the *Carthaginians*.

^b The Latin calls them *Mapalia*, poor little Huts.

^c He was the Son of *Vipsania*, *Agrippa*'s Daughter, *Tiberius*'s first Wife, and *Drusus*'s Mother. ^d This

Age had these two great Ornaments of Peace together, but *Labeo* was most esteemed by reason of his Freedom of Speech^d; and *Capito's* Complaisance was more acceptable to the Princes. One was much valued, because of the Injury done him in that he was not advanced higher than a Prætor^e, and the other envied because he was made Consul^f.

LXXVII. And

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

them, and to the Dutcheſs of *Chevreuse*, who laboured all she could to have brought her Adorer and Martyr into the Ministry. So the Regent called *M. de Chasteauneuf*. *Memoires de M. de Chaste.*

2. How good soever Princes are, they never love those who want Complaisance. Majesty is so used to Respect, that whatever favours of Freedom is insupportable. There are few Princes like *Stephen de Bator*, King of Poland, who gave the rich Palatinate of *Sandomir* to *Stanislas Pekoſſowski*, who when he was Deputy from that Province to the Diet, always opposed him. *Pekoſſowski*, said *Stephen*, when he named him to the Palatinate, *Is a very bad Deputy, but very good Soldier*. A memorable Example (says the Bishop of *Premis*) of Generosity and Moderation, and the more Commendable, because this Prince valued his Merit, when he had cause to hate his Person. *Piaſſetti dans sa Chronique*. What Pope *Julius III.* did in favour of *Braccio Martelli*, whom he removed from the poor Bishoprick of *Fiesole* to the rich Church of *Leccia*, though he had always stiffly opposed the Authority

of the Legats in the Council of *Trent*, where *Julius* had presided in that Capacity, is one of the noblest Examples of the last Age. *Le Cardinal Pallavicini ch. 1. du 13. Livre de son Histoire du Concile de Trent.* *Scipio Ammirato* says, That this Prelate's good Life made the Clergy of *Leccia*, who lived very dissolutely when he came to the Diocese, so regular and virtuous, that the strictest Observers were satisfied with them. *Disc. 9. du livre 3. de son Commentaire sur Tacite.*

3. When a great Man's Merit is generally known, the refusing him those Employments and Honours he deserves, recommends him to Posterity. And while he lives, the publick Compassion recompences the wrong done him. And it is a Glory to him to have it asked, Why he is not a Marshal, or a Governor of a Province, because it is an Argument he is worthy of them. *Cicero* asks with Admiration, Why *St. Thomas Aquinas* was not Created Cardinal as well as *St. Bonaventure*, whom he equalled both in Learning and Sanctity. And I may likewise ask, says a Modern Writer, Why *St.*

Ber-

HISTORICAL NOTES.

^d This was he, that giving his Vote for *Lepidus* to be Senator, answered *Augustus*, who asked him, If he knew no Man sifter, that every one had his Opinion. Upon which, *Augustus* being so incensed, as to threaten his Life, *Labeo*, without changing his Countenance, or Courage, replied, That he thought he made a good Choice, when he was for one whom *Augustus* continued in the Dignity of High-Priest.

LXXVII. And *Junia* died in the 64th year after the *Philippensian* War. She was *Cato's* Neice, *C. Cassius's* Wife, and *M. Brutus's* Sister. Her Will was much discourſed of^e, because when she had honourably named all the great Persons, and left them Legacies, she omitted *Tiberius*, which

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

Bernard was not a Cardinal as well as so many other Religious, his Disciples: But 'tis believed his Book *De Consideratione ad Eugenium Papam*, boldly writ, and his Remonstrances to many Cardinals, whose Behaviour he could not bear, were the Reasons Pope *Eugenius* his Disciple made him not a Cardinal. *Traite de l'Origine des Cardinaux, chap. 6.* Nothing exposes a Courtier to more Envy, than to be called too soon to Employments, to the excluding others of higher Birth and Merit from them. The Promotion of *Barteleme de Cavanſa*, a Dominican, to the Archbishoprick of *Toledo*, created him as many Enemies and Persecutors as there were Prelates in Spain. *Don Hernando de Valdez*, Archbishop of *Seville*, and Inquisitor General, who expected this Primacy of *Toledo*, accused him for not being Orthodox, and many Religious of the same Order, Councillors of the Holy Office, joined with this Grand Inquisitor; so that this poor Prelate, the first Archbishop of Spain, was to be a Sacrifice to Calumny; when if *Phillip II.* had led him by degrees to this eminent Dignity, no one had taken notice of his Elevation and his Prince's Favour. *Cabrera ch. 10. du liv. 4. de son Histoire.* *Don Barteleme* was 17 years in the Prisons of the Inquisition, 7 at *Madrid*, and 10 at *Rome*, where he died in 1576.

4. There is always much discourſe of great Person's last Wills, which are the most faithful Mirrors of their Sense and Manners. *Testamenta hominum Speculum morum*, says *Pliny Junior*. While they live, you commonly know not their Hearts, they so disguise themselves, but when

they die, their Testaments clear all Doubts, and undeceive many that thought they had the best share in their Esteem and Affection. What *Philip II.* of Spain did in 1580. at *Badajoz*, when he thought he should die, discovered to Queen *Anne*, who expected the Regence, that she had a Husband of *Tiberius's* Opinion, not to trust Women with Power. The sincerity of a Man when he makes his Will, appears fully, Cardinal *Richlieu's* Testament Politick to *Lewis 13.* There you see the King's Picture drawn to the Life, there you have all the good Counsel an able Minister can give his Prince, exquisite Policy, great Thoughts, bold Truths, a Masculine Eloquence, and admirable Wit: But Self Love, which, according to the old saying, is the last Shirt a Wise Man puts off, has made him commit an Error, in speaking too much of his Services, particularly in the first Chapter of the first Part, which is more to his own Commendation than his Master's. For the rest, as to his manner of Drawing *Lewis XIII.* as a Prince and Magistrate, there is cause to say, *A Testament discovers many Thoughts the Testator doest not divulge in his Life time.* *Ch. 7. de la premier Partie.*

5. Those that are Born Republicans find it very difficult to quit the Love of Liberty, witness *Junia*, who after 64 years living under *Augustus* and *Tiberius*, preserved always the same Sentiments, in which her Uncle, Brother and Husband died. So her Will could not fail being Republican as well as her Family, which had been for many Ages the Bull-wark and Palladium of Liberty.

6. There

which he took not ill⁶, neither hindred the Solemnizing her Funerals in an Oration to the People, and other Ceremonies⁷. The Images of Twenty Noble Houses were carried before her Body, among which were those of the *Mantii*, *Quincti*, and others of their Rank. But *Cassius* and *Brutus* were the more remembred, because their Images⁸ were not seen there.

POLITICK REFLECTIONS.

6. There are some things that are not only more seemly, but more expedient for a Prince to dissemble, than resent. *Tiberius* could not shew himself displeased with *Junia's* Will, without disoblising all the great Persons she had named in it, so that they would have Cause to think he would take away the Freedom of Testaments. Besides, *Junia* seemed to have a good Opinion of his Moderation and Justice, when she made the greatest Persons in *Rome* her Heirs, without fearing the excluding him would overthrow her Will.

7. It is Generous to Honour Virtue in our greatest Enemies. *Radolph* Duke of *Suabia*, whom Pope *Gregory VII.* made Emperor in the room of *Henry IV.* that was Excommunicated and Deposed, being Buried at *Mersbourg*, like an Emperor, the Saxons would have taken a Plate of Brass from his Monument, on which was his Arms, with the Imperial Crown, and other Marks of Sovereignty, to avoid *Henry IV's* Resentment, who had gained two Battels against the Rebels; but he forbid them, saying, He wished all his Enemies as honourably Buried. *Heiss.* dans son Histoire de l'Empire, Vie d'*Henry IV.* The Duke de *Sesse*, Viceroy of *Naples*, under *Philip II.* of *Spain*, caused a stately Mausoleum to be erected to the famous Captain, *Pedro Navarro*, tho' he took part with *Francis I.* of *France* against his Sovereign *Charles V.* and Died at *Nu-*

ples by the Hand of Justice. *Quamvis Gallorum partes secutum*, saysthe Epitaph, *pro sepulcri munere honestavit, cum hoc habent in se preclara virtus, ut etiam in hoste sit admirabilis.* This Duke, says *De Maurier*, paid Respect to Virtue in an Enemy, and a Rebel, and not content to Esteem him in his Heart, he raised him a Mausoleum. Dans la Preface de ses Memoires de Hollande. *Philip II.* of *Spain*, after he cut off *Don Juan de la Nuca's* Head, who took up Arms in the Defence of the Priviledges of *Aragon*, ordered his Body to be carried to the Burial Place of his Ancestors by ten Noble Persons to pay Respect to his Worth, whose Person he had punished. *Ch. 10. des dits & des faits de Philippe II.*

8. The Glory of Great Persons depends not on the Humour nor Ill Will of Princes. They are grossly mistaken, that think that the Suppression of their Images, or Praises can bury their Memory in Eternal Oblivion. Princes can make Men hold their Tongues, but cannot make them forget the good Actions of those have deserved Universal Applause. The Complaisance, every Man has for his Prince, suspends for a time Commendation and Honours that are due to them, but when he is Dead, Liberty succeeds Restraint, and revenges upon the Memory of the Oppressor, the Injustice done to those that are oppressed.

T H E

Life of AGRICOLA.

By JOHN POTENGER, Esq;

I. IT has been usual heretofore to transmit the Deeds, and Manners of famous Men to Posterity, neither is it omitted in our Times, tho' the Age is very careless of its own Transactions, as often as any great, and noble Virtue proves so transcendent as to baffle Envy, and prevent Ignorance, Vices equally common to great, and little Cities. But as our Predecessors were apparently more prone to Actions, worthy to be recorded, so every celebrated Wit was induced, by the meer Reward of doing well, to an impartial Publication of their Virtues: Nay, many have thought fit to be their own Historians, not through Arrogance, but a just Assurance of their good Behaviour. Neither is it any Discredit, or Objection to the Memoirs of *Rutilius*, or *Scaurus*, that they were written by their own Hands; so highly is

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Virtue

The End of the First Volume.

Virtue esteemed, when frequently practised : But I, who am about to write the Life of a dead Man, have need of Pardon, which I should not crave, were I not to write in Times so malignant towards the Virtuous.

II. We have read of *Arulenus Rusticus*, and *Herennius Seneca* made Capital Offenders; the one for praising *Priscus Helvidius*, the other, for commending *Petius Thrasea*; nay, the Books as well as the Authors were executed: A Triumvirate being appointed to burn those Monuments of famous Men, in the Publick Assembly, and in the open Market, believing by their Flames, the Peoples Freedom of Speech, the Liberty of the Senate, and the good Conscience of Mankind would be destroyed. And by the Expulsion of Wise Men, and the Banishment of honest Arts, Goodness itself would be extirpated. We have given ample Proofs of our Patience; for, as the former Age saw the End of Liberty, so we have the Extremity of Servitude, being deprived, by frequent Inquisitions, of the Commerce of the Ear, and Tongue; so that we had lost our Memory with our Voice, could we as easily forget, as be silent.

III. Now at last our Spirits are revived: But if in the beginning of this blessed Age, *Nerva Caesar* has reconciled two former Opposites, Liberty and Sovereignty; and *Caesar Trajan* daily increases our Happiness under Kingly Government; so that we have not only fair Hopes, and a longing Desire, but

but a strong Assurance of the Publick Safety: Yet, such is the Infirmary of Human Nature, Remedies work slower than the Disease. And as our Bodies, that grow by degrees, quickly perish; so it is easier to suppress, than restore Wit, and Learning, there being a kind of Charm in Idleness that makes Sloth, which was at first troublesome, turn to Delight. What, if for fifteen Years, a large Space of Human Life, many have fallen by Accident, but the more Eminent by the Cruelty of the Prince? Yet some of us have not only survived our Contemporaries, but, if I may so speak, our selves, so many Years being subtracted from the middle part of our Age; in which, if young, we grow old, if old, we're passing in silence to the last Period of our Lives. But I shall, without Regret endeavour, tho' in a rude Style, to relate our past Misery, and our present Happiness. And I hope this Account, being dedicated to the Memory of my Father-in-Law, *Agricola*, will, for its Piety, merit Pardon, if not Praise.

IV. *Cnaeus Julius Agricola* was born in the Ancient and Famous Colony of *Forum Julium*: Both his Grandfathers were Procurators to their Prince: the noble Employ of a Roman Knight. His Father *Julius Gracinus* was a Senator eminent for Wisdom, and Eloquence; good Qualities that provoked the Rage of *Caius Caesar*, who put him to death, for refusing to implead *Marcus Silanus*. He, being bred up under the Wing of a tender Mother, *Julia Procilla*, a Woman of a singular Cha-

4 *The LIFE of AGRICOLA.*

Chastity, pass'd his Minority in acquiring Virtues suitable to his Age. He was not only guarded from the Allurements of the Vicious by a natural Probity, but by having, in his tender Years, *Masilia* the Seat, and Mistress of his Studies; a Place that had exactly temper'd a Provincial Parsimony, with a *Græcian* Affability. I well remember, he frequently would relate how eagerly he was bent in his Youth, on the Study of Philosophy, and the Law; more then was allowed a *Roman* Senator. But his Mother's Prudence corrected this irregular Heat. His high Spirit made him more vehement, than cautious in the Pursuit of Glory, and Renown: But Age and Experience made him more temperate; but, what was most difficult, he continued to bound his Desires with Discretion.

V. He made his first Campaign with great Approbation under *Suetonius Paulinus* in *Britain*, a diligent, and good-natur'd General, who did him the Honour to choose him for his Comrade. *Agricola* did not, like other Gallants, make War the Business of Love, and Courtship: He was not addicted to Rambling, and Pleasure, so as to have the Title, without the Skill of a Tribune; but spent his time in discovering the Country, in making himself known to the Army, and being informed by the Skilful; still following the Brave; never attempting any thing out of Ostentation, or declining any Attempt for Fear. Never were Affairs in *Britain* more desperate: Our old Souldiers

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The LIFE of AGRICOLA. 5

slain, our Colonies burnt, our Army intercepted; and we forced first to fight for Safety, and then for Victory. These Exploits, by which the Province was recover'd, tho' acted by the Advice, or Conduct of another, were the General's Glory; and made our young Souldier more emulous, as well as more experienced, his Soul being fired with an Ambition of Military Fame, which was very disagreeable to those Times; in which, to be Eminent was to be suspected; a great Name, and an ill one being equally dangerous.

VI. He went hence to *Rome* to commence a Magistrate; and married *Domitia Decidiana*, a Lady of a Noble Family, which Match was not only a Credit, but an Advantage to his Rise: They mightily agreed, and lov'd; mutually preferring each other; a Point of no great Consequence, only a good Wife is as great an Ornament, as a bad one is a blemish to her Husband. 'Twas his Lot, as Questor, to have *Asia* his Province, and *Salvius Titianus*, Pro-Consul, but he was corrupted by neither; tho' a greedy Pro-Consul, and a wealthy Province, a fit Prey for the Avaricious, might easily have made way for a mutual Connivance. Here his Family, to his great Support and Comfort, was recruited with a Daughter, having lost his Son a little before. The time between his being Questor, and Tribune of the People, nay, the Year of his Tribuneship, he pass'd in Ease, and Quietness; well understanding the Temper of *Nero's* Court, where, to

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do nothing was Policy; the same was the Course, and Silence of his Pretorship: He executed no Judicial Office; he managed Plays, and other pompous Vanities, by a Temper of Reason, and Liberality; the farther from Excess, the nearer to Credit. He was appointed by *Galba* to Revise the Gifts, and Riches of the Temples; who by a diligent Scrutiny preserv'd the Commonwealth from being sacrilegiously pillaged by any but *Nero*.

VII. The next Year severely wounded him, and his Family: *Otho's* Fleet, loosely roving along the Coasts, wasted *Intemelium*, a part of *Liguria*, and killed his Mother at her Farm, which they spoiled, and plunder'd of its Wealth; the occasion of her Murder: Going to perform his last Act of Piety, *Agricola* was acquainted, by an Express, that *Vespasian* pretended to the Empire, with whom he immediately sided. At first *Mutianus* was at the Head of Affairs, and governed the City, *Domitian* being very young, and making no use of his being the Son of an Emperor, but to live licentiously; *Mutianus* sent *Agricola* to take *Musters*, which he did with Integrity, and Courage. And, understanding that their present Lieutenant behaved himself seditiously, he gave him the Command of the Twentieth Legion, which was hardly brought to take an Oath to *Vespasian*. A Legion formidable, and too much for the Lieutenant-Generals, but wholly ungovernable by their own: Tho' 'twas a Question, whether

ther he was too weak, or they too stubborn. *Agricola* was elected for his Successor and Revenger; but he, with rare Moderation, wou'd rather seem to find than make them good.

VIII. At this time *Vestius Bolanus* was Lieutenant of *Britain*, who was of too mild a Disposition for so fierce a People. *Agricola* check'd the Ardor of his aspiring Spirit, fearing it should increase, for he had learned perfect Obedience, and to act honestly to his Advantage. In a little time *Petilius Cerialis* was Lieutenant-General here: Now he had Space and Opportunity, to give frequent Proofs of his Courage and Conduct. *Cerialis* first made him Share of his Toyl, and Danger, then of his Glory. Oftentimes, for an Experiment, letting him Command a small Party, and, as he came off, a greater, *Agricola* never boasted of his Performance, but ascribed all the Honour of the Action to his Superior Officer. Thus by a vertuous Submission, and a Modesty in speaking of himself, he lived without Envy, but not without Praise.

IX. Returning from being Lieutenant of the Legion, *Vespasian* made him a Patrician; and with the Hopes of being Consul, which was design'd him, gave him the Government of *Acquitane*, a Command of the first Rank and Dignity. It has been the Opinion of many, that Military Wits are not so refined, and polished, Martial Proceedings being more coarse, and blunt; rather the

Work of the Hand, than Head; not using the Acuteness, and Subtility of Civil Courts. Yet *Agricola*, bred a Souldier, by a natural Prudence, lived easily and fairly with those Sharpers of the Law. Now he had set times for Business, and Diversion; when he was on the Bench, and to give Judgment, he was grave, intent, severe, but oftenest merciful, if consistent with his Duty: Afterwards there was no Sign of his Authority, for he put off his Austerity, State, and Rigour; and, what was seldom to be met with, his Kindness did not abate his Power, nor his Severity, the Love of his Subjects. I should injure the Character of this Great Man, should I tell how free he was from Corruption, or Bribery. He never would purchase Fame, which good Men are fond of, by sly Arts, or confident Boasting: He neither emulated his Collegues, nor contended with the Procurators, knowing to be overcome was a Shame, and to conquer no Honour. He continued three Years in his Government, but was recalled with a Prospect of being Consul, returning with the Opinion of all, that he was designed for *Britain*, because he was most fit; not that any thing that dropped from him could occasion the Report. Fame does not always mistake, but sometimes makes a good Choice; during his Consulship he was so kind, as to promise me his hopeful Daughter, and when it was ended, our Marriage was consummated: He was immediately made Governor of *Britain*, to which was annexed a Pontifical Dignity.

X. Many

X. Many Writers have described the Situation, and Inhabitants of *Britain*, which I shall do; not to vie with them in Wit and Care, but because it was now first totally subdued: That, which our Predecessors adorned with their Eloquence, I shall faithfully relate. Of all the Islands that are known to the *Romans*, *Britain* is the largest: Its *Eastern* Parts lie towards *Germany*, its *Western* towards *Spain*, its *Southern* against *France*; there is no Land to be descried on the *North*, but an open and wide Sea, that continually beats upon the Shoar. *Livy*, the most Eloquent of the Ancient, and *Fabius Rusticus* of Modern Authors, have compared its Figure to an Oblong Dish, or an Ax. That is its Shape indeed, of this side *Caledonia*, and therefore Fame has applied it to the whole: But there is a vast enormous Tract of Land, that, by Degrees, grows narrower and narrower, like a Wedge; the *Roman* Fleet first doubling this Point, affirmed *Britain* to be an Island, and at once discovered and conquered the Isles of *Orkney*, 'till that time unknown. *Thyle* too, at a distance, it descried, hid hitherto in Snow and Winter. The Sea here is said to be sluggish and stiff to the Oar, not subject to be agitated by Winds: I suppose, because the Continent is far off, and the Mountains upon it but few, which are thought to be the Source and Nurseries of Winds and Tempests: Whereupon so continued a Mass of deep Water, is difficult to be put into Motion. To enquire into the Nature of the Sea, and Tides, is not my Business,

ness, it being done by others; but this I shall say, The Empire of the Sea is no where more absolute, proudly carrying Rivers of Water hither and thither; and doth not only ebb and flow, but forces its passage into the Land, and climbs up to the Tops of Mountains, as if they were its proper Road and Channel.

XI. Whether the first Inhabitants of this Island were Natives, or imported Strangers, is hardly to be found in this, or any barbarous Nation. We may conjecture at their Original, by the various Fashions of their Bodies: They that live in *Caledonia*, are red Headed, big Limb'd, which speaks them of a *German* Extraction. The Swarthiness of the *Silures*, and their curled Hair, would induce one to believe, by their Situation over-against *Spain*, that the *Iberi* had heretofore sailed over, and planted themselves in these parts. They that are Neighbours to the *French*, are like them, either because the Qualities, and Strength of their Progenitors, continue in them; or, because, in Countries bordering upon one another, the same Climate createth the same Complexion: But 'tis generally believed, the *French* first Peopled those Parts. You may guess at their Religion, by their superstitious Opinions. Their Speech differs but little; with equal Boldness they challenge Dangers, and with equal Fear decline them when they come: The *British* Fierceness has the Preference, being not at present softened by a long and a sluggish Peace. The *French* were formerly brave, but being

ing invaded by Sloth and Idleness, they lost their Courage and their Liberty. The same Fate attended the *Britains* heretofore. The rest remain such as the *French* were.

XII. Their greatest Strength lies in their Infantry. Some Nations use Chariots in War; the greatest Men drive them, and their Dependants defend them. They were formerly governed by Kings; but now they are divided into Faction, and Parties, by some Ring-Leaders. That which contributed most to our conquering these Warlike Nations, was, their having no Common Council; seldom above two or three Cities, at a time, concerted Methods of repelling the Common Foe: So that whilst they fought singly, they were universally overcome. They have a dropping, and a cloudy Sky; the Cold here is not sharp; the Days are of a greater Length than ours; the Night is clear, and in the Extream Parts short; so that you scarce distinguish the Beginning from the Ending of the Day. They affirm, if the Clouds did not interpose, the Rays of the Sun would be always visible; and, that he does not rise and set, but glide by; because the Extream and Plain Parts of the Earth, project a low and humble Shadow, which makes Night hang hovering under the Stars and Sky. The Soil will bear all sorts of Grain, besides the Olive, and the Vine, and such as love a hotter Climate. It is very fruitful, and every thing springs quickly, but ripens slowly; which is the effect of moist Grounds, and showry Heavens.

Heavens. This Country produces Gold and Silver, and other Metals, which defray the Charge of their Conquest. The Sea breeds Pearl, not very Orient, but pale and wan: Some suppose it want of Skill in those that pick them up; for in the Red Sea they are plucked from the Rock alive, and breathing; but in *Britain*, they are gathered as they lie about in the Sea: But, I believe, there is more want of Worth in the Pearl than Skill, *viz.* Greediness in them who gather 'em.

XIII. The *Britains* suffer patiently the Levying of Men and Money, and faithfully discharge all Publick Employments imposed on them, if so be they are not abused thereby, which to them is intolerable, being at present subdued to Obedience, but not to Vassalage. *Julius Caesar*, altho' he first made a Descent with his Army, and frighted the People with a successful Battel, yet he possessed himself of nothing but the Shoar, and seem'd rather to shew, than deliver them to Posterity. Now the Civil Wars of *Rome* turned the Great Mens Swords upon the Common-wealth, and *Britain* was forgot, during a long Peace. *Augustus*, but especially *Tiberius*, termed that Oblivion, State-Policy: But 'tis certainly known, *Caius* had a Design to attack *Britain*, had he not been of a Temper to resolve suddenly, and as suddenly to alter his Resolution; or, had he not been disappointed by the bad Success his Arms had in *Germany*; 'twas *Claudius* who first effectually prosecuted its Conquest, transporting Legions, and Auxiliaries, and taking

taking *Vespasian* in to the Enterprize, which was a Prelude to his future Greatness: Now it was, that Countries were reduced, Kings captivated, and *Vespasian* made known to the World.

XIV. The first Lieutenant-General, was *Aulus Plautius*; the next, *Ostorius Scapula*, both great Commanders: By degrees, the nearest Parts were brought into the Form of a Province, where a Colony of old Soldiers was planted. Some Cities were bestowed on King *Cogidunus* (who continued faithful, even within our Memory), according to an Ancient Practice of the *Romans*, who made Kings the Instruments of the Peoples Slavery. What others acquired, *Didius Gallus* preserved; and by erecting a few Castles farther up in the Country, sought to gain the Reputation of having extended his Trust. *Verantius* followed *Didius*, and died in a Year's time. After that, *Suetonius Paulinus* was very successful for two Years, subduing Nations, and fortifying Garisons; upon Confidence of which, he was resolved to make an Attempt on the Island *Mona*, that still furnished the Rebels with fresh Supplies.

XV. But this turning of his Back, gave the *Britains* a fair Opportunity, whose Fear left them with the Lieutenant-General; they had now leisure to consider the Mischiefs of Bondage, and to compare their Miseries, and be inflamed by their reflecting upon them: — *What was the Effect of their Patience, but to have heavier Burdens laid upon their*

their Shoulders, as if they were ready to bear any thing? They had heretofore, but one King at a time, but now they had two; a Lieutenant to be lavish of their Lives, and a Procurator to make havock of their Fortunes. Their Governour's Discord, or Concord, was equally pernicious to the Subject; vexed by the Soldiers, and Centurions of the one, and the Force, and Contumely of the other; nothing was exempted from their Luxury and Lust: The Brave in Fight should plunder, but now their Houses were become a Prey to base ignoble Cowards, their Children forced away, and Soldiers required of them, as if they knew nothing but to die for their Country. If the Britains would but Number themselves, they would find, how few of their Soldiers, compared to them, had been brought over: The Germans shook off their Yoke, who had not the Ocean, but a River only for their Defence: And, that they had the juster Cause of War, their Country, Parents, and their Wives; whereas, their Enemies had no pretence, but Avarice, and Luxury: Would they but emulate their Ancestors, and not be daunted at the Event of one or two Battles, and consider, that Men in Misery are apt to make the braver Attempts, and to go on with the greater Perseverance, they might make these their Enemies as hastily return, as their Ancestors did their first Invader, Julius, by calling away the Roman General, and by detaining him, and his banish'd Army, in another Island, they had vanquished the greatest Difficulty, which was to Consult; to which it may be added, that it is more dangerous to be taken Plotting, than Fighting.

XVI. Ha-

XVI. Having provok'd each other, by such Discourses, and made *Voadica*, a Woman, their Chief, no Sex being excluded the Government, they, by Consent, made War together, pursuing those dispersed in Garisons, taking their Ports, invading their Colonies, as the Seat of Slavery and Oppression: Neither did these conquering and incensed Barbarians, omit any sort of Cruelty. If *Paulinus* had not been acquainted with the Revolt of the Province, and speedily sent help, *Britain* had been utterly lost; but the Success of one Engagement, reduced it to its former Obedience and Patience. A great many kept their Arms in their Hands, being conscious of their own Guilt, and fearful of the Lieutenant-General; who, otherways a Great Man, to revenge this particular Affront, behaved himself cruelly towards the poor People that surrendred. *Petronius Turpilianus* was sent, a Person more exorable, and less acquainted with their Crimes, which made him receive the Penitent with greater Mildness. When he had composed these Differences, he delivered up the Province to *Trebellius Maximus*; who being a less active Man than his Predecessors, and wanting Knowledge in Military Affairs, maintained his Province by a gentle way of looking after it. The *Britains* were so civil, as to pardon an Error so grateful, and so easie to themselves. A Civil War breaking out, gave just Excuse to his Remissness: But the Army began to mutiny; which, having been used to Enterprize, now grew Loose for

for want of Action. *Trebellius* avoided their Fury by Flight and Concealment, but lost his Authority; being forced to Govern precariously, as if it had been agreed between him and the Army, that he should live safely, provided they might live licentiously. This Sedition cost no Blood. *Vectius Bolanus* came in his room, but the Civil Wars continuing, he could not maintain Military Discipline in *Britain*, the Army being alike careless of the Enemy, and troublesome to the Superiour Officer in the Camp; but being a harmless Man, and not having incurr'd any Ill-will by reason of any Offence, he obtained Respect, instead of Authority.

XVII. But now *Vespasian* having won the Empire of the World, and *Britain*, his Captains became Great, his Armies Famous, and the Enemies Hopes little: *Petilius Cerialis* struck them with a present Terror, by assaulting the City of the *Brigantines*, which was esteemed the most populous of the whole Province. And after many sharp, and bloody Conflicts, he reduced and wasted the greatest part of the Country. The bright Reputation of *Cerialis* was enough to eclipse the Diligence, and Glory of a Successor; but *Julius Frontinus*, a Man as great as Circumstances would permit, sustained the Charge with Honour, and Renown, overcoming the Difficulties of Defiles, and Passes, and the Courage of the Enemy; he subdued the stout and fighting Nation of the *Silures*.

XVIII. *Agri-*

XVIII. *Agricola* passing over, in the middle of Summer, found Affairs in this Posture, and these to be the various Turns of War: The Souldiers living securely, as if the Business of the Expedition were over; and the Enemy as intently watching all Advantages. The *Ordovices* just before his coming cut to pieces almost a Squadron of Horse that lay in their Borders, with which Proceeding the rest were so elevated, that some, desirous of War, approved of the Example; others staid to see the new Lieutenant's Resolution. *Agricola*, tho' the Summer was almost spent, and his Men dispersed up and down in the Country, the Souldiers dreaming of nothing less than Action, which things mightily cross'd, and retarded his Warlike Designs: Nay, many thought it more advisable, for the present, to guard the Places suspected, resolved to meet the Danger, gathering together the Ensigns of the Legions, and some few Auxiliars; the *Ordovices* not daring to come on even Ground, he placed himself at their Head, to inspire them with the same Courage, exposing himself to the same Hazard, and made the Army march and destroy almost the whole Nation; knowing very well, that now was the time for gaining a Reputation; for as things happen at the first, so they continue, most commonly, afterwards: He therefore was very intent upon the Reduction of the Isle of *Mona*; which, as I have related, *Paulinus* was forced to quit upon the general Defection of *Britain*. But as in dangerous

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Adventures, something is always wanting; so now they had no Ships to transport their Men: But *Agricola*, by his Contrivance, and Constancy, carried them over. After they had laid aside their Baggage; he chose the best, and most expert of the Auxiliars, who understood all the Fords, and were admirable Swimmers, and could manage their Arms, themselves, and their Horses at once; and in this manner poured them on their amazed Enemies, who thought to have seen a Navy, and Ships crossing the Sea, and not a War brought in to their Country so miraculously: So that they concluded nothing was difficult, or impregnable to such bold Adventurers. Whereupon they immediately supplicating for a Peace, and delivering up the Island, *Agricola* began to be esteemed a great, and valiant Commander. At his first entring upon the Government, he applied that Time, to Labour and Hazard, which others spent in Shew and Complement: He did not let his Success prove fruitless; neither would he call, the keeping the Vanquish'd in order, an Expedition, or a Victory; he did not crown his Letters of Advertisement with Laurels, but encreased the Glory of his Arms, by taking no notice of it, while Men weighed with themselves, how great a Prospect he must have of Things to come, who was so regardless of great Things already done.

XIX. Being well acquainted with the Genius of his Province, and having learnt, at other Mens Cost, that Arms avail little towards the settling of a Peace,
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if Injuries are permitted, he was resolved to root out all Occasions of War: And what was to some as difficult, as the Government of a Province, beginning with himself and Family, he reformed his own House; he allowed no Bond or Free Man to share in the Management of Affairs; he let no Souldiers immediately attend his Person, that were privately recommended by Friends, or by the Praises, or Entreaties of the *Centurions*; but he esteemed the best Souldier always the most Faithful: He would be informed of all things, tho' he did not punctually exact their Execution; he applied Pardon to small Faults, and Punishment to great Ones; he prudently chose those Officers, that were likely to prove inoffensive, rather than be put to the ungrateful Trouble of condemning them, when Offenders: The Augmentation of Tribute and Corn, he mitigated by an equal proportioning the Burden; and cut off all Extortion, which was more grievous than the Imposition; for they made a Jest of the poor People, who were forced to wait at the Granaries, when lockt up, and to buy Corn, which they must sell at a Price: Several ways, and far distant Places, were enjoyned by the proud Purveyors, that the Cities should carry their Provisions, not to the nearest, but farthest Camp, which was out of the way, till that which was ready, and at hand for all, was made the Advantage of a few.

XX. The rectifying these Matters, in the first Year of his Government, mightily recommended
B b 2 Peace,

Peace, which before, by the Connivance, or Negligence of his Predecessors, was as dreadful as War. As soon as it was Summer, he drew his Army together, commended those that marched orderly, but checkt the Straglers; he chose the Places for encamping, and in Person, tried the Bogs and Woods; he gave the Enemy no rest, being never free from Incurfions, and Ravage; when he thought he had scared them enough, then he would hold his hand, forbearing Acts of Hostility to sweeten them to a Peace. These Methods of proceeding, wrought so upon many Cities, which, till that time had stood upon equal Terms with him; that they, laying aside their Animosity, voluntarily submitted, giving Hostages, and permitting Garisons and Forts, to environ them; which was done with so much Care and Judgment, that no part before of the *Roman* new Conquest in *Britain*, was free from the frequent Insults of the Enemy.

XXI. The ensuing Year was spent in wholesome Councils, to bring this Rough and Warlike People, living dispersed, and ready to take Arms upon all Occasions, to Peace and Quietness, by shewing them the Pleasures thereof: In order to which, he privately exhorted, and publickly joyned with them to build Temples, Houses, and Seats of free Justice, praising the Forward, reprimanding the Backward; which bred in them such an Emulation of Honour, that did as much as Compulsion. Then he took care to have the Sons of the Princes in-

instructed in the Liberal Arts and Sciences; preferring their Wit, and Capacity, before the Industry of the *French*: So that they, who just before, scorned the *Roman* Language, now studied their Eloquence, and had their Garb in Esteem, the Gown being frequently worn; by degrees, they past to the Softness of their Vices, erecting Portico's, costly Baths, and making sumptuous Entertainments; which sad and certain Badges of Slavery, the Ignorant termed good Breeding.

XXII. The third Year of the Expedition discovered new Nations, wasting the Country as far as an Arm of the Sea, called *Taus*, which so intimidated the Enemy, that they did not dare to attack an Army, harass'd with Tempests; which gave the *Romans* time to build Forts and Castles, as they pleased. The best Judges of War, made it their Observation, that no General chose his Ground with more Prudence, or built Castles better secured, than *Agricola*; never any being forced, or delivered up upon Capitulation, or deserted for Fear; they made frequent Incurfions, and were furnished with yearly Provisions, to sustain a Siege; the Winter-Quarters were secure, every Garison being its own Protection: The Enemies endeavours were so frustrated, that they despaired, as formerly, by Reprizals in Winter, to repair their Losses in Summer; for they were equally repulsed in both Seasons. *Agricola* never poorly intercepted the Glory of an Action, due to an inferior Officer, but faithfully attested his Merit.

Some thought him too bitter in rebuking; but as he was severe to the Bad, so he was mild to the Good: He never was malicious, tho' angry; there was no fear of his Reservedness, or Silence; he thought it was more honest to offend, than hate.

XXIII. The fourth Summer was passed in securing what he had acquired: And if the Courage of the Army, and the *Roman* Glory would have permitted, this had been the Bounds of their Conquest in *Britain*. *Glota* and *Bodotria*, two opposite Arms of the Sea, being carried up into the Continent, are only separated by a Neck of Land, which was then guarded by a Garison; so that the *Romans* were absolute Lords of all on this side, driving the Enemy, as it were, into another Island.

XXIV. *Agricola* passed over in the first Ship, and after several prosperous Encounters, subdued Countries never before known. In that Part of *Britain*, that looks towards *Ireland*, he quartered his Forces, not out of any apprehension of Danger, but hope of Advantage; *Ireland* lying between *Britain* and *Spain*, and very commodiously for *France*, would have united the strongest Parts of the Empire, to their mutual Convenience. If you compare *Ireland* with *Britain*, 'tis much less, but far bigger than any of the Islands of our Sea: The Climate, the Nature, the Fashion of the People, are not much differing from the *British*: Their Ports are commodious, and their Entrance
secure;

secure; very well understood by Trading Merchants. *Agricola* entertained a petty Prince of that Country, driven out of his Dominions by his rebellious Subjects: He kept him fast with him, under Pretence of Friendship, but it was indeed, to serve his own Turn upon occasion. I have often heard him say, That with one Legion, and a moderate Force of Auxiliars, all *Ireland* might easily be reduced; and that it would be an Advantage against *Britain*, to have it surrounded by the *Roman* Arms, and its Liberty out of sight.

XXV. In the Summer of the sixth Year of his Employment, being apprehensive of a general Insurrection of all the Kingdoms beyond *Bodotria*, and suspecting all the ways to be infested by the Enemy, he examined all the Ports with his Fleet, which was now made part of his Military Strength; and following, made a gallant Shew, at once a War coming upon the Enemy by Land, and Sea: The Horse, and Foot, and Mariners frequently incamped together, and mixing Company, and Mirth, would alternately boast their Exploits, and Adventures; the Land-men telling what tall Woods they had pass'd, and high Mountains they had climb'd; the Sea-men, how they had been toss'd and shatter'd by Waves and Tempests; one vaunting their Victory over the Earth, and Man, the other over the proud Ocean. As I have been informed, the *Britains* were quite dejected at the Sight of our Fleet; we having deprived them of the last Refuge of the Vanquished,

by discovering their Sea, hitherto unknown. The Inhabitants of *Caledonia* resolving upon Arms and War, with great Preparations, and greater Noise, Things unknown being more in report than reality, and assailing our Castles, began to make us afraid of them, as Men us'd to be of Aggressors; the Fearful to cover their want of Courage, gave prudent Advice, perswading him to retreat to the other side of *Bodotria*, rather than be forced: But being informed, the Enemy would fall on him, in several Parties, he marched with his Army, divided into three Bodies, that he might not be enclosed by their Superior Numbers, or disadvantaged, by their better Knowledge of their Country.

XXVI. Which, when the Enemy perceived, they suddenly changed their Designs; and altogether in the Night, broke in upon the Ninth, the most feeble Legion, killing the Centinels, and surprizing the Camp; the Men being all asleep, or amaz'd with fear; and now the Fight was brought within the Trenches: But *Agricola* having learned by his Spies, which way the Enemy marched, followed them at the Heels, and commanded the foremost of the Horse and Foot, to fall on their Rear: The whole Army was to make a general Shout; and at Day-break, the glittering Ensigns appeared. In this Conflict, the *Britains* Courage abated, and the *Romans* returned, not fighting for Safety, but Glory and Honour. Now the *Romans* were Aggressors; there was a
cruel

cruel Fight in the narrow Gates of the Camp, 'till the Enemy was routed, one part of the Army contending to bring Succour, the other fighting, to shew they did not want it: If the Fens and the Woods had not hid them in their flight, we had ended the War, by gaining this Victory.

XXVII. Upon the fighting this Battle so resolutely, and the winning of it so bravely, the Army grew fierce and bold, presuming nothing could resist their Courage: They cried out, to be led into *Caledonia*, that by a continued Series of Victories, they might be brought to the utmost Limits of *Britain*: And our late cautious, and wise Counsellors began to speak big, and to be very daring, now the Danger was over. This is the unjust Condition of War, that all claim their Share in good Success, but bad is imputed but to one: The *Britains* supposing themselves defeated, not by the Courage of their Adversaries, but Conduct of their General, who had watched his Opportunity, abated nothing of their Arrogance, but lifted the stoutest Men they had, and carried their Wives and Children to Places of the greatest Security. The Cities confederated together, meeting frequently, and by Religious Rites, and offering up Sacrifices, confirmed their Association: And thus both Armies parted with equal Animosity.

XXVIII. This

XXVIII. This Summer there was a horrid, but memorable Fact, committed by a Troop of *Uspians*, raised in *Germany*, for our Service in *Britain*; who having slain the Centurion, and some Souldiers, put over their Parties, and mixed with them for their Example and Government, they seized three small Vessels, compelling the Masters to execute their Office; but only one discharging his Duty, they kill'd the rest, as suspected Persons: It not being yet discovered, they miraculously set out; but by and by, they were toss'd hither and thither, and had several Encounters with the *Britains*, who defended their own, in which they sometimes were worsted, and sometimes had the better; but at last, they were reduced to that Extremity, that they had no Food to sustain them, but the Infirm; when they were spent, they cast Lots who should be kill'd, for the Provision of the Rest. Thus roving about *Britain*, they lost their Ships, for want of Skill to sail them, and being taken for Pirates, they were first intercepted by the *Suevians*, and the *Frisians*, and were bought and sold, till at last in Traffick, they came on our side of the River, which fully discovered the whole Adventure. In the beginning of the Summer, *Agricola* had a severe Affliction in his Family, the Loss of his Son, born the Year before; he did not, like some Great Men, vent his Sorrow vain-gloriously, or express his Concern in an effeminate Lamentation, but made War the Diversion of his Grief.

XXIX. There-

XXIX. Therefore sending his Fleet before, which plundered many Places, the Enemy was struck with a great and perplex'd Fear; and making the Army ready, to which he had joyned the bravest, and by a long Peace, well assured *Britains*, he marched to the Hill *Grampius*, which the *Britains* had possessed; who were not in the least daunted with their former Defeat, knowing now they had nothing to expect but Revenge, or Slavery; and having learned, that Common Danger was to be repulsed by Concord: The Cities, by sending Ambassadors, had united their Force, and entred into a strict League of Defence: Now they had an Army of about Thirty thousand fighting Men, and the Youth of the Country daily came in to them, with such Old Men as continued lusty and strong, every one telling his old and past Exploits: But *Galgacus* was preferr'd for his high Birth, and great Virtue, who made a Speech to this vast Multitude, earnestly desiring Battle:

XXX. ' As often as I revolve in my Mind, the
' Cause and Necessity of this War, I am per-
' swaded, that this Day, and your unanimous A-
' greement, will be the beginning of the *British*
' Liberty. We are all sensible of Slavery, we
' have no Land, or Sea, left secure, the *Roman*
' Fleet riding on our Coasts. To take Arms,
' and Fight, as it is honourable for the Brave, so
' it is safest for the Coward. Our former Com-
' bates

‘ bates with the *Romans* were various in their Suc-
 ‘ cess ; yet we had Hopes, and a Reserve still in
 ‘ our own Power : For we, the Flower of the
 ‘ *British* Nation, and therefore seated in the in-
 ‘ nermost Recess, never beheld the slavish Shoars,
 ‘ nor had our Eyes violated with the Prospect of a
 ‘ Foreign Government : For this little Corner has
 ‘ preserved us the small Remains of our Country
 ‘ and Liberty : But now the Bounds of *Britain* are
 ‘ discovered, and to attempt what is unknown,
 ‘ is reputed great. We have no Nation behind
 ‘ us, but a raging Sea, and senseless Rocks : The
 ‘ *Romans* are in the Bowels of our Country, whose
 ‘ Pride you vainly seek to evade, by Modesty and
 ‘ Submission. They are the Rapparees of the U-
 ‘ niverse ; when Lands are wanting, they rifle
 ‘ the Ocean. If their Enemy is rich, they are
 ‘ covetous ; if poor, ambitious : So that neither
 ‘ *East* nor *West*, can satisfy their unruly Passions :
 ‘ They are the only greedy Men, that with equal
 ‘ Avarice, make Wealth and Poverty their Prey :
 ‘ To kill, plunder, bear-away, they call by the
 ‘ false Name of Empire, and Desolation they
 ‘ term a settled Peace.

XXXI. ‘ Nature commands us all to hold our
 ‘ Children and Relations dear ; these are pressed,
 ‘ carried somewhere to be Slaves. Our Wives
 ‘ and Sisters are not ravished in a hostile Manner,
 ‘ but they are deluded and debauched, under the
 ‘ specious Pretence of Friendship and Hospitality.
 ‘ Our Estates are wasted in paying Tribute, our
 ‘ Corn

‘ Corn in supplying the Army with Provisions.
 ‘ Our Bodies and Hands are worn out, partly by
 ‘ Stripes, and partly by Contempt, while we are
 ‘ set to work on Bogs and Woods. They that
 ‘ are born Slaves, are sold but once, and then
 ‘ maintained at the Charge of the Purchasers ; but
 ‘ *Britain* daily buys and maintains its own Servi-
 ‘ tude. As in a private Family, new Servants
 ‘ are always a Laughing-stock to the old ; so in
 ‘ this old Family of the Universe, we being new-
 ‘ ly discovered, and vile, are sought out for Scorn
 ‘ and Destruction. There are no Fields, no Mines,
 ‘ no Ports, for which we may be reserved to Till,
 ‘ to Dig, to Trade in. The Gallantry of Subjects
 ‘ is very distasteful to their Lords ; and yet Di-
 ‘ stance, and Privacy, as it is most safe, is more
 ‘ suspected. Having lost all Hopes of Pardon,
 ‘ let us act as Men that hold their Liberty, as
 ‘ well as their Glory, dear. The *Brigantes*, led
 ‘ by a Woman, burnt their Colony, and took
 ‘ their Forts ; and, if Success had not made them
 ‘ careless, had broke their Yoke. We are, as
 ‘ yet, entire, unsubdued, born to be free, and
 ‘ not the Vassals of proud *Rome*. We’ll let them
 ‘ see at our first Meeting, what Men *Calidonia* has
 ‘ reserved till last.

XXXII. ‘ D’ye think, the *Romans* Prowess in
 ‘ War, equals their Licentiousness in Peace ? No,
 ‘ they are made great by our intestine Discord and
 ‘ Dissentions ; they make their Enemies Faults,
 ‘ the Glory of their Army, composed of several
 ‘ Na-

' Nations, which Prosperity keeps together, and
 ' Adversity will disband; unless the *French* and
 ' *Germans*, and, what I blush to say, some *Brit-*
 ' *ains* too, are foolishly lavish of their Blood, to
 ' establish Usurpation. It cannot be conceived,
 ' that Enemies will continue longer Faithful and
 ' Affectionate than Servants, the feeble Bonds of
 ' their Love, are Fear and Terror; if they are
 ' once removed, they'll straight begin to hate
 ' those they cease to dread. All the Encourage-
 ' ments to Victory are on our side; the *Romans*
 ' have no Wives to raise their Courage, or Pa-
 ' rents to upbraid their Flight; they have either
 ' no Country to defend; or, if they have, 'tis ano-
 ' ther. These few, but fearful Men, distracted
 ' by their Ignorance, casting their Eyes on our
 ' strange Heavens, Earth, and Woods, the Gods,
 ' at last propitious, have, in a manner, delivered
 ' into our Hands, pent up, and bound. Ne'r
 ' fear the gaudy Terror of their glittering Gold,
 ' and Silver, that neither can defend or hurt.
 ' We shall have Troops marching, even, in their
 ' very Army. The *Britains* will remember,
 ' sure, their Country's Cause; nor can the *French*
 ' forget their former Liberty. Like the *Ulpian*
 ' Cohort, the *Germans* will desert. We have no-
 ' thing more to fear; their Garisons are drained;
 ' their Colonies are made up of Old Men, some
 ' refusing to Obey, and others Commanding ty-
 ' rannically, while their Towns are at Difference
 ' and Discord among themselves. Here is the
 ' General, and the Army, their Tribute, and
 ' Mines,

' Mines, with other sorts of Miseries, the Punish-
 ' ment of Slaves, which you must suffer for ever,
 ' or revenge on this Spot; therefore going to
 ' fight, remember your Ancestors, and pity your
 ' Posterity.

XXXIII. They received this Speech with Joy,
 Singing, and Shouting, and making different
 Noises, according to the rude Custom of their
 Country. And as the Troops came together,
 and the glittering Armour appeared, some of the
 Hottest advanced forward, and both Armies were
 putting in Order. *Agricola*, altho' his Soldiers
 were very joyful, and scarce to be restrained
 by Advice, supposed it best to say something be-
 fore they engaged:

' In eight Years time, Fellow-Soldiers, by your
 ' Pains, Fidelity, and Valour, and the auspi-
 ' cious Fortune of the *Roman* Empire, you have
 ' conquered *Britain*. In so many Expeditions
 ' and bloody Battels, there was need of your La-
 ' bour and Patience to encounter opposing Na-
 ' ture, as well as Resolution to resist the Enemy.
 ' As I do not repent my having you for my Sol-
 ' diers, so, I hope, you do not your having me
 ' for your Leader. I have surpassed the Limits
 ' of our ancient Generals, and you the Bounds of
 ' preceding Armies. We do not possess the End
 ' of *Britain* by Fame and Report, but have actu-
 ' ally seized it with our Arms and Pavilions: *Brit-*
 ' *tain* is found and subdued. I have often heard
 ' the

‘ the Brave cry out, when you were fatigued with
 ‘ Bogs and Hills, and Rivers, in your March,
 ‘ When shall we have an Enemy? When shall we
 ‘ fight? They now appear forced from their lurking
 ‘ Holes, and you enjoy your Wish, and a fit Oppor-
 ‘ tunity for your Valour. All Things will be prone,
 ‘ and yield to us, if Victors; but cross, and adverse,
 ‘ if vanquished: For, as to have finished such tedi-
 ‘ ous Journeys, to have evaded such great Woods,
 ‘ and cross so many Arms of the Sea, is honoura-
 ‘ ble, and becoming, if we go on; so if we turn
 ‘ our Backs, that which was our Advantage, will
 ‘ prove our Danger. We have not their Know-
 ‘ ledge of the Country, or the same Provisions for
 ‘ the Army: But we have Swords and Hands,
 ‘ and in them we have All. I am very well satis-
 ‘ fied, Flight is neither safe for the General, nor
 ‘ the Army; an honourable Death far excels a
 ‘ mean ignoble Life; Safety and Honour dwell
 ‘ together. But it cannot be inglorious to fall on
 ‘ the utmost Confines of Earth and Nature.

XXXIV. ‘ If you had new Nations, and an
 ‘ untried Foe, I would make the Deeds of other
 ‘ Armies an Argument for your Courage: But
 ‘ now reflect on your own Exploits, interrogate
 ‘ your own Eyes; they are the same, who by
 ‘ Stealth, and under the Covert of the Night, as-
 ‘ faulted the Ninth Legion, and were routed by
 ‘ a blast of your Breath; they are the most apt to
 ‘ run of all the *Britains*, for which Reason, they
 ‘ are now alive. When we Travel the Wild Fo-
 rest,

‘ rest, we chase away the sturdy Monsters of the
 ‘ Wood, with Force and Violence, but the Ras-
 ‘ cal Herd flies at the Noise of every Passenger;
 ‘ so the most daring *Britains* are long since dead,
 ‘ these are but base, ignoble Numbers, whom
 ‘ you have found, not because they have resolved
 ‘ to fight, but because they are the last you have
 ‘ overtaken; their Bodies are fixed with excessive
 ‘ Fear to the Ground, o’er which you’ll gain a
 ‘ fair and signal Victory. Put an end to your
 ‘ Expeditions, and let this Day finish the Work
 ‘ of fifty Years, convince the Commonwealth,
 ‘ that neither the Length of the War, nor any
 ‘ Excuses for not making an end of it, can be
 ‘ charged upon the Army.

XXXV. Whilst he was speaking, their Ar-
 dor was visible; when he had ended, they freely
 vented their Joy, running to their Weapons. As
 they were thus fired, and rushing forwards, he
 put them in order; Eight Thousand Foot he pla-
 ced in the Middle, and Three Thousand Horse
 in the two Wings; the Legions he placed before
 the Trenches, thinking it would mightily add to
 his Glory, if he could gain a Victory, without
 the Effusion of *Roman* Blood; or at least keep
 them as a Reserve, in case of a Repulse: The *Brit-
 tains* drew up their Army on the higher Ground,
 most for shew and Terror, but so as the foremost
 Battalions stood on the Level, the rest rising one
 above another with the Hill; the Chariots and
 Horsemen fill’d the middle part of the Field with
 their

their din and clatter, whirling up and down. *Agricola*, perceiving their Numbers to be Superior, that he might not be charged at once in Flank and Front, widened his Ranks, so that his Army became more thin, as well as more extended: Some advised him to make the Legions advance; but he, being always ready to hope, and resolute in Danger, alighted from his Horse, and placed himself a Foot before the Ensigns.

XXXVI. The Fight began at a distance, which the *Britains* managed with great Constancy, and Cunning, avoiding, or putting by whatever was cast at 'em, with their short Bucklers, and great Swords; but poured upon us a Shower of Darts, till *Agricola* encouraged three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two *Tungrians*, to bring them to Sword's Point, and Handy-blows, which they were well vers'd in, being old Soldiers: But that was no way of fighting for the *Britains*, who wore little Shields, and great Swords, without Points, so that they were not fitted for a close, or open Fight. Whilst the *Batavians* dealt Blows, striking them with the Bosses of their Bucklers, battering and bruising their Faces, and thrusting others aside, who upon even Ground opposed their Passage, advanced up the Hill; the other Cohorts, with a joynt Emulation and Force, slew all near them; but many times, to hasten the Victory, they left Men half dead, others untouched, behind them: In the mean time, the Horse fled, and the Chariots mingling with the Foot, gave a new Terror,

Terror, but their Carrier was stopped by the unequal Ground, and close Ranks. It did not in the least look like a Horse-Fight, for keeping their Ground, they bear down all before them, by the Weight of their Horses; wandring Chariots with frightened Horses, but no Drivers, over-run Friend and Foe, as they through fear cross'd, or met them.

XXXVII. The *Britains*, who were on the Tops of the Hills, and had not yet any Share in the Engagement, being free, and at leisure, disdain'd our small Force, and began to descend by degrees, and had enclosed our prevailing Troops, if *Agricola*, suspecting the Design, had not detached four Squadrons of Horse, which were kept for a Reserve, to oppose them; who made them flee as fast as they came to assault; so they were caught in their own Trap: Some Squadrons, who fought in the Front, were commanded to leave the Fight, and to pursue those that were put to flight. There was a dismal Spectacle in the open Plains, where you might see our Men following, wounding, and taking some, killing others, when fresh offered themselves: Now, whole Regiments fled as they thought most convenient, and turned their Backs to a far less Number of their Pursuers: Some naked and disarmed, rushed on the Sword's Point, and offered themselves voluntarily to Death; All the Field was strewed with Weapons, and Limbs, and dead Bodies, and the Earth was dyed with Blood; many, tho' expiring, retained their Pierceness and

Courage. As soon as they approached the Woods, they turned and encompassed their forward Pursuers, wholly ignorant of the Ways: And if *Agricola*, who was always present, had not commanded the stoutest, but lightest Cohorts, to encompass them like a Tyle, making some of the Horse dismount, to search the thickest, whilst the rest scoured the thinnest parts of the Wood, they had suffered extreamly by their Confidence: But as soon as they perceived they were followed by our Men, marching regularly, and in good order, they all fled, not in Troops as before, having an Eye to each other, but separate and dispersed, every one taking such Path or By-way for his Security, as his Fear directed; 'twas Night and Weariness ended our Pursuit: The Enemies Loss was computed to be Ten thousand, ours but Three hundred and forty Men, amongst whom was *Aulus Atticus*, a Captain of a Cohort, who by his youthful Heat, and unruly Horse, was carried into the midst of the Enemy.

XXXVIII. The Night was joyful to the Victors, full of Booty and Gladness; the scattered *Britains*, Men and Women, dragged along the Wounded, called upon the Unhurt, and Strong, left their Houses, and burnt them in a Rage, then they sought Hiding-places, and as soon quitted them: Sometimes they consulted together, and began to have fresh Hopes; now and then they were dejected at the Sight of their dear Pledges, but more frequently enraged; so that
many,

many, to express their brutal Kindness, to their Wives and Children, slew them out of pure Compassion. The next Day made a fuller Discovery of our Victory; all Things were silent, the Mountains desolate, the Houses burning, and smoaking, afar off, and our Scouts met No-body when they were sent out, or descried any thing, but the uncertain Track of their Flight; the Enemy appeared no-where in Companies; and the Summer being spent, we could not extend the War: Therefore *Agricola*, led our Men into the Borders of the *Horrestians*, where receiving Hostages, he commanded the Admiral of the Fleet to sail round *Britain*; some of his Men going aboard, and the Terror of the *Roman* Name preceding. *Agricola* marched the Horse and Foot gently through the new Conquest, that the slowness of his Motion might strike them with a Fear; and so he put his Army into Winter-Quarters; and his Fleet having a good and a happy Voyage, arrived at the Port *Trutlensis*; from whence, sailing along the nearest side of *Britain*, returned thither again.

XXXIX. *Agricola*, by Letter, certified the true State of Affairs, without any vaunting Expression, or pompous Words; which *Domitian*, according to his Custom, received with a sad Heart, and a joyful Countenance: He was conscious of his own ridiculous sham Triumph over *Germany*, his Captives being the Purchase

of Money, not of Blood, and were trimmed and and cloathed artificially for the Mock-Solemnity : But here was a Victory celebrated by the whole World, and obtained by the Slaughter of many thousands. It was a terrible Mortification to see his Glory eclipsed by a Subject : He had in vain laid aside the Study of Eloquence and Political Arts, if a private Hand snatched from him the Military Laurel, other Disgraces might easily be dissembled, but this was an Ornament fit for no body but a Prince to wear ; being continually vexed with such Thoughts, he was often alone in his Closet, a shrewd Sign of some intended Mischiefe ; but he judged it best to stifle his Hatred, till *Agricola's* Fame, and the Armies Love was abated. *Agricola* was still Governour of *Britain*.

XL. Therefore, he ordered some Triumphal Ornaments, and the Honour of an Illustrious Statue, and commanded in the Senate, that whatever was usual to compleat, and set forth a Triumph, should be appointed. And all this he did in the highest Strain of Complement : He made all People believe, that *Syria* should be *Agricola's* Province, then void by the Death of *Rufus* the Lieutenant, and always reserved for the best Men. Many believed, that his freed Man, who used to execute his most secret Commands, was sent to him with a Commission for *Syria*, with this Instruction, That he should deliver it, if he found him in
Bri-

Britain, and that meeting him, as he was crossing the Sea, he neither delivered that, or his Message, but returned to *Domitian* : But it is doubtful, whether this be a Truth, or a Report cast abroad by the Artifice of the Prince. *Agricola*, in the mean while, gave up the Province quietly to his Successor : And that his Entrance might not be remarkable for the Resort, or Multitude of People that came out to meet him, he avoided the Civility of his Friends, by coming, according to Order, to the City and Court by Night, where he was received with a short Salutation, and no Discourse, and immediately retired into the Herd of Attendants. Now, to the end that he might lessen his Military Glory, a thing uneasy to the Slothful, with other good Qualities, he allowed himself more Ease and Quiet, being sober in his Garb, familiar in his Speech, and never going, but with one or two of his Friends ; so that many, who were wont to judge of Great Men, by their Pomp and Grandeur, were at a loss, being mightily disappointed when they saw *Agricola*, few understanding the Secret of his Management.

XLI. In those Days he was often accused and absolved when absent : His Crimes were not the Cause of his Danger, nor the Complaints of the Injured ; but a Prince displeased with his good Qualities, the Honour of the Man, and the worst of all Enemies, his Commenders. Now there ensued such

unhappy Times, that would not permit *Agricola* to pass his Life in Silence: For so many Armies had been lost in *Mesia, Dacia, Germany, and Pannonia*, by the Temerity, or Ignorance of the Generals; so many Cohorts, and gallant Men, defeated and taken, that 'twas not the Bank of a River, or the Limits of the Empire, but even our Winter-Quarters, and what we were in possession of, that was in a dangerous Condition: Thus having a continued Series of Misfortunes, and every Year being signalized by some Calamity, or Destruction, *Agricola* was call'd for to be General, by the common Voice of all, comparing his Constancy, Vigour, and Military Experience, with the Ignorance, Pusillanimity of others. 'Tis certain these Discourses frequently reached *Domitian's* Ears, 'till his best Friends, out of Fidelity, and the bad out of Envy and Malice, stirred up their Prince, of himself prone to make the worst of Things: So that *Agricola*, by his own Virtues, and the Vices of others, was hurried to Glory.

XLII. This Year, a new Pro-Consul of *Asia*, and *Africa*, was to be chosen, *Civica* being lately slain. *Agricola* did not want Advice, nor *Domitian* an Example: Some who were acquainted with the Prince's Mind, came to him, and asked him, If he would accept of that Province? And at first faintly commended a private Life, then proffered him their Service to get him excused; but

but at last no longer palliating the Matter, sometimes perswading, sometimes threatening him, they pull'd him to *Domitian*; who, with a Set Hypocrisie, and Majestick Arrogance, hears his Request, and Excuse; to which, when he had yielded; he graciously suffered himself to be Thank'd, never blushing at so abusive a Favour. But the Salary usually offered to Persons of that Quality, and granted to many Others, he never gave to *Agricola*; either being angry 'twas not requested, or being sensible, that he should look as if he had paid for what he was against. It is the Property of Human Nature, to hate those they injure; but *Domitian's* Nature, prone to Anger, which the more concealed, was the harder to be appeased. *Agricola*, made Mild and Gentle by his Prudence and Moderation, for he never by Contumacy, or a vain Ostentation of Liberty, sought Fame, or tried his Fortune; therefore let those know, who are fond of Things unlawful, that Good Men may live under Bad Princes, and that Modesty and Submission, joyn'd with Vigour and Industry, will acquire that Glory, which Others seeking by indirect Ways, not in the least serviceable to the Commonwealth, grow only famous by that Death, which their Ambition brings them to.

XLIII. *Agri-*

XLIII. *Agricola's* Death was lamentable to his Relations, sad to his Friends, and a great Concern to Strangers, and Persons unknown. The Common People, and such as were here upon their Diversion, wou'd visit his House, and speak of him in all Publick Meetings: Neither did any body that heard of his Death, either rejoyce at it, or soon forget it; but that which increased their Commiseration, was a Report of his being poyson'd, which I cannot affirm: But it is certain, all the time of his Sicknes, *Domitian's* chief Servant, and most trusty Physician, came to him oftner than is usual for a Prince to send him, as from himself, on a Visit, which was great Care, or Inquisitiveness. On the last Day of his Life, every Moment he was expiring, was signified by Posts, laid ready for the purpose; and No-body thought they were in haste to hear that News, for which they would be sorry. But *Domitian* put on a sad Countenance, and being free from what he hated, he found it an easier Matter to dissemble his Joy now, than formerly his Fear: But it is certain, when *Agricola's* Will was read, in which he made him a Co-heir with his Wife and Daughter, he rejoyced exceedingly, as if it had been an Act of Judgment and Respect, being so blinded by continual Flattery, as not to know, a Good Father never made any Prince, but a Bad one, his Heir.

XLIV. *Agri-*

XLIV. *Agricola* was born on the Thirteenth Day of June, *Caius Caesar* being the third time Consul, and died on the Twenty-fourth Day of September, in the Fifty-sixth Year of his Age, *Collega*, and *Priscus*, Consuls. If Posterity would have a Description of his Person, he was well proportion'd, but not tall; in his Countenance was nothing of Fear, but a great deal of Sweetness, so that you would easily guess him a Good Man, and as readily a Great Man. Tho' he was snatched away in the midst of the strongest part of Man's Life, yet by reason of the Honour he had gained, he lived to a great Age; for he had arrived to the true Worth, which consists of Virtuous Actions; and having been Dignified with Triumphal and Consular Ornament, What cou'd Fortune give him more? He did not desire immoderate Riches; but he had a plentiful Estate. In this he was happy, that he had a Wife, a Daughter, and in that he escaped future Calamities by his Death, at a time when his Honour was untainted, his Name flourished, and his Relations and Friends were all prosperous: For, as he did foretel, and desire to live in this Happy Age, and to see *Trajan* Prince, so he had this great Solace, of his sudden Death, that he avoided the Last Times, in which *Domitian*, not by Intervals, or short Pauses, but, as it were, at one continued Blow, destroyed the Commonwealth.

XLV. For

XLV. For *Agricola* did not see the Senate-house beset, the Senate encompass'd with Arms, a great many of Consular Dignity massacred, and Multitudes of honourable Women, forced to Flight and Banishment, by the same Outrage. *Carius Metius*, yet, had obtained but one Victory; *Messalinus's* Sentence only made a Noise in the Manor of *Albana*; and *Messa Rebus* was but then accused: But by and by, we carried *Helvidius* to Prison; the Sight of *Mauricius*, and *Rusticus*, wounded our Hearts; and *Senecio* sprinkled us with his Blood: *Nero* withdrew, and would not behold those Cruelties he commanded. But the chiefest part of our Misery, was to see, and to be seen, under *Domitian*, while our very Sighs and Groans were Registred, and while he was able to behold the Paleness and Fear of so many Persons, with a stern Countenance, and Face Red against all Shame and Blushing. O, *Agricola*! thou art happy, not only in a famous Life, but a well-timed Death! As they tell us, who heard your last and dying Words, You with great Constancy, and Willingness, submitted to your Fate, and did all that you could, to bequeath Innocence to your Prince; But that which increases mine, and your Daughter's Grief, besides the sharp Affliction of the Loss of you, her Parent, is, that we did not attend you when sick, cherish you when fainting, and satisfy our longing Eyes and Arms, in beholding and embracing you. Had we received

ceived your Commands, they had been for ever imprinted in our Minds; this is the greatest Wound, the most pungent Grief, that by a long and unhappy Absence, we lost you four Years before you died. I do not doubt, but the tenderest Mother, the most loving Wife, who constantly attended your sick Bed; supplied you with all Things proper for your Quality; but you was laid out with fewer Tears, and your closing Eyes seemed to want some desired Object, they would willingly have taken in with their last Glance.

XLVI. If there is a proper Seat for the Good, and as Wise Men tell us, Great Souls do not perish with their Bodies, may you enjoy an undisturbed Rest, and recal us of your Family from weak Desires, and effeminate Lamentations, to contemplate your Virtues, not to be celebrated by Weeping and Wailing: This is the truest Honour, your nearest Relations can shew you; this I would enjoyn your Wife and Daughter, the one to honour the Memory of her Husband, the other of her Father, by a frequent Revolving in their Minds his Noble Acts; not that I would prohibit the use of Brass or Marble Statues, which are as frail and mortal as Men; but because the Form of the Mind, cannot be enjoyed, or represented, by gross Matter, or human Art, but by copying it out in one's Life; whatever we loved, or admired in *Agricola* remains, and will continue in the Minds of Men, as long as Time,
or

or Fame, shall last. When many of the Ancients, below the Dignity of a Memorial, are buried in Oblivion, *Agricola* shall survive in Story.

Forum

Forum *Julium* ; a Town seated in *Littore Narbonensi*.

Ordovices ; North-Wales.

Brigantes ; York-shire, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Cumberland, with the Bishoprick of Durham.

The Isle of *Mona* ; Anglesey.

Taus ; *Tweed*.

Glota ; the Frith of Dunbritton.

Bodotria ; Edinburgh-Frith.

Silures ; South-Wales, and Cornwall.

Grampius ; now called, *Gratabanie*.

Horrestians ; now called, *Angus*.

Trutulensis ; now *Richborow*, near Sandwich.

A
 DISCOURSE
 OF THE
 Situation, Customs and People
 OF
 GERMANY.

By CAIUS CORNELIUS TACITUS.

ALL *Germany* is separated from the *Gauls*, the *Rhatians*, and *Pannonians*, by the Rivers *Rhine* and the *Danube*; from the *Sarmatians* and *Dacians* by a mutual Dread of Invading each other, or impassable high Mountains: The rest of it the Sea surrounds, containing spacious Bays and vast Islands; and 'tis but of late that some Nations and Kings have come to our Knowledge, which the War discover'd.

The *Rhine* rises from an inaccessible and steep Pick of the *Rhetian Alps*, with a small bowing inclining to the *West*, intermixes with the *Northern Ocean*. The *Danube*, gushing out from the easie and gently-rising top of the

•Dd Moun-

Mountain *Abnoha*, passes through many Countries, till it discharges itself in six Branches into the *Pontic* Sea; the seventh is swallow'd up in the Marshes.

I should fancy the *Germans* to be Natives, and not all intermix'd by the Arrival and Entertainments of other Nations; because those who formerly transplanted themselves were not convey'd by Land, but by Shipping; and moreover, the immense and opposite Ocean, as I may call it, is touch'd upon with few Ships from our World; for, who, besides the Danger of a rough and unknown Sea, abandoning *Asia*, *Africa*, or *Italy*, would inhabit *Germany*, a shapeless Land, the Climate unpleasant, melancholy to the View, and uncultivated, unless his own Country?

They celebrate in ancient Poësie, (which is the only Method of the Records and Annals amongst them) That the God *Tuisto*, sprung from the Earth, and his Son *Mannus*, were the Original and Founders of that Nation. To *Mannus* they ascribe three Sons, from whose names those bordering upon the Ocean are stil'd, *Ingvones*; those of the Midland, *Herminones*; the rest, *Istevones*. But some taking License from Antiquity, affirm, That more are descended from that God, and, that there are more Denominations of that Kingdom, the *Marsi*, *Gambrivi*, *Suevi*, *Vandali*; and, that these are the true and ancient Names; but, that the word *Germany* is new, and lately given, because those who first pass'd the *Rhine* and expell'd the *Gauls*, were but now term'd *Tuigri*, and then *Germans*: So that the Name of a Party, not of a whole Country, by degrees prevail'd, that all at first, for fear of the Conqueror, presently after having invented a Name, were from themselves call'd *Germans*.

They report, That *Hercules* had been amongst them, and that he was the most valiant of all Men. They advance singing into the Battel. The Verses they call *Barditus*, which in rehearsing enflame their Courage, and by that very Tune they foretell the Event of the approaching Engagement. They

They terrifie and are terrified, according to the noise the Army makes: Nor does it appear so much a Comfort of the Voice, as of their Valour: The roughness of the Sound is the most affected, and a confus'd Murmur, by putting their Shields to their Mouths, by which the Voice swells deeper and fuller from the Repercussion.

Some conjecture, that *Ulysses*, in his long and fabulous Wandrings was carried into this Sea; that he landed in *Germany*, and that *Asciburgium*, which is situated on on the Banks of the *Rhine*, and at this day inhabited, was founded by him, and nam'd *ἀσκιμπύριον*; and moreover, That an Altar, consecrated to *Ulysses*, with the Name of his Father *Laertes*, was formerly found in that place, and that there are some Monuments and Tumulists yet extant, inscrib'd with Greek Characters, in the Confines of *Germany* and *Rætia*: Which I'm inclin'd neither by Arguments to confirm or confute; let every Man, as he pleases, either credit or discredit.

I assent to their Opinions, who observe, that the People of *Germany* are tinctur'd with no foreign Mariages, but continue a peculiar and unmix'd Nation, only like themselves, from whence the shape of their Bodies, altho' in so great a number, has the same resemblance; their Eyes blue and fierce, their Hair yellow, and only powerful upon an Assault. They're impatient of Work and Labour, can in no wise undergo Thirst and Heat; Cold, and want of Provisions, they are accustomed to, from the Climate and Soil.

The Land, altho' it sometimes varies in Form, for the generality, is rough with Woods, or stinks with Marshes; as far as it looks to *France* more humid, towards *Noricum* and *Pannonia* more windy. It is indifferently fertile, but improper for Fruit-trees; abounds in Cattle, but, for the most part, stock'd and runtish; nor are their Herds beautifully headed: They are delighted with their Numbers, and those are the only

and most acceptable Riches. I very much doubt whether the propitious or angry Gods have denied them Silver and Gold; nor would I affirm, that no Vein of *Germany* produces Silver and Gold; for, who has made the Tryal? They are not so much as affected by the Propriety and Use of them; yet there is to be seen amongst them Silver Vessels, presented to their Ambassadors and Princes, but no more esteem'd than those which are made of Clay, although their Neighbours, for the Advantage of Commerce, set a Value upon Gold and Silver, and own and make choice of some Coins of our Mony; the Inland People, without tricking, and as formerly, exchange their Commodities. They approve most of Old Mony, and what has been long known, especially the *Serrati* and *Bigati*. They prefer Silver before Gold; not out of any Love to it, but because the Pieces of Silver are more useful to those who buy cheap Wares.

They have no great Plenty of Iron, as may be infer'd from the make of their Darts. Few use Swords or large Launces; they carry Spears, or, according to their own expression, *Framcus*; the Iron narrow and short, but so pointed and adapted for use, that with the same Weapon, as they see occasion, they fight at hand, or at a distance; and the Horseman is very well satisfied with a Shield and a *Framca*. The Foot cast Darts, and every one of them a considerable number, and throw them a prodigious way, and are either naked, or only covered with a short Jacket. They don't value themselves upon their Furniture: Their Shields are only distinguished by select Colours: Few have Coats of Mail; scarce any of them have either Headpiece or Helmet. Their Horses are neither remarkable for their Shape or Speed, nor are they taught the Manage according to our manner; they are made dexterous at their Career, or in single Wheeling, so clos'd in the Ring, that all stand even. Weighing all things, their
chiefest

chiefest Strength is in their Foot, and therefore they fight intermix'd, the Swiftneſs of the Foot ſuiting and agreeing in the Engagement of the Horſe, who, pick'd out of all their Youth, they place in the Front of the Army; and the Number is limited, a Hundred out of every Town, for ſo they're called amongst themſelves; and that which was at firſt but a Number has now gained 'a Name and a Reputation. The Army's drawn up in form of a Wedge; they look upon it to give ground when preſs'd, ſo they rally again, to be more of Conduct than Fear. ♦ Their Bodies they carry off in doubtful Battels: It's the greateſt Scandal to relinquish their Shield; neither is it lawful for thoſe who have forfeited their Honour, either to be preſent in their Religious Duties, or to go to Council; and many, who ſurvive the Wars, put an end to the Diſgrace by the Halter.

They make choice of their Kings for their Noble Extraction, their Commanders for their Courage: nor have their Kings a boundleſs and unlimited Power. Their Captains they prefer more for Example than Command, if active, if of Preſence of Mind, and behave themſelves well at the head of the Army; but it's not permitted to reprimand, nor put in Chains, nor indeed chaſtiſe, to any but to the Priests; not as if it were for a Punishment, or by Orders of the Captain, but as if their God commanded it, who they believe aſſiſting in their Engagements.

They carry the Effigies, and certain Banners taken down from the Groves, into the Battel: And what is the chief Incitement to their Courage, is, not Chance, nor a fortuitous Embodying, which composes the Squadron or pointed Battel, but their own Family and neareſt Relations; and hard by are their Children, from whence the Lamentations of their Women, and Cries of their Infants, may be heard; theſe are the moſt ſacred Witneſſes, and the higheſt Applauders of every Man's Bravery. To their Mothers and Wives

they declare their Hurts; nor are they afraid to suck or number their Wounds: They carry Provisions to, and animate them when they're fighting. It's recorded, That certain Troops beginning to stagger, and giving Ground, were made to rally again by the Women, by their Importunities, the exposing of their own Breasts, and demonstrating their approaching Captivity, which, upon the account of their Women, they bear with much more reluctance; so the Affections of those Cities are the most effectually secur'd, to whom, amongst their Hostages, the Noblest Virgins are committed. Moreover, they suppose there's something sacred in them, and that they can foretell Events; neither do they reject their Counsel, or neglect to follow their Advice.

We have seen *Velleda*, under the divine *Vespasian*, long ador'd among many as a Deity: Yet also, in time past, they reverenc'd *Aurinia* and divers others, not with Flattery, nor as if they would make them Goddesses. They adore *Mercury* most of all their Gods, to whom, upon solemn Days, they judge it justifiable to offer up Human Sacrifices. *Hercules* and *Mars* they pacifie with lawful Creatures. Part of the *Suevians* also sacrifice to *Isis*; but I'm in the dark what was the Cause and Original of this strange Sacrifice, unless her Image, fashion'd in the shape of a Galley, instructs us, that their Religion was adventitious. They're of an Opinion, from the Magnitude of the Celestial Bodies, that the Gods cannot be confin'd within Walls, or be represented in any Human Shape. They consecrate *Woods* and *Groves*, and call that *Privacy*, from the Names of their Gods, which only in their Worship they behold. Divinations by Birds, and Chances, they most of all others superstitiously observe.

The Custom in managing their Lots is plain and inartificial. A Branch pulled from a Fruit-bearing Tree they cut into Slips, and at a venture,
and

and casually, scatter them, being distinguish'd by some Marks upon a white Veltment; if it be a publick Concern, the Priest of the City; but if private, the Father of the Family praying to the Gods; and looking up to Heaven thrice, takes up every one apart, and being held up, gives an Interpretation, according to the former Mark; if they discourage, there's no more consulting about the Affair that day; but if favourable; yet the Credit of the Success is further required: And this also is more notable, they argue upon the Notes and Flying of Birds. Its peculiar to that Nation, to experiment the Presages, and Admonitions of their Horses: They are publicly fed in those Woods and Groves, white and polluted by no Human Labour, who being put in the Sacred Chariot, the Priest, or King, or the Governour of the City attends upon 'em, observing their Neighings and Whynnyings: Nor is there greater Credit given to any Divination; not only amongst the *Plebeians*, but the amongst the Nobility and Priesthood; for they believe themselves to be the Attendants, and these the Confidants of the Gods.

There is also another Observation of their Soothsaying, whereby they explore the Events of their greatest Battles: They engage a Captive, that somehow or other has been surpriz'd, of that Nation, with whom they're at War, with a pick'd Man of their own, both arm'd after their Country Fashion; and who gains the Victory, its look'd upon as ominous to the other side. Of little Affairs, the Princes; of greater, all in general advise: So, notwithstanding, that those things, whose Arbitration is in the Power of the Populace, are fully canvass'd amongst the Princes.

They assemble on certain Days, either upon a New or Full Moon, unless any thing accidental, or unexpected, falls out; for in transacting Business, they believe this juncture of time the most auspicious: Neither do they reckon by Days, as we do, but by Nights; so they make
their

their Agreements; so by a common Consent their Appointments: The Night here seems to guide the Day. This Error proceeds from the Liberty they take, because they do not meet all at once, or upon Command; both the second and third Day is wasted by the Delay of their convening: They sit down arm'd, if the Company approves on't. Silence is commanded by the Priests, in whom there is lodg'd then the Coercive Power: By and by the King or Prince, according to every one's Age, their Quality, Reputation gain'd in the Wars, or Talent in Rhetorick, are heard, more by the Authority of Perswading, than the Power of Commanding; if the Opinion displeases, its rejected by a Murmuring; if it pleases, they clash their Weapons: Its the most honourable Manner of Assent, to applaud it with their Arms. It's also lawful to accuse, and arraign before the Council. The Difference of the Punishment, is from the Nature of the Crimes; Traytors and Revolters they hang on Trees; the Sloathful, Timorous, and Sodomitical they drown in Mire and Marshes, throwing Hurdles upon them. The Diversity of the Punishment respects this, that Villanies, when punish'd, ought to be expos'd, Scandals conceal'd: But for lesser Faults, being convicted, for the Manner of their Penalty, they are fined such a number of Horses and Cattle; part of the Mulct goes to the King or City, part to him, who is injur'd, or distributed amongst his Relations: Persons of the best Quality are also elected with those Councils, who do Justice to the Towns and Villages: A hundred Associates are assistant to every one of them, out of the Commonalty; together with their Advice and Authority. They act nothing of private or publick Business unarm'd; but its not the Custom for any one to go arm'd, till the City has adjudg'd him qualified: Then in the Council-Chamber, some one of the greatest Dignity, or his Father, or his Relation, equips him with

a Buckler and Sword. This amongst them is their Gown, this is the first Honour of their Youth; but before this they seem only part of the Family, but now of the Commonwealth. A noble Extraction, or the great Deserts of the Fathers, recommend these young Men to the Favour of their Prince. They associate with others that are more robust, and long since approv'd: Neither do they blush to be seen amongst their Companions; although he has his Post in the Retinue at his Discretion, whom they follow. There's a great Emulation amongst them, who shall be chief Favourite to their Prince; and amongst the Princes, who shall have the most, and the bravest Followers. This is their Grandeur, these their Forces, to be encompass'd with a great Guard of select Youth, their Honour in Peace, and their Defence in War. It gives a Name, and a Reputation to every one, not only in his own Country, but also amongst their Neighbouring Princes, if the Associates excel in Number and Courage. They're also apply'd to in Embassies, and courted by Presents; and for the most part, by their very Fame, dispatch their Wars. When they come into the Field of Battle, its dishonourable to the Prince to be overcome in Bravery; and for his Retinue too not to equalize the Courage of their Prince: But above all things, its infamous, and during Life reproachful, to flie, and survive their General slain. Their principal Oath is to defend and protect him, and attribute all their valiant Actions, to his Conduct and Glory. The Princes fight for Victory, their Adherents for their Princes.

If the City, in which they were born, grows stiff and unactive, by a long Peace and Repose, most of the young Noblemen go Voluntiers into those Nations, which are then engag'd in War; because, also Quiet is ungrateful to that Nation, and with the more Facility they grow Famous amongst dubious Enterprizes;

prizes; nor can they maintain their great Attendance, unless by Violence and War. They obtain from the Liberality of their Prince such a War-Horse, and such a bloody conquering Sword.

As to Banquets, although homely, yet a plentiful Table they allow instead of a Salary. The Supply of their Munificence proceeds from War and Rapine.

Nor can you so easily persuade them to Till the Ground, and wait for a good Year, as to challenge the Enemy, and receive Wounds; for it looks lazy and dispirited, to acquire that by hard Labour, which may be compass'd by Blood. When they have no War, they pass not their time so much in Hunting, as Idleness, being much addicted to Sleep and Gluttony: The most Valiant and Warlike doing nothing at all, committing the Care of their House, Gods, and Fields, to their Women and Children, and to the most infirm of the Family. They have a wonderful Contrariety in their Nature; for those Persons, who take such delight in Idleness, have an aversion to Quiet.

Its the Custom in those Cities, for every Man freely to bestow on their Princes, either of their Herds or Fruits, which is taken for a Favour, and besides supplies their Necessities. They take great Delight in the Presents of Neighbouring Nations, which are not only sent from particular Persons, but from the Publick; as choice Horses, large Armours, Trappings and Chains: And we have been inform'd, they now receive Money. Its very well known, that Cities are not inhabited by the *Germans*; nor do they indeed, suffer Houses to be join'd together. They plant themselves separately and divided, as the Spring, Field, or Wood, pleases them best. They found their Villages not according to our Manner, with connex'd and contiguous Buildings: Every one leaves a Space about his House, either as a Remedy against any Accident of Fire, or from their Unskilfulness in Building. They

use

use no Tyles or Mortar amongst them; but make use of in all things a shapeless Stuff, without either Form or Delight: Some Places they curiously parget with an Earth, so pure and shining, that it imitates a Picture, or the first Draught of Colours. They are wont to open Subterranean Caves, and those they cover with a great Quantity of Dung, which serves as a Refuge in Winter, and a Granary; and when the Enemy advances, he ravages the open Country: But those things which are conceal'd, or lie hid under Ground, they are either ignorant of, or for that Reason are deceiv'd, because they are to be search'd for.

Their Cloathing is a loose Coat, join'd together with a Button; but for want of that, with a Thorn: Being uncover'd as to any thing else, they lie basking whole Days upon the Hearth by the Fire. The most wealthy are distinguish'd by a Garment, not flowing like the *Sarmathians* and *Parthians*, but close, and representing every Joint: They wear also the Skins of wild Beasts; those next the Sea-side with less Curiosity; but those that are higher in the Country are more nice, as having no other Attire by Commerce. They make choice of the Beasts, and having taken off their Hides, spot them with the Skins of those Monsters, which the outermost Ocean, and the unknown Sea produces. Nor have the Women any other Habit than the Men, unless that the Women are more frequently cloath'd in Linnen Garments, and those they checquer with Purple, and part of the upper Dress is not made into Sleeves; their Arms are naked, and their Bosom lies bare.

However, their Marriages there are very strict; neither is there any part of their Customs that's more commendable; for they are almost the only People of the *Barbarians*, that are contented with one Wife a-piece, except a very few, who not for Lasciviousness, but out of State are surrounded with many Wives.

The

The Wife does not profer a Dowry to the Husband, but the Husband to the Wife : The Parents and Relations are by, and approve of the Presents ; Presents not contriv'd for Womanish Toys, nor by which the New-married Bride may be adorn'd, but Oxen, a Horse bridled, a Shield with a Partisan, and Sword : Upon these Terms the Wife is receiv'd ; and she in her Turn brings some Arms to her Husband. This is the greatest Tye, these the Sacred *Arcana's*, these they deem the Conjugal Deities ; and lest the Woman shou'd think herself exempted from the Thoughts of Bravery, and the Hazards of War, she's reminded from the beginning of the solemniz'd Marriage, that she's now become a Partner of his Toys and Dangers, and that she will run the same Risque in Peace and War, as he himself does : This the yolk'd Oxen, this the equip'd Horse, this the presented Arms declare ; so they must live, so they must die. Those Things which she receives, she restores uninjur'd to her Children ; what's put into the Daughter-in-Laws Custody, they return to their Nephews. They therefore behave themselves with the strictest Modesty, being debauch'd with no alluring Objects, with no Provocatives in Banqueting.

The Men, as well as the Women, are equally ignorant of the Mysteries of Learning.

In so populous a Nation, Adultery is rarely committed ; for which there's a present Punishment, that's left to the Discretion of the Husbands. The Husband having cut off her Hair, turns her out of his House naked, before her Relations, and whips her through the whole Village. There's no Pardon for violated Chastity, neither can her Beauty, Age, nor Wealth, recommend her to another Husband. No one there makes sport with Vices, nor is the Age said to corrupt, or be corrupted. Those Cities do still much more reputably, in which Virgins only marry, and where it's trans-

transacted with the Hopes and Desire of being but once a Wife ; so they receive one Husband, as they do one Body, and one Life ; nor is there a Thought beyond that, nor a larger Desire ; not as if it were the Husband, but as the Marriage-State that they affect.

It's look'd upon as the highest Enormity, to stint the Number of Children, or to kill any of their Kindred. Their good Morals avail more there, than in other places good Laws. In every House going naked and dirty, they shoot out into those vast Limbs, and those great Bodies we so much wonder at. Every Mother gives suck to her own Child ; neither are they committed to the Care of Maids, and Nurses.

The Masters, and Servants, are not to be distinguish'd by the Niceties of Education ; they live amongst the same Cattle, on the same Ground, 'till Age distinguishes the Free-born, and their Courage signalizes them.

The Amours of the young Men begin late ; for which Reason their Youth is not impair'd : Nor are the Maids too soon put upon Marriage ; their Age is the same, their Stature alike. Those that are equally match'd, and strenuous, Inter-marry, and the Children resemble the Vigour of their Parents.

There is the same Respect paid to the Sisters Sons, by the Uncle, by the Mother's-side, as by the Father : Some think this Tye of Blood is more sacred and strict ; and in receiving of Hostages, they rather require it ; as if they kept the Mind the more confirm'd, and the Family the less reserv'd.

The Heirs and Successors to every Man, are his own Children, and therefore they make no Will : If he has none, the next Relations, as the Brothers, Uncles, by the Father's, or Mother's-side, take possession ; and his Age is esteem'd proportionate to the Number of his Kindred and Affinity. Nor are they respected who are without Issue. They are obliged to espouse, as well

well the Enmities, either of a Father, or Relation, as their Friendships; neither do they continue implacable: For Homicide is atton'd for at a certain Number of Beasts and Cattle, and the whole Family receives Satisfaction advantageous to the Publick, because Feuds are pernicious to Liberty.

Not any Nation is so profuse in Entertainments and Hospitality: It's held the highest Crime, to turn any one out of Doors; every one treats answerable to his Fortune. When the Provisions are all spent, he which last entertained, is a Guide and Companion of his Guest, and tho' uninvited, they go to the next House; nor is it ill taken. They are receiv'd with the same Civility, no one distinguishes the known and unknown, as far as relates to the Right of Hospitality. It's the Custom for him that's going away, to give, if any thing's requir'd: And on the other hand, there's the same Freedom in demanding. They take delight in being presented; nor do they charge to Account what's given, or think themselves oblig'd by what's receiv'd. The Entertainment of their Guests is affable.

As soon as they rise from Sleep, which, for the most part, spins out the Day, they are wash'd oftentimes in warm Water, the Winter there lasting long; having done washing, they go to Dinner: Their Seats are at a distance, and every one has a Table to himself; they go arm'd alike to their Business and Feasts. It's reckon'd no Disgrace, to hold out a Day and Night in Drinking. Those frequent Broils amongst those who are addicted to Wine, are seldom past over with ill Language, but oftner by Death and Wounds: But they consult of reconciling Enemies, and contracting Marriages, chusing their Princes, and of Peace and War, for the most part, in their Banquets: As if at no time, the Mind was more open to unbiass'd Thoughts, or warm'd to greater Enterprizes. This Nation being
neither

neither crafty, nor cunning, by reason of the Priviledge of the place, discovers the hitherto unreveal'd Secrets of the Heart; therefore, the Mind of all being naked and detected, the next Day it's spoken to anew, the Reason of both times being weigh'd. They debate when they know not how to dissemble, resolve when they know not how to err.

Ale is their Drink: Those who are next the Sea-Coast, traffick for Wine. Their Diet is simple, wild Apples, fresh Meat, or Curds; without making Preparations, without Dainties, they expect Hunger: Against Thirst there's not the same Temperance; if thou wilt indulge their Drunkenness, by furnishing them with as much as they covet, they'll as easily be conquer'd by Wine, as by Arms.

The Manner of their Shows is one and the same, in all their Meetings; naked young Men, to whom it's a Diversion, throw themselves amongst Swords, and deadly Weapons: Frequent Exercise begets Experience, Experience Gracefulness; but this notwithstanding is not done for Profit, or Reward; tho' the Prize of this daring Wantonness, is the Pleasure of those which behold it. Dice (which you'd wonder at) the soberest Persons play at, amongst their weighty Affairs, and with that rashness of winning or losing, that when all's gone, they set Body and Liberty upon the last Throw; he that loses, enters into a voluntary Vassalage, altho' younger and more robust, suffers himself to be bound and sold. Obstinacy in this ill Cause, they stile Faith. Slaves of this Condition, they deliver up, by the way of Commerce, that they may absolve themselves from the Reproach of the Victory. They use the rest of their Servants not after our manner, by assigning them their Offices in the Family; every Man governs his own House, and domestick Affairs. The Master enjoyns the Payment of a Proportion of Corn, or Cattle, or Cloathing, as to his Farmer, and so far
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the Slave complies. The other Offices of the House, the Wife and Children manage. It's very uncommon to beat a Slave, or to punish him with Fetters, and hard Labour. They are wont to kill them, not by Discipline, and Severity, but out of Passion and Anger, as they wou'd an Enemy, and that without Impunity. The Freed-men are not much above their Slaves, seldom doing any thing of Importance in the House, never in the Cities, excepting in those Nations which are under Subjection; for there they have the Ascendant, both over the Free-born, and the Nobles too. Amongst other Nations, the inequality of Freed-men, is an Argument of Liberty.

They are Strangers to Usury, and the making Advantages by Interest, and therefore it's more observ'd, than if it had been prohibited.

The Fields, according to the Number of the Tillers, are cultivated by Turns; which they divide amongst themselves, according to the Credit of the Persons: The largeness of the Plains, makes the Division less difficult. The plough'd Lands they change annually, and let the Ground lie fallow; neither do they endeavour, by their Labour, for an Improvement, or Enlargement of their Soil; so that they may plant Orchards, enclose Meadows, and water their Gardens; Corn only they expect from the Ground. Whereupon, they don't divide the Year into so many Parts: Winter, and Spring, and Summer, have their Names and Significations: The Name and Benefit of Autumn they are alike ignorant of.

They are not ambitious of pompous Funerals; this only is observ'd, that the Bodies of Illustrious Persons are burnt with particular sorts of Wood. They heap not up the Pile with Garments, nor Odors; his own peculiar Arms, and the Horse of some of them is also superadded, to the Fire. Their Tombs are rais'd with Turf. They despise the lofty and costly Magnificence
of

of Monuments, as only burthenfome to the Dead. Lamentations, and Tears, they refrain quickly; Grief, and Sorrow, slowly. It's commendable in Women to lament, in Men not to forget.

These Things we have been inform'd, have been allow'd of by all, of the Origin and Customs of the *Germans*: Now I'll relate the Institutions of particular Nations, and their Ceremonies how they differ, and what People have removed out of *Germany* into *Gaul*.

The Divine *Julius*, the best of Authors, affirms, That formerly the Condition of the *Gauls* has been much more powerful: And there is its credible, that the *Gauls* also pass'd into *Germany*: For how little cou'd a River hinder it, but that as every Nation grew more potent, they should possess and exchange their, as yet, promiscuous Habitations, and undivided Dominions? Therefore the *Helvetians* kept their Ground, between the *Hercynian* Forest, and the Rivers *Rhine*, and *Menus*; the *Boii* the furthestmost parts; and both Nations were *Gallican*.

The Name of the *Boiemi* is yet extant, and signifies the ancient Remembrance of the Place, altho' the Inhabitants are chang'd: But whether the *Aravisci* remov'd from the *German* Nation into *Pannonia*, from the *Orsi*, or the *Orsi* from the *Aravisci* into *Germany*, whereas hitherto they use the same Language, Customs, and Manners, is uncertain; because in Times past, from the like Scarcity and Liberty, the same Convenience, and Inconvenience accru'd to those who inhabited the Banks on both sides.

The *Treveri*, and *Nervii*, are over and above ambitious of affecting a *German* Genealogy; as if by this Honour of Blood, they were distinguish'd from the Resemblance, and Sluggishness of the *Gauls*. Undoubtedly the People of *Germany* were the *Vangiones*, *Treboci*, *Nemetes*, who inhabited the Bank of the *Rhine*. The *Ubi*
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also, altho' they deserv'd to be a *Roman* Colony, are ashamed of their Original; and who more willingly wou'd be call'd *Agrippinenses*, from the Name of their Founder, having formerly pass'd over, and out of Experience of their Fidelity, were planted upon the Bank of the *Rhine*, that they should expel their Enemies, not that they themselves should be guarded.

The *Batavians*, of all these Nations, are the most courageous: They inhabit not much of the Bank, but an Island of the River *Rhine*, formerly the Nation of the *Catti*, who pass'd over into those Habitations, from a domestick Sedition, in which they were to be made a part of the *Roman* Empire. The Honour remains, and a Mark of the ancient Alliance; for neither are they disgrac'd by Tribute, nor does the Receiver of the publick Revenues oppress them. They are exempted from Taxes and Contributions, and only set apart for the Service of the War, as Darts and Arms are reserv'd for Battle.

The Nation of the *Mattiaci* are also under the same Obedience; for the Greatness of the People of *Rome* was extended beyond the *Rhine*, and their Majesty beyond the ancient Confines of the Empire. As to the Frontiers of their Country, and Habitations, they live upon the Bank: In Humor and Inclination they are joyn'd with us: As to other things, they are like the *Batavians*; but that, as yet, by reason of the Soil of their Country, and Air, they are much braver. I shall not reckon them amongst the People of *Germany*, altho' they have taken up their Abode beyond the *Rhine*, and the *Danube*, who cultivate those Fields, which pay Tenths.

The most profligate of the *Gauls*, and who are grown bold by Want, possess the Land of a doubtful Title. Now their Territories being enlarg'd, and Forts advanc'd, they are esteem'd the Border of the Empire, and part of a Province. Beyond these the *Catti* are seated whose

Bounds

Bounds begin from the *Hercynian* Forest; but not in such spacious and fenny Places, as the rest of the Cities, into which *Germany* expatiates itself. Here the Hills seem to continue, but grow thin by degrees; and the *Hercynian* Forest follows, and together, leaves the *Catti*.

The Bodies of that Nation are hardned, their Limbs compact, their Countenances threatening, and their Courage greater. They have as much Reason and Policy as is to be found amongst the *Germans*. They prefer choice Men, hearken to their Officers, know their Ranks, and make the best of Opportunities, delay their Resentments, order the Day according to their several Occasions, intrench by Night, reckon Fortune dubious, but Virtue unerring; and what is more uncommon, unless it's to be allow'd from the Reason of their Discipline, To repose more Confidence in their General, than their Army. All their Strength lies in the Foot, whom, besides their Arms, they load with Iron Tools, and Provisions: You may see others go to Battle, but the *Catti* to War. They seldom make Incursions, or engage accidentally. It's peculiar to the Horse, suddenly to gain the Victory, or suddenly Retreat: Expedition borders upon Fear, but Delay comes nearer to Constancy; and the particular Courage of every one, seldom try'd by the rest of the *Germans*, is grown to an unanimous Consent amongst the *Catti*, that as soon as they attain to the Years of Maturity, to let their Hair and Beard grow long; nor do they lay aside this Fashion of the Face, devoted and oblig'd to Gallantry, 'till they have slain an Enemy.

Upon Blood, and Sports, they discover the Forehead, and declare, That they have made a Recompence for their being born, and that they are worthy of their Country and Parents; that Deformity sticks to the cowardly and timorous. Moreover, every one of the most valiant, wears an Iron Ring, as it were a

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Bond (most ignominious to that Nation) 'till he can acquit himself of it by the Death of an Enemy.

This Mode pleases many of the *Catti*; and now these remarkable People, grown grey, are both shew'd together, to their Enemies, and their own Soldiers: These always give the first Onset: This is always the Fore-front, distinguish'd by the Figure they make; neither in Peace have they milder Aspects: They have no House, or Land, or take Care of any thing; according as they come to any one, they are provided for; are profuse of another's, Contemners of their own, 'till Bloodless Old Age makes them incapable of such hard Service.

The *Usipii*, and *Tenēteri*, Neighbours to the *Catti*, inhabit upon the *Rhine*, now known by the Channel, which is sufficient to be a Boundary.

The *Tenēteri*, above their accustomed Reputation in War, excel in the Art of Horse-Discipline; nor have the *Catti* a greater Repute for Foot, than the *Tenēteri* have of Horse: So have their Ancestors instituted, and their Posterity imitate them. These are the Plays of Children, this the Emulation of Young Men, and the Aged persevere in them.

Amongst the Family, and Goods, as the Rights of Successions, Horses are deliver'd: The Son receives them; not as he does the rest, by Priority of Birth, but as he is more Courageous, and a better Man in War.

Near the *Tenēteri*, in Times past, the *Bruēteri* liv'd: Now its reported, that the *Chamavi*, and *Angriarii*, are come to dwell there; having chas'd away, and totally extirpated the *Bruēteri*, either by the Consent of the bordering Nations, or out of Hatred to their Ambition, or for the Sweetness of the Booty, or by a peculiar Favour of the Gods to us: For they did not envy us the Sight of a Battle, wherein were slain above Threescore thousand; not by the *Roman* Arms, and Darts, but what is more Mag-

nificent,

nificent, to give Diversion, and to delight the Eye.

I pray, that if the Affection for us from these Countries can't remain and continue, that their Aversion for one another may; that when the Fates of the Empire are declining, Fortune can't perform a Greater Thing than the Discord of our Enemies.

The *Dulgibini*, and *Chasuari*, shut up on the back; the *Angriarii*, and *Chamavi*, and other Nations, not so much as mention'd. On the Front the *Frisii* are ready to receive them: They are call'd the Greater, or Lesser *Frisii*, from the Proportion of their Forces; both Nations spread themselves from the *Rhine* to the Ocean; where Fame hath publish'd, that *Hercules's* Pillars are there, as yet, remaining.

Whether *Hercules* was there, or whether what is every-where Magnificent, we agree to impute to his Honour.

Nor was Resolution wanting to *Drusus Germanicus*; but the Ocean oppos'd both him and *Hercules*, from making further Discovery. Since no one hath attempted it, it looks more holy and reverend to believe, rather than be too inquisitive, in prying into the Secrets of the Gods.

Hitherto we have known *Germany* towards the *West*. Towards the *North* it returns with a very great Winding.

And first of the Country of the *Chauci*. Although it begins from the *Frisii*, and possesses part of the Shoar, yet it is cover'd by the Confines of all those Nations, which I have describ'd, until it winds even to the *Catti*.

Such an immense Tract of Ground, the *Chauci* don't only inhabit, but also replenish: The most Noble of all the *Germans*, and who chuse rather to defend their Greatness by their Justice. Without Covetousness, without Weak-

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ness, quiet and sequestred, make no War, are wasted by no Theft or Robbery: And this is a principal Demonstration of their Courage and Force, because that they did not obtain by Injuries a Superiority over others. Notwithstanding they are all in a readiness for War. And if their State requires an Army, they are well provided of Men and Horses, and they are in the same Repute when they lie still.

On the side of the *Chauci*, and *Catti*, the *Cherusci* being unprovok'd, have too long indulg'd a lasting, but consuming Peace, which was more pleasant than safe; because between the impotent and powerful there's no living in Security: When it's done by Force, Modesty, and Integrity, are Names in the Power of the Superiour: So that they which were, in former Times, the good and just *Cherusci*, are now call'd cowardly and foolish: Fortune, in the conquering *Catti*, was reputed in them Wisdom; and the *Fosi*, a bordering Nation of the *Cherusci*, were affected with the Ruine of the *Cherusci*, by Right, their Companions of Adversity; whereas they were much their Inferiours in Prosperity.

The same Coast of *Germany*, next to the Ocean, the *Cimbrians* inhabit; now a little City, but great in Glory: Their Camps on both Shoars, are largely the Monuments of their ancient Fame, and those Intervals, by whose Compass thou may'st compute the Bulk and Strength of the Nation, and the Confidence they had of so great an Army.

Our City had been founded 640 Years, when first the Arms of the *Cimbrians* were heard on, *Cacilius Metellus*, and *Papirius Carbo*, being Consuls. From whence, if we reckon to the Second Consulship of the Emperour *Trajan*, it almost amounts to Two hundred and ten Years; so long *Germany* was conquering: During which long Space of Time, there were many reciprocal Losses on both sides; neither has the

the *Sarmite*, nor the *Carthaginians*, nor the *Spaniards*, nor the *Gauls*, or indeed the *Parthians*, so often check'd us in our Career; because the Liberty of the *Germans* is more vehemently affected, than in the Kingdom of the *Parthians*: For what hath the *East* to object against us, besides the Death of *Crassus*, who had lost himself, vanquish'd *Pacorus*, cast down by *Ventidius*? But the *Germans* having slain, or taken Prisoners, *Carbo*, and *Cassius*, and *Scaurus Aurelius*, and *Servilius Cepio*, and also *Marcus Manlius*, have, moreover, destroy'd Five Consular Armies from *Rome*; and *Varius*, with his three Legions, sent by *Cesar*: Neither has *Caius Marius*, in *Italy*; the Divine *Julius*, in *Gaul*; *Drusus*, *Nero*, and *Germanicus*, assaulted them in their own Habitations without Danger.

Not long after, the great Threatnings of *Cesar* were turn'd into Ridicule.

From this time there was a settled Peace, 'till by the Opportunity of our Discord, and Civil Wars, they had won, by Assault, the Winter-Camps of the Legions, and also attempted *Gaul*: And being again from thence repuls'd, were afterward rather triumph'd over, than conquer'd.

Now we must treat of the *Suevians*, of whom there is not only one Nation, as of the *Catti* and *Tenechteri*; for they take up the major part of *Germany*, divided as yet by Countries, and distinct Names; although, in general they may be call'd *Suevians*. Its the Mark of the Nation, to curl their Hair, and tie it in a Knot: So are the *Suevians* distinguish'd from the rest of the *Germans*; so are the Free-born of the *Suevians* from the Vassals. So in other Countries, whether from the Alliance of the *Suevians*, or (which often happens) in imitation, and that seldom, and whilst they are young too: Amongst the *Suevians*, even till they're Grey, they tie their brisly Hair behind, and

oftentimes upon the Crown of the Head only : Their Princes wear it more exact : Such innocent Care they take of their Beauty. Nor do they do it out of a Design, that they may make Love, or be beloved : They go into Battle with their Hair comb'd high, and for a Terror, and are so trimm'd up in view of their Enemies.

The *Semnoncs* report, That they are the most Ancient, and Noble of the *Suevians*. The Truth of their Antiquity, is confirm'd by their Religion. At a set time, all the People of one Blood, assemble by their Embassies in a Wood, Sacred by the Oracles of their Ancestors, and by an ancient Veneration, and celebrate the horrid Beginnings of their barbarous Rites, by publickly killing a Man.

There is also another Reverence paid to that Grove ; no one enters into it, unless bound like an inferior Person, and professing openly the Power of their God : If by chance he falls down, it's not lawful to be taken away, or rise up, but he is roll'd off the Ground : And thither all their Superstition tends ; and from thence were deriv'd the Origine of their Nation, that there was a God, Ruler of all, that all beside were subject, and obeying.

The Success of the *Semnoncs* gives this Authority : They inhabit a Hundred Villages ; and compose so great a Body, that they believe themselves the Head of the *Suevians* : On the other hand, the small Number they have makes famous the *Longobards* ; because, being encompass'd with many, and very powerful Nations, they are safe themselves, not by a Compliance, but by Battles and Hazards. Moreover, the *Reudigui*, and *Aviones*, and *Angli*, and *Varini*, and *Eudoses*, and *Suardones*, and *Nuithones*, are fortify'd by Rivers and Woods : Neither is there any thing remarkable in particular, but that they in common Worship *Herthum*, that is, their Mother-Earth, and believe she inter-

interposes in the Affairs of Mankind. There is a Sacred Wood in an Island of the Ocean, and a Chariot dedicated in it, cover'd with a Garment, allow'd to be touch'd but by one Priest : He understands, when the Goddess is come to her Retiring Room, and follows her, drawn by Cows, with much Veneration. Then are their Days of Rejoycing, and Festival Places, which she vouchsafes to honour with her Presence, whatsoever she reputes worthy of her Arrival and Friendship. They make no Wars, put on no Armor, all their Arms are lock'd up : Peace and Tranquility is only then known, then only belov'd, 'till the same Priest returns the Goddess to her Temple, satiated with the Conversation of Mortals ; presently after the Chariot, and Vestments, (and if you'll Credit it) the Deity herself is wash'd in a secret Lake : Bond-men attend, whom the same Lake immediately swallows up ; from hence there's a mystical Terror, and a holy Ignorance, that should be, which they only see, who are just perishing. And this part of the *Suevi* is extended into the very Heart of *Germany* ; the nearer (that I may after the same Method, as I did a little before, follow the *Rhine*, so I may now the *Danube*) is the City of the *Hermunduri*, faithful to the *Romans* ; and therefore to these of all the *Germans*, is Traffick allow'd, not only upon the Bank, but in the Bowels of the Country, and in the most flourishing Colony of the Province of *Rhetia* : They go where they please, without a Guard ; and whereas to other Nations, we shew only our Arms and Incampments, to these, we throw open our Houses, and Villa's, they not so much as coveting them. Amongst the *Hermunduri*, the River *Albis* rises, formerly very famous and much known ; now its scarcely heard of. Hard by the *Hermunduri*, the *Narvisi*, and further on the *Marcomani*, and *Quadi* live. The highest Reputation and Power the *Marcomani* have acquir'd by their Valour, and also their Habitation,

tion, having in times pass'd driven out the *Boii*. Neither do the *Narisci*, or *Quadi* degenerate; and this is as it were the Entrance of *Germany*, so far as its cover'd by the *Danube*. The *Marcomani* and *Quadi*, even within Memory, had Kings of their own Nation: The Noble Race of the *Marobodui*, and *Turdi*; and even now they submit to be govern'd by Foreigners; but the Force and Power of their Kings is deriv'd from the *Roman* Authority. They are seldom assist'd with our Arms, tho' often with our Money: Neither are the *Marfigni*, *C. hini*, *Osi*, *Burii*, which lie at the Back of the *Al. homani* and *Quadi*, of less Power, of whom the *Marfigni*, and *Burii*, in Speech and Habit resemble the *Suevii*. The *Gallican* Language convinces, that the *Gothini*; the *Pannonian*, that the *Osi*, are not originally *Germans*, because they submit to Taxing: Part of their Tribute the *Sarmates*, other part the *Quadi* impose on them, as upon Foreigners. The *Gothini*, to their Disgrace, also dig up Iron: And all these have seiz'd little of the *Champaigne*, but Forests, and the Tops and Heights of Mountains; for a continued Ledge of Hills separates and divides *Suevia*; beyond which many Nations dwell; out of which, the Names of the *Lygii* is the most distinguish'd to many Cities.

It may suffice to instance the *Arii*, *Helveconi*, *Manimi*, *Elusii*, *Nabarvali*, as the most Potent. Amongst the *Nabarvali*, a Grove of the Ancient Religion is shewn; a Priest presides in Womanish Attire; but they report, That the Gods were *Castor* and *Pollux*; by a *Roman* Construction, the Name of that Deity is *Alcis*: There are no Images, no Monuments of a Foreign Superstition; notwithstanding, as Brothers, as young Men, they are worshipp'd. But the *Arii* over and above their Forces, in which they surpass those People, that are little before reckon'd up, are Cruel, and with Art and Time set off their innate Fierceness: Their Shields

Shields are black, their Bodies painted, they make Choice of dark Nights for their Engagements; and by a Dread and Shadow this dismal Army strikes a Terror, no Enemy being able to support this new, and as it were, infernal Sight; for the Eyes are first conquer'd in all Battles. Beyond, the *Lygi*, the *Gothons* are govern'd a little more slavishly, than the rest of the Countries of *Germany*; and yet not beyond Liberty. Next them, from the Ocean lie the *Rugii*, and *Lemovii*; and the Distinction of all these Nations, are round Shields, short Swords, and Loyalty to their Kings. From hence, the Cities of the *Suionians*, besides Men and Arms, are powerful in Shipping in the very Ocean: The Make of their Ships differs in this, because, on both sides, the Prow of the Ship always guides the Fore-part ready for Landing; neither are they manag'd by Sails; nor do they make fit use of Oars in order on the sides: The rowing is mov'd either and thither as ill, and in some Rivers changeable, as occasion requires. They set a Value upon Riches; and therefore, one governs, without exception, and not with the precarious Right of being accountable. Neither are their Arms in common, as amongst the rest of the *Germans*, but they are shut up under a Keeper, and that also a Slave; because the Sea keeps off the sudden IncurSIONS of an Enemy: Besides, Soldiers that have nothing to do, easily grow effeminate: For, it is not the Interest of a King, to set the Noble, nor Free-born, nor indeed the Freedman, over his Armory.

Beyond the *Suionians* is another Sea, flow, and almost motionless, by which there is a Belief, that the whole World is bounded, and encompass'd; because the last Brightness of the Setting Sun continues till it rises again, and so very clear, that it eclipses the very Stars. Some are of a Persuasion, that a Sound is to be heard of his rising out of the Sea, and that the Forms

Forms of Gods, and the Rays of his Head are to be seen. Even there (and Fame is true) is the end of the World. Therefore, now on the right Coast of the *Suevian* Sea, the Countries of the *Æstyii* are beat upon, who follow the Customs and Habits of the *Suevians*; but their Language comes nearer to the *British*: They worship the Mother of the Gods; they carry about the Pictures of Boars, as the Cognizance of Superstition; that's for Arms, and a full Protection, and Warrants the Worshipper of the Goddess secure, even among his Enemies. They make use of Clubs, more than Steel: They labour harder for Corn, and other Fruits, than is customary for the Sloath of the *Germans*; and diligently pry into the Sea; and they only of all others gather Amber, which they call *Glesum*, amongst the Shallows, and on the very Shoar: Neither is the Nature or Reason which produces it, enquired after, or found out, by these Barbarians. Moreover, it lay long amongst the rest of the Purgings of the Sea, till our Luxury gave it a Name: They make no use of it, for its unskilfully gathered, and brought mis-shapen to us; and they with wonder, receive the Price: Notwithstanding, you may take it to be the Juice of a Tree; because some terrene, and also flying Animals, for the most part appear in the midst of it, which being intangl'd by its Viscosity, and suddenly, that Matter growing hard, are enclos'd. As in the more remote Places of the *East*, the Woods and Groves are more fruitful, where Frankinsence and Balms distil; so I should believe, that there are in the Islands, and Countries of the *West*, which drawn out and melted by the Rays of the Neighbouring Sun, glide into the adjacent Sea, and by the Force of the Tempests, float to the opposite Shoar: If you experiment the Nature of Amber in the Fire, it burns like a Torch, and nourishes the pinguous, and odoriferous Flame, and immediately grows as soft as Pitch or Rosin.

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The Countries of the *Sitoni* are bounded by the *Suevians*; in other things they are alike, and differ only in this, that they are govern'd by a Woman; inasmuch, as they don't only degenerate from Liberty, but even from Servitude. This is the End of *Suevia*.

I am in suspense, whether I should ascribe the Nations of the *Peucinians*, *Venedians*, and *Femians*, to the *Germans*, or *Sarmates*; although the *Peucinians*, whom some call *Bastarnas*, in Speech, Habit, Situation, and their little Huts, live as the *Germans*: They are all nasty and sluggish: The Marriages of their Nobles are intermix'd; they are somewhat disfigur'd by the Dress of their Garments. The *Venedi* have very much follow'd their Customs; for they ravage, whatsoever is built on the Hills, between the *Peucinians* and *Femians*: Yet, these ought rather to be reckon'd amongst the *Germans*, because they both pitch their Tents, carry up and down their Shields, and take a Pride in Footmanship, and being Fleet: All which things differ from the *Sarmates*, who live in Waggons, and on Horse-back.

The *Femians* are extremely Cruel, and very Necessitous, having neither Arms, nor Horses, nor Houses; their Food is herbs, their Cloathing Skins, and their Lodging is the Ground; their Confidence is in their Arrows, which for want of Iron, they point with Bones: The same Hunting maintains the Men, and the Women also; for they accompany one another every where, and demand part of the Booty. Nor is there any other place of Refuge for the very Infants, from wild Beasts and the Weather, than that they're cover'd over with interwoven Boughs. Hither the Youth return, this is the Receptacle of the Aged; this they deem more happy, than groaning under the Toil of tilling Ground; than to take Pains in building Houses, and turning over their own, and other Peoples Fortune, betwixt Hope and Fear; here they are secure.

cure against Men, secure against the Gods, having attain'd the most difficult Affair; that they have no Vows to make to the Gods; that they have nothing to wish. For other things, they're meerly fabulous; That the *Hellusii* and *Oxione* have the Faces and Countenances of Men, their Bodies and Limbs of wild Beasts; which I will leave in common as a thing uncertain.

The End of the Second Volume.

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O F T H E
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The Elder Octavia, who, by her first Husband, C. Marcellus, had Issue

M. Marcellus, whose first Wife was Pompeia, the Daughter of Sextus; his second Julia, the Daughter of Augustus. He died young, without Issue by either.

The elder Marcella, who had by her first Husband, M. Vipfanius Agrippa,

Children, as Suetonius saith; but we are not able to find them, for Vipsania, the Wife of Tiberius, was none of them.

By her 2^d Husband, Julius Antonius Africanus, the Triumvir's Son, of whom Plutarch in Anthony, and our Author in the 4th Ann. she had

L. Antonius Africanus; who died at Narbonne, Ann. 4. From him or some Brother, as I suppose, came

Sex. Antonius Africanus, of whom in 14 Ann.

The younger Marcella, of whom nothing.

First Wife, Anchavia,

Antonia the Elder, who, by her Husband L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, had

Domitia, whose Husband was Crispus Passienus, as I guess from Quinctilian, lib. 6. ca. 2.

Domitia Lepida, who had by her first Husband, M. Valerius Barbatus Messala,

Valeria Messalina, Wife to the Emperor Claudius. See Lipsius's Commentary, p. 178. and Seneca in Menippæa, who makes Augustus Messalina's Great Uncle.

By her second Husband, M. Anthony, the Triumvir,

By her 2^d, Ap. Junius Silanus, who yet seems to have been first the Husband of Emilia Lepida, the great Grand-daughter of Augustus, and by them it is probable had

L. Silanus, betrothed to Octavia, Ann. 12.
M. Silanus, Proconsul of Asia, Ann. 13.
Junia Calpurnia, the Daughter-in-law of Vitellius, Ann. 12. and who survived to the time of Vespasian. See Suet. Vesp. c. 23.

Antonia the Younger, whose Issue, by her Husband Drusus, follows in the next Page.

Cn. Domitius, whose Wife was Agrippina, by whom he had

The Emperor Nero.

Octavia the Younger, of whose Marriage, or Issue, there appears nothing.

C. Cesar, who married Livia, the Sister of Germanicus, Ann. 4.

L. Cesar, for whom Emilia Lepida was designed, that was afterwards married to P. Quirinus, Ann. 3.

Agrippa Posthumus.

Julia, married to L. Æmilius Paulus, the Censor's Son, by whom she had Issue

Æmilius Lepidus, who married Drusilla, Dio 59, & Suet. Cal. c. 24.
Æmilia Lepida, the Wife of Claudius, Suet. Claud. c. 26. And I know not whether she is not the same who was married to Drusus, the Son of Germanicus, Ann. 6.

Second Wife, Atia,

C. Octavius, who was afterwards C. Julius Cesar Octavianus Augustus, who, by his Wife Scribonia, had

Julia, who by her first Husband M. Marcellus, and her third, the Emperor Tiberius, had no Issue; but by her Second, M. Vipfanius Agrippa, she had

Agrippina married to Germanicus, by whom she had

Nero, who married Julia, the Daughter of Drusus, Ann. 6.
Drusus, who married Æmilia Lepida, Ann. 6.
C. Caligula, of whose Marriages consult Suetonius.
Agrippina, who had three Husbands, Cn. Domitius, Crispus Passienus, the Emperor Claudius.
Drusilla, whose first Husband was L. Cassius, her second M. Æmilius Lepidus.
Livia, or Livilla according to Suetonius, Julia according to Tacitus and Dio, married M. Vinicius, Ann. 6. She was first married, or one of her Sisters, to Quinctilius Varus, whom Seneca, l. 1. Controv. c. 3. calls Germanicus's Son-in-law, and of which something appears in the 4th of the Annals.

The former is AUGUSTUS's Family by Blood, this that follows, is his Family by Affinity, or his Wife LIVIA's Family, which was taken into his own by Adoption.

<p><i>Ti. Claudius Nero, whose Wife was Livia Drusilla, afterwards Augusta, by whom he had Issue</i></p>	<p><i>Tiberius Nero, who was afterwards Emperor, whose first Wife was Vipsania Agrippina, the Daughter of M. Vipsanius Agrippa and Pomponia, Daughter of Atticus, by whom he had</i></p>	<p><i>Drusus, whom married Livia, or Livilla, the Sister of Germanicus, by whom he had</i></p>	<p><i>Tiberius the Twin, whom Caius dispatched. Sueton. cap. 14.</i></p> <p><i>Another Twin, whose Name is unknown, Ann. 2. And who died at four Years old, Ann. 4.</i></p> <p><i>Julia, who was married to Rubellius Blandus, Ann. 6. by whom she had</i> { <i>Rubellius Plantus, whom Nero put to death. His Wife was Pollutia, Ann. 16.</i></p>
	<p><i>His second Wife was Julia, the Daughter of Augustus, by whom he had no Issue that lived.</i></p>		
	<p><i>Drusus Nero Germanicus, whose Wife was the younger Antonia, by whom he had</i></p>	<p><i>Germanicus Caesar, who married Agrippina, whose Issue you have before.</i></p> <p><i>Livilla, who first married C. Caesar; then Drusus, her Cousin-German by the Father's side; and afterwards was betrothed to Sejanus, Ann. 4.</i></p> <p><i>Claudius, who was afterwards Emperor, whose first Wife was Plautia Urgulanilla, by whom he had</i> { <i>Drusus, to whom Sejanus's Daughter was betrothed. Sueton. Claud. c. 27. Tacit. Ann. 3.</i></p> <p><i>His second Wife Ælia Petina, by whom he had</i> { <i>Claudia, whom he cast off.</i></p> <p><i>His third Wife Valeria Messalina, by whom he had</i> { <i>Antonia, whose first Husband was Pompeius Magnus, put to Death by Claudius; her second, Faustus Sulla.</i></p> <p><i>Octavia, first betrothed to L. Silanus, but afterwards married to the Emperor Nero.</i></p> <p><i>Claudius Britannicus, put to death by Nero.</i></p>	